Predictable Pathways ?
An exploration of young women's perceptions of teenage pregnancy and early motherhood

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Thesis submitted for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

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December 2001

Part II

Chapter Five

The Pupils' and Participants' Social and Economic Situations, Expectations about their Futures, Sexual and Contraceptive Knowledge

As explained in Chapters Three and Four, a questionnaire was used to gather information from the pupils. This questionnaire requested information on the pupils' social and economic situations, family relations, personal friendships, and the views they held towards their school and teachers. It also collected data on their expectations about their future involvement in various social, academic and occupational roles, and assessed their sexual and contraceptive knowledge. The purpose of this chapter is to analyse this information, and the information gathered during the discussion groups held in each school relating to the participants' views of motherhood, marriage, their schooling and future careers. As socio-economic background is central to this thesis, this chapter will also discuss the manner in which the pupils' socio-economic backgrounds were defined and measured.

During the late seventies and early eighties, although most of the research undertaken with young people focused on young men rather than young women (Griffin 1985, McRobbie 1978), some attention was being given to young women's experiences and the factors which shaped these. For example, in 1976 Sue Sharpe described the work she had undertaken with English, West Indian and Asian girls,

and highlighted the ways in which gender and socio-economic background could influence a girl's educational experiences, vocational opportunities, and views of marriage and motherhood. McRobbie (1978b) described the ways in which adolescent femininity had been constructed and presented to young women, and Lees (1986) considered and discussed the meanings and understandings by which a group of school girls lived their lives. During the 1990s both McRobbie and Lees continued to focus on the lives of young women[1] and the literature concerning this population deepens as specific issues were researched. Hey (1997), for example, documented young women's experiences of social relationships and friendships. In addition, during this period a series of working papers, journal articles and book chapters documenting the results of the Women, Risk and AIDS project (WRAP) were published (see Holland et al. 1998). WRAP focused on women aged 16 to 21, and explored their understandings of their own sexuality and sexual practices.

In addition to the works which have focused solely on the lives of young women, researchers concerned with teenage pregnancy and early motherhood have also made a contribution to this literature as the family, educational and socio-economic situations of young women are often considered in an attempt to explain the prevalence of these two phenomena. However, despite the fact that the lives of young women have been directly and indirectly researched, gaps within the literature concerning this population still exist.

Roker (1994) states that with the notable exception of Delamont (1973, 1984), the experiences of young women in private education have not been explored. Such a gap would appear important since significant differences exist between the academic achievements, aspirations and career paths of young women educated in private and state sector schools (Eglin 1984, Halsey et al. 1984). In addition, whilst researchers concerned with teenage pregnancy and early motherhood have made a contribution to the literature, often these researchers only consider aspects of an individual's past or current situation which they believe relate directly to a young woman's pregnancy career, e.g. the individual's sexual behaviour and views of abortion and early motherhood. Thus, the interrelationships between the socio-economic position, wider experience and future expectations of young women, and their sexual knowledge and experience remain relatively unexplored. Through some of the analyses documented in this chapter, insights are gained into these interrelationships.

This chapter has been written so that the discussion moves from focusing on the pupils' socio-economic status, to describing where they lived and with whom. The discussion then moves from detailing the pupils' demographic characteristics, to describing the composition of their friendships groups, the views they held towards school and their teachers, and the expectations they had concerning various possible future careers. Data collected during the discussion groups is used to complement and illuminate some of this information, with the participants' views of motherhood, marriage and their vocational ambitions being detailed. Consideration

is then given to the pupils' sexual careers and contraceptive knowledge. The views

they held towards the sex education they had received and how comfortable they felt

talking to certain individuals about sex, are also discussed. Again some of the

qualitative material is used to illuminate possible explanations for the statistical

relationships found.

5.1) *The pupils' socio-economic status – definitions and measurements*

In Chapter Four on page 226 it was noted that the pupils' social class status was

based on the social class status of their parents which had been determined

according to the Register General's classifications of occupations (OPCS 1991).

Where there was a difference between the mother's and father's social class score,

the one indicating a higher social class status was taken to reflect the pupil's status.

On page 226 it was also noted that Carstairs and Morris's (1991) DEPCAT

deprivation index had been used to assess the social and economic characteristics of

the areas in which the pupils lived.

In Britain the Register General's classifications of occupations is the scheme most

frequently used to measure social class (Crompton 1993)[2]. Since 1911 the OPCS

has listed thousands of occupational titles and classified them into a number of

much smaller ranked social groups (Saunders 1990). The method of classification

used has been revised on several occasions but each version has been similar,

dividing occupational titles into occupational groups or classes according to the material rewards accrued from a particular occupation (Crompton 1993). The widespread use of the Register General's classification reflects the fact that this method is seen as providing a relatively simple and straightforward way of determining an individual's social class (Crompton 1993)[3]. Despite this, the practice of using an individual's occupation to define his/her social class has been criticised. This criticism would appear to arise from three key areas: the difficulty experienced when attempting to classify certain occupations and individuals; the changes which have occurred in the structure of the labour market and which have led to the appropriateness of an individual's occupational title, as an indicator of working conditions, being questioned; and finally, the extent to which 'occupational classes' reflect 'social classes'.

It is not always clear which classification should be assigned to a particular occupation or individual. For example, there has been some confusion over whether the occupational title of manager should be classified as manual or non-manual (Crompton 1993), and defining an individual's social class according to his/her occupation has meant that the majority of those who are unemployed, students or retired cannot be classified (Saunders 1990). It has been suggested that increasing competitive pressures between organisations in the private sector, and greater accountability in the public sector, may have led to a narrowing of the traditional differences between professionals and the rest of the workforce (O'Reilly and Rose 1998). Hence, it would appear that the usefulness of occupational title, as an

indicator of working conditions, has declined. Change in the structure of the employment market is also a reason why the suitability of occupational title as an indicator of social class has been criticised. Another reason for this criticism stems from the manner in which class has been defined and theoretically conceptualised.

Class is a term with many meanings. It has been used to describe hierarchical rankings of different social groups, to indicate variations in social standing and prestige, and to describe structures of material inequality (Crompton 1993). In addition, both Marx and Weber described classes as real entities with identifiable interests and a capacity to act (Crompton 1993). Thus, with these definitions in mind, it is clear that occupational classifications neither capture all of the meanings which have been associated with class, nor capture the actualities of class relations in either Marxist or Weberian terms. However, this does not mean occupational classifications should be abandoned as indicators of social class. Rather, it should be taken as highlighting the fact that occupational classifications should not be viewed as reflecting all the dimension of class and class relations, but as titles which outline the contours of material inequalities and provide an indication of lifestyle (Crompton 1993). Furthermore, despite the changes which have occurred within the labour market, in modern societies and for the majority of the population, occupation is probably still the most powerful single indicator of levels of material advantage and disadvantage, social standing and life chances (Crompton 1993). In addition, occupation is still strongly associated with different behaviours and attitudes (Crompton 1993) and whilst labour market changes have occurred, these

changes have not undermined the ability of occupational titles to distinguish between different 'class' positions in the labour market (O'Reilly and Rose 1998).

This accepted, and to some extent independent of the way in which an individual's social class is determined, it does appear that an individual's social class is something which can be considered relatively independent of the context in which he/she lives. As the social and economic characteristics of different geographical areas vary, and since such variations can influence an individual's career opportunities and personal well-being, it would appear that this rather individualistic focus should be complemented by an assessment of the socio-economic characteristics of the geographical area in which the individual lives. This argument could explain why an individual's socio-economic background is usually assessed in terms of his/her social class and in terms of the social and economic characteristics of the area in which he/she resides (Bartley and Blane 1994).

Over the last thirty years, dozens of different area-based based deprivation indexes have been developed and used (Lee et al. 1995)[4]. These indexes have been defined as scores which measure the proportion of households within a defined geographical area who experience a combination of circumstances which indicate a low standard of living and/or a high need for services (Bartley and Blane 1994). Hence, these indexes are measurements of *areas*, not measurements of individual lifestyle or economic standing (McLoone and Boddy 1994).

Earlier on page 251 it was mentioned that Carstairs and Morris's DEPCAT index was used to classify the areas in which the pupils lived. This index was developed in order to explain inequalities in health and to measure the access certain areas, and the populations residing in those areas, had to material resources. Each of the indicators incorporated in this index is believed to represent, or to be a determinant of, material disadvantage (Carstairs and Morris 1991) (table 16). As the purpose of assigning a deprivation score to the pupils' postcode was to gain some insight into the material resources the pupils from each school had available to them, the fact that DEPCAT had been developed specifically to measure access to material resources was one reason why this particular index was used. Another reason was because this index was developed in Scotland. Whilst this point may not appear to be important, the significance of a particular variable may vary between countries. For example, in Scotland not being a home owner has less explanatory potential than elsewhere in Britain (Carstairs and Morris 1991).

Table 16 *Indicators used in DEPCAT*

Indicators used	Relationship to deprivation
Overcrowding	Indicates a lack of material resources.
Male unemployment	Weakens an individual's ability to access material resources, and may lead to a loss of self esteem and increase personal stress.
Low social class	Weakens an individual's ability to access material resources.
No car	Car ownership gives an indication of current material resources and acts as a proxy for income as car ownership entails running and maintenance costs.

DEPCAT, like most of the area deprivation indexes, was created using information gathered in the Census. As the Census does not specifically ask about deprivation,

Census based indices consist of variables that are, at best, proxy indicators of deprivation rather than direct measures (Lee et al. 1995). Due to the way in which DEPCAT has been created, the score assigned to an area will depend upon the way in which the area has been defined, and upon the homogeneity or heterogeneity of the populations within that area with respect to the variables included in the index (McLoone and Boddy 1994). In addition, because rural populations tend to be more mixed than urban populations in relation to their socio-economic characteristics, rural areas may be more likely than urban areas to be located towards the middle of the scale (McLoone and Boddy 1994). Despite these disadvantages, deprivation indexes are viewed as providing a valuable indicator of social conditions (Payne et al. 1996). It is also encouraging to note that, having considered the composition and creation of ten different Census based deprivation indexes, Lee et al. (1995) concluded that DEPCAT was the most accurate index for determining how many deprived areas there were within a specific region.

In table 16 it is evident that Carstairs and Morris used social class as a proxy for deprivation. However, Payne et al. (1996) argue that the relationship between social class classifications and area deprivation scores should be considered carefully. Deprivation is not an outward manifestation of class and issues which have been associated with deprivation, such as, poor housing, poverty and ill health, may be faced by individuals from different social classes (Payne et al. 1996). Furthermore, it should be recalled that an individual's social class status is usually based on his/her occupation, whilst a deprivation score is usually based on the social and

economic characteristics of a particular area. Hence, although one would expect some level of association to exist between these two scores, i.e. one would expect someone belonging to a high social class to live in an area of social and economic wealth, this may not always be the case. To some extent this point was reflected in the data collected from the pupils; although the majority of the pupils who had been classed as belonging to social class 1 or 2 lived in areas which had been assigned a deprivation score of 1 or 2 (relatively affluent), it was evident that some of the pupils in the higher social classes resided in areas which had been assigned a score of 4 or 5 (relatively deprived) (table 17).

Table 17 *The pupils' deprivation and social class scores*
(expressed in column percentages with total row percentage also noted)[5 6]

Deprivation / Social class	1 (rel. affluent)	2	3	4	5 (rel. deprived)	Row total
1 (high social class)	42.5 (17)	50.0 (1)	15.8 (3)	10.8 (7)	3.7 (3)	15.0 (31)
2	47.5 (19)	50.0 (1)	63.2 (12)	38.5 (25)	25.9 (21)	37.7 (78)
3	10.0 (4)		5.3 (1)	35.4 (23)	40.7 (33)	29.5 (61)
4			10.5 (2)	10.8 (7)	12.3 (10)	9.2 (19)
5 (low social class)			5.3 (1)	4.6 (3)	17.3 (14)	8.7 (18)
Row percentage	19.3 (40)	1 (2)	9.2 (19)	31.4 (65)	39.1 (81)	100 (207)

As the schools had been purposively selected to ensure that the final sample included young women from diverse socio-economic backgrounds, the range of social class and deprivation scores which existed among the pupils, and which is apparent in the above table, was expected. However, as the aim of this research was to compare the views held by young women from diverse socio-economic backgrounds, the distribution of the pupils' social class and deprivation scores according to which school they attended was felt to be just as important as this

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range; the more diverse the socio-economic backgrounds of the pupils attending each school, the easier it would be to assess the influence of background on the pupils' views. Tables 18, 19 and 20 detail the deprivation and social class scores for pupils from each school. These data have also been graphically presented in charts 1 and 2.

Table 18 *The Redpath pupils' deprivation and social class scores*
(expressed in column percentages with total row percentage also noted)

Deprivation /social class	1 (rel. affluent)	2	3	4	5 (rel. deprived)	Row total
1 (high social class)	42.5 (17)	50.0 (1)	20.0 (3)	54.4 (6)	40.0 (2)	39.6 (29)
2	47.5 (19)	50.0 (1)	73.2 (11)	45.5 (5)	20.0 (1)	50.7 (37)
3	10.0 (4)				40.0 (2)	8.1 (6)
4			6.7 (1)			1.4 (1)
5 (low social class)						
Row percentage	54.8 (40)	2.7 (2)	20.5 (15)	15.1 (11)	6.8 (5)	100 (73)

Table 19 *The Wellsprings pupils' deprivation and social class scores*
(expressed in column percentages with total row percentage also noted)

Deprivation /social class	1 (rel. affluent)	2	3	4	5 (rel. deprived)	Row total
1 (high social class)					1.6 (1)	1.6 (1)
2					29.5 (18)	29.0 (18)
3				100 (1)	39.3 (24)	40.3 (25)
4					13.1 (8)	12.9 (8)
5 (low social class)					16.4 (10)	16.1 (10)
Row percentage				1.6 (1)	98.4 (61)	100 (62)

Table 20 *The Greenbank pupils' deprivation and social class scores*
(expressed in column percentages with total row percentage also noted)

Deprivation /social class	1 (rel. affluent)	2	3	4	5 (rel. deprived)	Row total
1 (high social class)				1.9 (1)		1.4 (1)
2			25.0 (1)	37.6 (20)	13.3 (2)	31.8 (23)
3			25.0 (1)	41.4 (22)	46.7 (7)	41.7 (30)
4			25.0 (1)	13.1 (7)	13.2 (2)	13.9 (10)
5 (low social class)			25.0 (1)	5.7 (3)	26.7 (4)	11.0 (8)
Row percentage			5.6 (4)	73.6 (53)	20.8 (15)	100 (72)

Chart 1 *Pupils' mean deprivation scores with 95% confidence intervals*
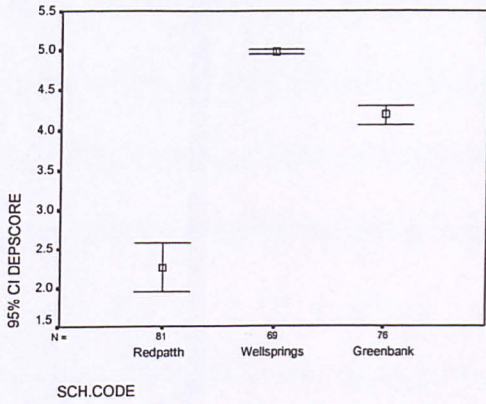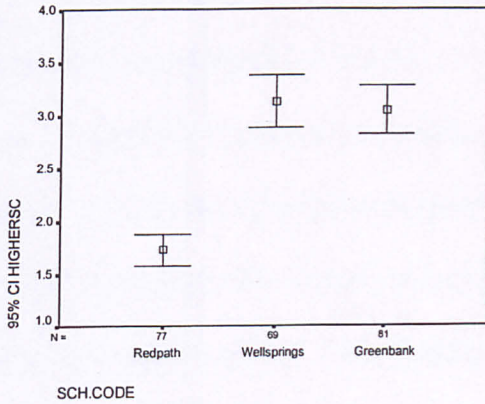

Chart 2 *Pupils' mean social class scores with 95% confidence intervals*

When looking at all three tables simultaneously, a number of observations can be made. First, although the full range of deprivation scores could be found among the Redpath pupils, all but one of the Wellsprings pupil had been assigned a deprivation score of 5 and none of the Greenbank pupils had been assigned a deprivation score greater than 3. Second, despite this point, the Redpath pupils were the only group of pupils who did not cover all 5 social class categories; and finally, within each table there is little evidence of a relationship between the pupils' social class score

and their deprivation score. For example, irrespective of a Wellsprings pupil's social class score, with the exception of one pupil, all the Wellsprings pupils resided in areas which had been assigned a deprivation score of 5. In addition, whilst there was a range of social class classifications among the Redpath pupils, over half of these pupils lived in areas which had been assigned a deprivation score of 1.

The difference between the range of deprivation scores found between the pupils from each school could reflect the fact that pupils attending state schools are draw from certain catchment areas, whereas pupils attending private schools may come from various geographical locations. Certainly, while 34 different postcode sectors were evident in the postcode data gathered from Redpath pupils, only 9 different sectors were found in the Greenbank pupils' data and only 5 different sectors in the Wellsprings pupils' data. Hence, the Redpath pupils travelled from a greater variety of geographical locations. Yet, irrespective of the number of postcode sectors included in the data gathered from pupils in each school, the data in the above tables suggest that the Redpath pupils resided in fairly affluent areas whilst the state school pupils resided in relatively deprived areas. When comparing mean deprivation scores using a 2 sided t-test it was evident that, in general, the Redpath pupils lived in areas which were significantly more affluent than the areas in which the Greenbank pupils and the Wellsprings pupils lived ($p < 0.01$, $p < 0.01$). It was also evident that the Greenbank pupils lived in areas which were significantly more affluent than those in which Wellsprings pupils lived ($p < 0.01$).

When using the same test to compare the mean social class scores for pupils in each school it was apparent that, overall, the Redpath pupils came from more advantaged social class backgrounds than the Wellsprings pupils and the Greenbank pupils ($p <$ 0.01, $p < 0.01$). No significant difference was found between the Wellsprings pupils and the Greenbank pupils. Hence, on the basis of both the pupils' social class and area deprivation scores, it was evident that the Redpath pupils came from a significantly more affluent background than the Wellsprings pupils and the Greenbank pupils. The Greenbank pupils and the Wellsprings pupils came from similar backgrounds in terms of social class status but different backgrounds in relation to the areas in which they lived.

Having considered the pupils' social class and deprivation scores, and noted the differences which existed between the pupils from each school, it is evident that the aim of contacting women from diverse social and economic backgrounds was achieved. As the social and economic status of the pupils from each school were significantly different, during this thesis the pupils have been referred to according to which school they attended rather than according to which social class or deprivation score they had been assigned. At this stage it should be recalled that in Chapter Four (page 180) it was noted that, when undertaking regression analysis, if there was no significant difference between the Greenbank pupils and the Wellsprings pupils on the basis of the dependent variable being considered, data gathered from these pupils were treated as one large data set. As explained on page 180, this decision was made because when analysing the questionnaire data it was

evident that the Greenbank pupils and the Wellsprings pupils were similar in relation to the majority of the dimensions which had been measured by the questionnaire.

5.2) *The pupils' home-life and family circumstances*

More than half of the pupils in each school lived in privately owned housing (table 21). However, a significantly greater proportion of the Redpath pupils than the Wellsprings pupils and the Greenbank pupils lived in privately owned housing, and a significantly smaller proportion of the Redpath pupils than the Greenbank pupils and the Wellsprings pupils lived in council housing (p < 0.01 in all four cases). No significant differences were found between the Greenbank pupils and the Wellsprings pupils.

Table 21 *Pupils' housing tenure[7] (expressed in percentages)*

Housing type	Redpath (n = 86)	Wellsprings (n = 76)	Greenbank (n = 85)	Row total (n = 247)
Privately owned	93.0 (80)	55.3 (42)	58.7 (50)	69.5 (172)
Council owned	2.2 (2)	40.8 (31)	37.5 (32)	26.2 (65)
Other	4.6 (4)	3.8 (3)	3.4 (3)	4.0 (10)

Earlier when discussing Carstairs and Morris's DEPCAT index it was evident that overcrowding can be taken as an indicator of material resources (see table 16, page 255). By dividing the information the pupils had given concerning the number of individuals living in their home, by the number of bedrooms in that home, a

household density score was created. When the mean density scores for the pupils in each school were compared, it was apparent that the Wellsprings pupils and the Greenbank pupils had similar density scores (1.38 and 1.34 respectively), whilst the Redpath pupils had a relatively low score (1.09). This score was sufficiently low to create significant differences between the Redpath pupils versus the Wellsprings pupils and the Greenbank pupils ($p < 0.01$, $p < 0.01$). This finding appeared to relate to the size of the pupil's home, rather than the number of individuals she lived with. There were significant differences between the Redpath pupils versus the Wellsprings pupils and the Greenbank pupils concerning the average number of rooms per household ($p < 0.01$, $p < 0.01$), but not between the Redpath pupils and the state school pupils concerning the average number of people they lived with.

The fact that no significant difference was found between the pupils from each school concerning how many individuals they lived with reflects Bury's (1984) observation that, in Britain, there is no relationship between socio-economic background and family size. The lack of a relationship between a pupil's socio-economic background and the size of her family was also apparent by the fact that there was no difference between the pupils from each school concerning the number of siblings they had. On average, each pupil had 1.66 siblings. In contrast, when focusing on which adults the pupils lived with, significant differences were found between the Redpath pupils and the state school pupils.

Over half the pupils in each school lived with both of their parents. However, a significantly greater proportion of the Redpath pupils than the Wellsprings pupils and the Greenbank pupils lived with both of their parents ($X^2 = 10.82$, $p < 0.01$; $X^2 = 5.99$, $p = 0.01$) (table 22). In addition, it was evident that a significantly smaller proportion of the Redpath pupils than the Wellsprings pupils and the Greenbank pupils lived in a 'reconstituted' household ($X^2 = 7.23$, $p < 0.01$; $X^2 = 7.51$, $p < 0.01$). Neither of these differences were found between the Greenbank pupils and the Wellsprings pupils. Although a greater proportion of Wellsprings pupils than Greenbank pupils and Redpath pupils lived with only one parent, this proportion was not significantly greater.

Table 22 *Pupils' guardian arrangements (expressed in percentages)*[8]

Guardian arrangement	Redpath (n = 86)	Wellsprings (n = 76)	Greenbank (n = 86)	Row total (n = 248)
Living with both parents	82.6 (71)	59.1 (45)	66.3 (57)	69.8 (173)
Living with one parent	11.5 (10)	19.6 (15)	9.3 (8)	13.2 (33)
Reconstituted	5.7 (5)	19.6 (15)	19.8 (17)	14.9 (37)
Grandparents/Others		1.2 (1)	4.7 (4)	2.0 (5)

Young people who come from single parent families tend to be under less parental control than those who come from two parent families when decisions are being made concerning issues such as, how late the young person can stay out (Dornbusch et al. 1985). Dornbusch et al. (1985) state that this situation is because there are fewer parents, and because single mothers are more likely than mothers who are in two-parent households to be in full time employment. In order to assess the extent to which pupils could act independently of their parents, each pupil was asked to respond to four questions. These questions asked the pupil to indicate on a 4 point

scale how often somebody waited up until she got home, and how often she had to ask permission to go out, be back by a certain time in the evening and to tell somebody where she was going. Factor analysis indicated that the answers to each of these four questions could be summed to create one score. This factor was viewed as reflecting levels of parental surveillance rather than levels of parental control or supervision. This was because the questions had focused on the extent to which the pupils' parents monitored their behaviour and whereabouts, and not the extent to which they observed or instructed their offspring.

When comparing the mean scores for the pupils from each school it was apparent that the Wellsprings pupils were under significantly less surveillance than the Redpath pupils and the Greenbank pupils ($p < 0.01$, $p < 0.01$). No significant difference was found between the Redpath pupils and the Greenbank pupils (chart 3).

Chart 3 *Pupils' mean score with 95% confidence intervals for the degree of parental surveillance they were under (High score = high surveillance)*
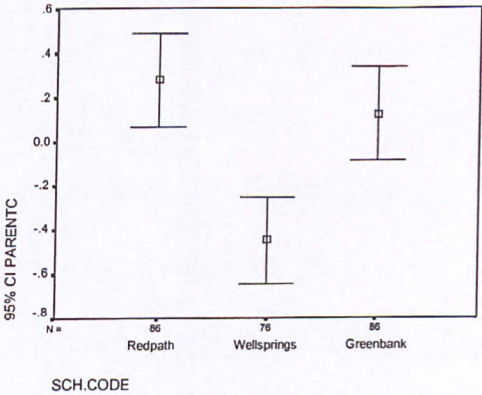
Regression analysis was undertaken in order to assess what factors had influenced the level of surveillance pupils from each school were under[9]. No significant relationships were found when separately exploring each school data set. Hence, the difference between the Wellsprings pupils and the other pupils could not be explained in terms of the other factors measured by the questionnaire. However, it should be recalled that on page 260 it was evident that the Wellsprings pupils resided in significantly more deprived areas than the Redpath pupils and the Greenbank pupils. There is a negative relationship between area deprivation and parental surveillance (Ramirez-Valles et al. 1998). In addition, it is possible that the Wellsprings pupils' deprivation score did not appear to be a significant factor because all except one of the Wellsprings pupils lived in an area which had been assigned a deprivation score of 5 (see table 19, page 258). Thus, the level of parental surveillance a Wellsprings pupil was under may have related to the social and economic characteristics of the area in which she lived. The Wellsprings pupils' area of residence may also have influenced the degree of parental surveillance they were under because the town in which Wellsprings Grammar was located was geographically smaller than the City of Edinburgh, and the town in which Greenbank Academy was located. This situation was implied earlier when on page 260 it was noted that relatively few different postcode sectors were found within the postcode information given by the Wellsprings pupils compared to the data collected from the other pupils. Hence, it would be reasonable to conclude that the Wellsprings pupils were under significantly less parental surveillance because these pupils socialised nearer to home.

It was apparent, therefore, that significant differences existed between the Redpath pupils versus the Wellsprings and Greenbank pupils on the basis of housing tenure, housing density, the proportion of pupils who lived with both parents and the proportion of pupils who lived in a reconstituted household. The Redpath pupils also differed from the Wellsprings pupils in relation to the level of parental surveillance they were under. A significance difference was also found between the Greenbank pupils and the Wellsprings pupils in relation to this factor. Although the lower level of parental surveillance the Wellsprings pupils were under implies that these pupils were more independent than the Redpath pupils and the Greenbank pupils, this independence appeared only to be in terms of their physical freedom and not their financial freedom. This comment is based on the fact that there was no significant difference between the pupils from each school concerning the amount of money they had to spend.

## 5.3) *The pupils' spending money and demographic characteristics*

The pupils were asked to state how much of their own money did they have, on average, to spend as they liked each week. Young people can obtain money through regular parental handouts, as earnings from Saturday jobs, paper rounds etc. and as gifts from family and friends (Hill 1992). As the pupils were not asked to note how they 'earned' their money, the source of their income is not known. However, as

the question asked to the pupil to state how much she could spend *as she liked*, irrespective of its source, the amount noted was viewed as 'spending' money. On analysing the data it is clear that, on average, pupils in each school had over 11 pounds to spend each week (table 23), even though there was wide distribution (chart 4).

Table 23 *Pupils' spending money*
(Mean scores and standard deviations noted. Amount expressed in pounds)

	Redpath (n = 85)	Wellsprings (n = 70)	Greenbank (n = 85)	Row total (n = 240)
Spending money	11.52 (8.13)	13.46 (9.08)	12.51 (8.52)	12.43 (8.55)

Chart 4 *Pupils' spending money (Median location and spread noted)*
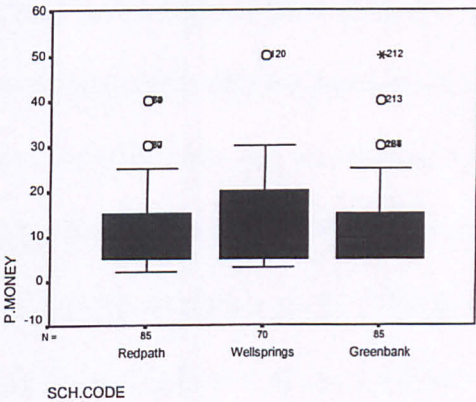
It is surprising that no significant difference was found between the pupils from each school concerning how much money they had to spend. Currie et al. (1990), when conducting a survey with Scottish schoolchildren aged 11 to 16, found that those pupils from more affluent backgrounds were more likely than those from less affluent backgrounds to have a lower disposable income. However, for the pupils aged 15 years old, Currie et al. only found a correlation between father's occupation and the amount of spending money a pupil had; no correlation was found between

family affluence (which was based on the number of telephones and the numbers of cars in the pupil's household, and whether or not the pupil had his/her own bedroom) and the amount of spending money a 15 year old pupil received. In addition, Currie et al.'s sample was a mixed sex sample and there may be a difference between the factors which influence the amount of spending money a young woman has and how much money a young man has.

Information concerning the pupils' ethnicity, religious affiliation and religiosity was also gathered. No significant differences were found between the pupils from each school on the basis of these variables. 98 per cent of the pupils taking part in the study were white; 55.2 per cent were Protestant, 6.5 per cent were Catholic and 33.9 per cent stated they had no religion; 21.7 per cent described themselves as 'very religious'/'religious', 25.5 per cent were 'unsure' and 52.5 per cent were 'not religious'/'not religious at all'. The age of each pupil was also sought and again no significant difference was found; the average age of a Redpath pupil was 15.6 years old, for a Wellsprings pupil it was 15.6, and for a Greenbank pupil it was 15.5. As the sample selected was by school year group, there was limited age range within it. For this reason, no investigation in differences between the pupils by their chronological age was undertaken. Details of how the pupils were selected are given in Chapter Four on page 169.

Therefore, although significant differences were found between pupils from different schools concerning their social class and deprivation scores, housing

situations and levels of parental surveillance, no significant differences were found when focusing on the amount of money the pupils had to spend or when considering their ethnicity, religious affiliation, religiosity and average age. This 'mixture' of situations could explain why, although the literature has indicated that women from different socio-economic backgrounds differ in terms of their levels of personal confidence and the extent to which they believe they can alter their current and future situations (Kane 1987), there was little difference between the pupils from each school concerning such factors.

5.4) *The pupils' personal confidence and perceived control*

The level of control each pupil felt she had over her current and future situations was assessed by asking her to indicate on a 4 point scale the extent to which she agreed or disagreed with the following statements: 'I like myself'; 'I am a failure'; 'I am certain that luck plays a crucial role in life'; 'I am totally responsible for my own behaviour'; 'There is a direct connection between how hard I work and how well I do'; and finally, 'A person's social background effects the opportunities they have in life'. Factor analysis reduced the dimensionality of the data gathered in response to these six statements to two factors. One of the factors created was taken as reflecting the pupils' level of personal confidence. This factor included the data gathered in response to the first two statements concerning how the individual felt about herself, and in response to the statements 'I am totally responsible for my own

behaviour' and 'There is a direct connection between how hard I work and how well I do'. Thus, the other factor created incorporated the data gathered in response to the statements 'I am certain that luck plays a crucial role in life' and 'A person's social background effects the opportunities they have in life'. This second factor was taken as reflecting the extent to which the pupils felt they could control their current situation and future roles.

Charts 5 and 6 show the mean scores and 95 per cent confidence intervals for pupils attending each of the schools, in relation to each of these factors. No significant differences were found when comparing the mean scores for the pupils in each school, for each of these factors.

Chart 5 *Pupils' level of personal confidence*
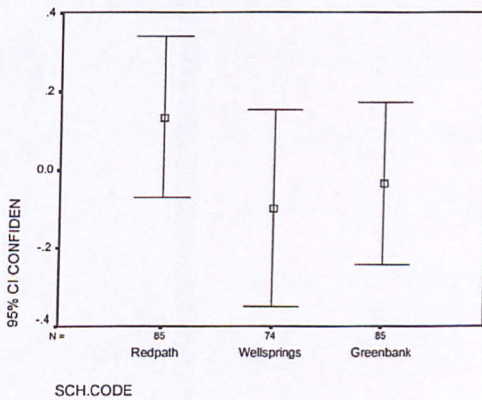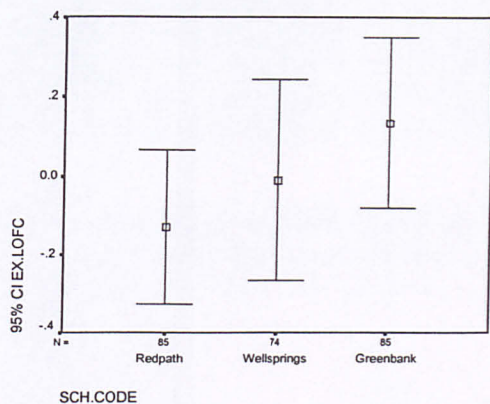*(Mean score and 95% confidence intervals noted. High score = confident)*

Chart 6 *Pupils' perceived ability to control current and future situations*
(Mean score and 95% confidence intervals noted. High score = feeling of control)

5.5) *The pupils' social networks and peer interactions*

It was clear that pupils from each of the schools had relatively few friends who were attending a different school or had left school (table 24 and charts 7 and 8). Thus, indirectly, the fact that the school setting is the main arena in which young people make friendships and establish peer networks (Cotterell 1996) was implied. It is interesting to note, that the Redpath pupils had a significantly greater proportion of friends at another school than the Wellsprings pupils (p < 0.05), and a significantly smaller proportion of friends who had left school than both the Wellsprings pupils and the Greenbank pupils (p < 0.05, p < 0.01). No such differences were found between the state school pupils.

Table 24 *Proportion of the pupils' friends who were at another school, and the proportion of the pupils' friends who had left school*
(Mean score and standard deviations noted; 1 = none, 3 = half, 5 = all)

Variable	Redpath (n = 86)	Wellsprings (n = 75)	Greenbank (n = 86)	Overall (n = 247)
Another school	2.26 (0.69)	1.97 (0.73)	2.09 (0.73)	2.11 (0.72)
Left school	1.81(0.58)	2.08 (0.82)	2.13(0.74)	2.00 (0.73)

Chart 7 *Proportion of the pupils' friends who were at another school (Mean scores and 95 per cent confidence intervals noted. Scale: 1 = none, 3 = half, 5 = all)*
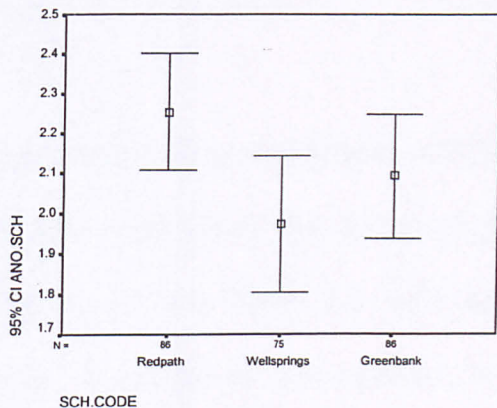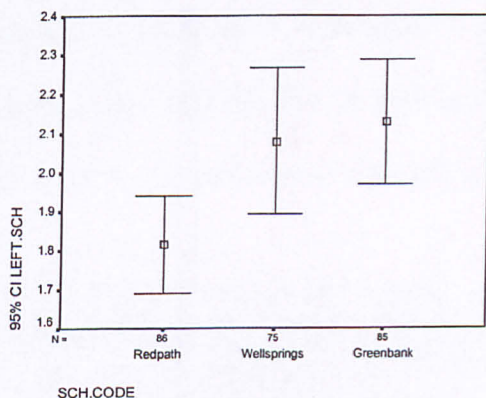

Chart 8 *Proportion of the pupils' friends who had left school (Mean scores and 95 per cent confidence intervals noted. Scale: 1 = none, 3 = half, 5 = all)*

The difference between the Redpath pupils and the Wellsprings pupils concerning the proportion of friends they had at another school could relate to the fore mentioned point that state school pupils are drawn from certain catchment areas,

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whereas private school pupils may commute from various geographical locations (page 260). The difference between the Redpath pupils versus the Wellsprings pupils and the Greenbank pupils, concerning the proportion of friends who had left school, could be a reflection of the fact that the staying on rates for pupils in private education are higher than those recorded for pupils in state school education (Roker 1991).

In addition to asking what proportion of the pupils' friends were at another school, and what proportion of their friends had left school, pupils were also asked what proportion of their friends were male and what proportion of their friends were female. In response to these questions most of the pupils in each school indicated that more than half of their friends were female, and under half of their friends were male (table 25 and charts 9 and 10). Thus, there appeared to be little difference between the pupils from each school in relation to either of these questions, and there was some indication of the tendency for young people to form friendships with individuals of the same sex (Thorne 1993).

Table 25 *Composition of friendship groups according to sex of friend*
(Mean score and standard deviation noted. Scale: 1 = none, 3 = half, 5 = all)

Sex of friend	Redpath (n = 86)	Wellsprings (n = 76)	Greenbank (n = 86)	Overall (n = 248)
Female	3.64 (0.54)	3.33 (0.67)	3.42 (0.60)	3.45 (0.60)
Male	2.40 (0.56)	2.95 (0.70)	2.71 (0.62)	2.66 (0.63)

Chart 9 *Proportion of the pupils' friends who are female (Mean scores and 95 per cent confidence intervals noted. Scale: 1 = none, 3 = half, 5 = all)*
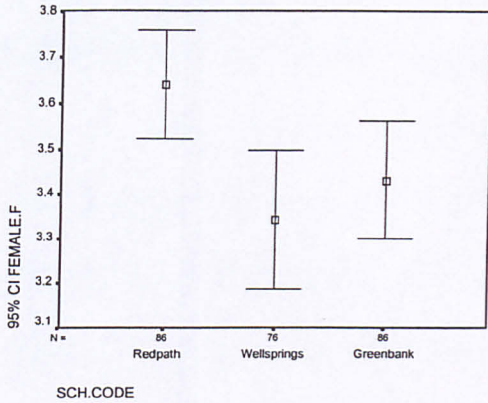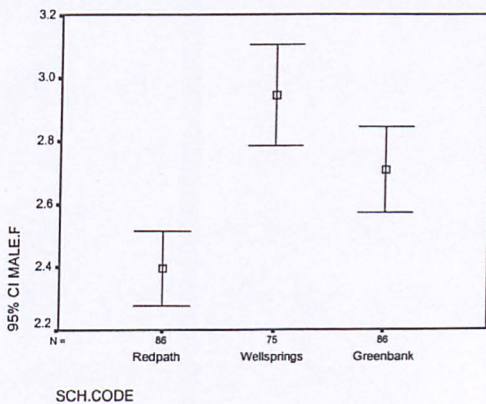

Chart 10 *Proportion of the pupils' friends who are male (Mean scores and 95 per cent confidence intervals noted. Scale: 1 = none, 3 = half, 5 = all)*


However, on a more detailed analysis it was evident that, compared to the Greenbank pupils and the Wellsprings pupils, the Redpath pupils had a significantly greater proportion of friends who were female ($p = 0.02$, $p < 0.01$) and a significantly smaller proportion of friends who were male ($p < 0.01$, $p < 0.01$). The fact that the Redpath pupils differed from the state school pupils in terms of both the proportion of friends who were female, and the proportion of friends who were male, may relate to the negative relationship which existed between these two

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variables (r = -0.71, p = 0.01). Yet, when comparing the Wellsprings pupils' and the Greenbank pupils' answers it was apparent that, whilst there was no significant difference between the state school pupils concerning the proportion of their friends who were female, it was evident that the Wellsprings pupils had a significantly greater proportion of friends who were male (p < 0.05). The implications such differences had for the pupils' views and behaviours are detailed later in this chapter. At this stage what is interesting to note is that such differences existed, even though all the pupils involved in the study attended co-educational schools.

In order gain some insight into the pupils' social lives, each pupil who completed a questionnaire was asked to indicate on a 5 point scale how often she spent time with friends outside of school hours, and on a 4 point scale how difficult or easy she found it to make new friends. Factor analysis combined the answers the pupils gave to each of these questions to create a new variable. This variable was taken as indicating how sociable a pupil was.

When using a 2 sided t-test to compare the pupils' mean scores for this factor, it was apparent that the Redpath pupils were significantly less sociable than the Wellsprings pupils and the Greenbank pupils (p < 0.01 in both cases) (chart 11). No such difference was found between the Wellsprings pupils and the Greenbank pupils.

Chart 11 *Extent to which the pupils were sociable*
(Mean score and 95% confidence intervals noted. High score = sociable)
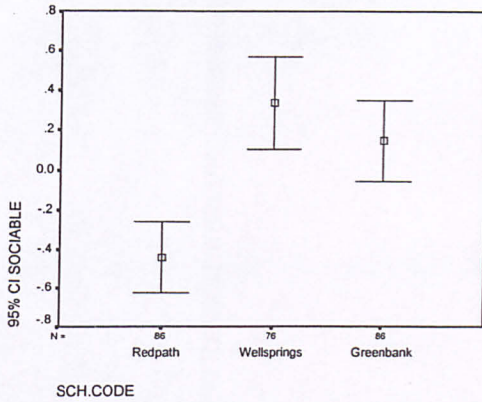
Therefore, the Redpath pupils differed from the other pupils in terms of the proportion of their friends who had left school, the proportion of their friends who were female, the proportion of their friends who were male, and the extent to which they, themselves, were sociable. They also differed from the Wellsprings pupils in relation to the proportion of their friends who were at another school. The state school pupils only varied from one another on the basis of the proportion of their friends who were male.

So far the school setting has been considered in terms of an arena in which friendships are made and experienced. Yet, the school setting is also the main arena in which a young person will clarify his/her future goals and develop an academic identity (Cotterell 1996). In addition, whilst peers become an increasingly important influence on a young person's attitudes and behaviour (Moore and Rosenthal 1993), it is through the relationships an individual has with his/her peers

and with his/her teachers that determines the career and life path an individual will eventually take (Cotterell 1996).

5.6) *School, teachers, and expectations about the future*

Six of the questions in the questionnaire gathered information on the pupils' views of their school and teachers. These questions asked pupils to indicate on a 5 point scale the extent to which they agreed with the following statements: 'I like school'; 'When I get a chance I skip school'; 'Teachers in my school never trust us to organise things'; 'Teachers in my school treat pupils with respect'; 'Teachers in my school value getting good marks above all else'; and finally, 'Teachers in my school think a girl's education is just as important as a boy's education'. Factor analysis reduced the dimensionality of the data gathered in response to these statements to created two new factors. The first factor created was taken as reflecting the extent to which the pupils enjoyed school as it included how much the pupils' liked school, would skip school if they could, and believed that their teachers valued getting good marks above all else. The second factor incorporated the data gathered by the other three questions and was taken as reflecting how the pupils believed their teachers viewed them and the importance of their education.

When observing charts 12 and 13 it is evident that the Redpath pupils enjoyed school the most, whereas the Greenbank pupils were the pupils most likely to

believe that their teachers trusted them and valued a girl's education. No significant correlation was found between these two factors and this could explain why different groups of pupils ranked highest on each of these factors.

The fact that there was no relationship between these two factors may seem strange. However, a young person's view of his/her schooling is influenced both by his/her experience of education and the extent to which he/she views school as a social setting. For example, while interviewing young women aged between 15 and 16, Lees (1986) found that an individual could be academically orientated but anti school, or vice versa. Lees concluded that this situation had occurred because an individual may not enjoy the academic aspect of school but may still enjoy the social aspect of this setting.

Chart 12 *Extent to which the pupils enjoyed school*
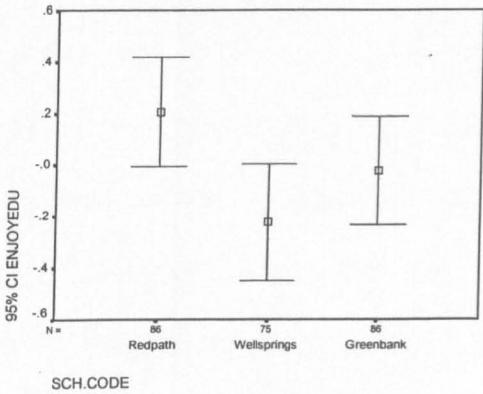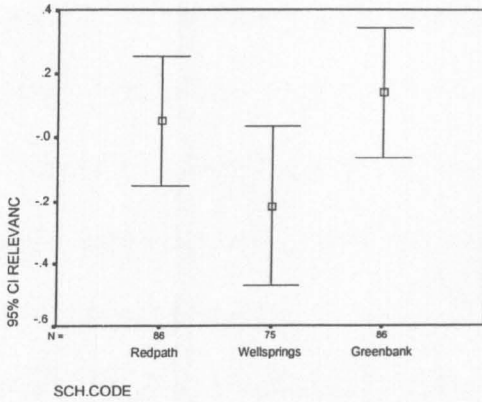*(Mean score and 95% confidence intervals noted. High score = enjoyed)*

Chart 13 *Extent to which the pupils believed their teachers trusted them and valued a girl's education (Mean score and 95% confidence intervals noted. High score = trusted and valued)*

Although the Redpath pupils appeared to enjoy school more than the Wellsprings pupils and the Greenbank pupils, this difference was only significant between the Redpath pupils and the Wellsprings pupils ($p < 0.01$). The only significant difference to be found between the pupils concerning the extent to which they felt their teachers trusted them and valued a girl's education occurred between the Greenbank pupils and the Wellsprings pupils ($p < 0.05$).

The difference found between the Redpath pupils and the Wellsprings pupils concerning the extent to which they enjoy school would appear to be in keeping with the literature. Furlong and Cartmel (1997) and Sharpe (1976) argue that young women from relatively deprived backgrounds are less likely than young women from relatively affluent backgrounds to enjoy school. Sharpe (1976) suggests that this situation is because young women from relatively deprived backgrounds have greater ambitions than women from more affluent backgrounds for marriage and motherhood and, subsequently, are less educationally orientated.

Certainly, the Wellsprings pupils were significantly more likely than the Redpath pupils to expect that they would have a child in four years time ($p < 0.01$). However, there was no significant difference between the pupils from each school concerning the extent to which they agreed with the statements 'Every woman wants to become a mother' and 'The role of motherhood is valued by society'. In addition, there was no significant difference between the Redpath pupils and the Wellsprings pupils concerning the extent to which they expected they would be in a steady relationship in four years time. Furthermore, when multivariate regression was undertaken on the factors which reflected the Wellsprings pupils' enjoyment of school, there was no evidence to suggest that this enjoyment was influenced by a Wellsprings pupil's expectation regarding whether she would be a mother in four years time, or by the extent to which the pupil was willing to consider teenage motherhood. Thus, here, there was no evidence to suggest that young women from relatively deprived backgrounds are more likely than young women from relatively affluent backgrounds to yearn for motherhood, or to indicate that a young woman's view of motherhood or personal relationships has a significant or independent influence on her enjoyment of school. However, later on page 283 it will be noted that the Redpath pupils were significantly more likely than the Wellsprings pupils to expect that they would go on to some form of further education. As a young woman's attitude towards her education is influenced by her perceptions of the relative value of school in terms of future careers (Furlong and Cartmel 1997), it is possible that the Redpath pupils enjoyed school more than the Wellsprings pupils

because they viewed their education as an important determinant of their future plans.

The pupils' views concerning what they would be doing in the near future were explored by asking each pupil to indicate on a 5 point scale the likelihood of her being, in four years time, 'in a secure job', 'living with a boyfriend/husband', 'in a training scheme', 'at a college or university', 'in a steady relationship with someone' or 'have a child/children'. As the pupils' answers were taken as reflecting their views concerning the likelihood of them being in each of these situations in four years time, they were taken as indicating the pupils' expectations concerning their future involvement in each of these roles. The mean scores and standard deviations for the pupils' responses to each of these questions are detailed in table 26.

Table 26 *Expectations concerning certain situations and social roles (Mean scores and standard deviations noted. Scale: 1 = very likely, 3 = unsure, 5 = very unlikely)*[10]

Situation being considered	Redpath (n = 85)	Wellsprings (n = 76)	Greenbank (n = 86)
Will be at college or university	1.40 (0.67)	2.28 (1.09)	2.29 (1.24)
Will be employed	3.16 (0.88)	2.46 (0.92)	2.65 (0.92)
Will be in a youth training scheme	3.71 (0.84)	3.64 (0.84)	3.59 (0.90)
Will have a child	4.39 (0.79)	3.76 (1.15)	4.09 (1.00)
Will be in a steady relationship	2.33 (0.68)	2.18 (0.92)	2.50 (0.85)
Will be living with a boyfriend or husband	3.37 (0.96)	2.80 (0.99)	3.28 (0.93)

Taking mean scores as indicative of the pupils' expectations, three main comments can be made. First, in general, pupils from each school expected that, in four years time, they would be in some form of further education. Second, pupils from each school did not, in general, expect to be in a youth training scheme or to have a child.

Third, in general, pupils from each school were unsure about whether they would be living with a boyfriend or husband. Before going on to discuss whether any significant differences existed between the expectations held by pupils in each of the schools, it should be noted that factor analysis was undertaken on the data collected in response to each of these questions. This led to the pupils' answers concerning the likelihood of them being in a steady relationship being combined with those concerning the likelihood of them cohabiting. It was this new variable which was considered when comparing the pupils' expectations of their future personal relations.

The Redpath pupils were significantly more likely than the Wellsprings pupils and the Greenbank pupils to expect that they would be at college or university in four years time, and were significantly less likely than the Wellsprings pupils and the Greenbank pupils to expect that they would be employed in four years time ($p <$ 0.01 in all four cases). There were no significant differences between the Wellsprings pupils and the Greenbank pupils concerning either of these situations (charts 14 and 15). There was no difference between the expectations held by pupils from each school concerning their future involvement a youth training scheme.

Chart 14 *Likelihood of being in some form of further education*
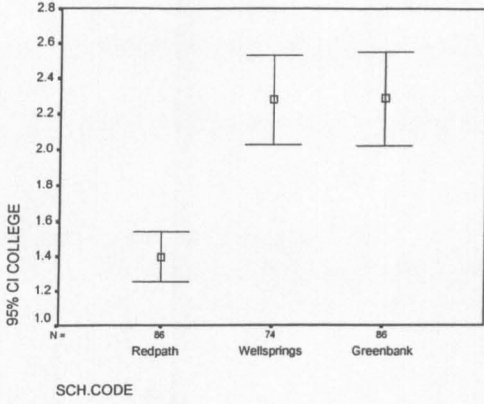*(Mean score and 95% confidence intervals noted. Low score = likely)*

Chart 15 *Likelihood of being employed*
(Mean score and 95% confidence intervals noted. Low score = likely)
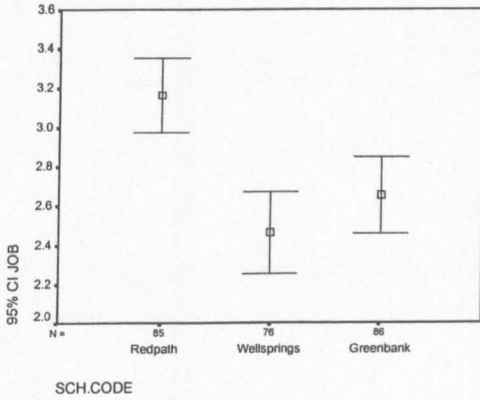
The Redpath pupils were significantly less likely than the Wellsprings pupils and the Greenbank pupils to expect that they would have a child in four years time ($p < 0.01$, $p < 0.05$). Despite this finding, there were no significant differences between the Redpath pupils versus the Wellsprings pupils and the Greenbank pupils concerning their expectations of being in a steady relationship in four years time. When comparing the data collected from the Wellsprings pupils and the Greenbank pupils, it was evident that there was no significant difference between the Wellsprings pupils' and the Greenbank pupils' expectations regarding whether they

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would have a child in four years time (chart 16). However, the Wellsprings pupils were significantly more likely than the Greenbank pupils to expect that they would be in a steady relationship in four years time (p < 0.01) (chart 17).

Chart 16 *Likelihood of having a child*
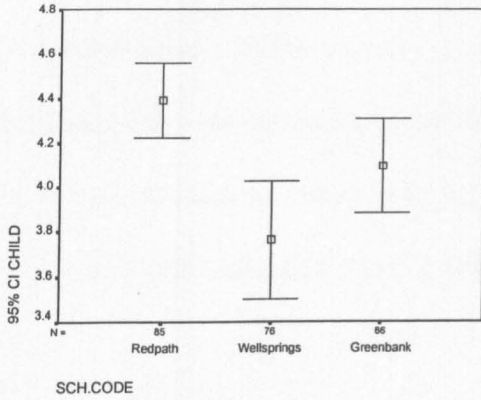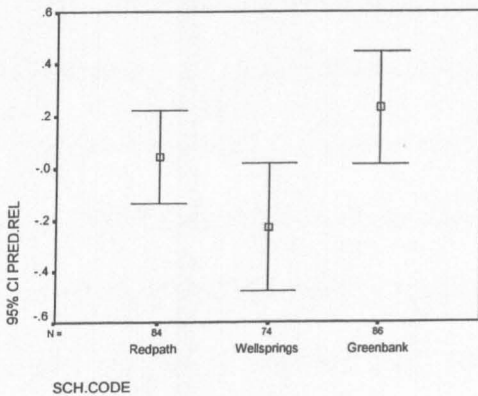 *(Mean score and 95% confidence intervals noted. Low score = likely)*

Chart 17 *Likelihood of being in a stable relationship (Low score = likely)*

Earlier on page 283 it was noted that the Redpath pupils were significantly more likely than the Wellsprings pupils and the Greenbank pupils to expect that they would be in some form of further education in four years time. This finding was

taken as suggesting that the Redpath pupils were academically more ambitious than the state school pupils. With this point in mind, it is perhaps not surprising to note that the Redpath pupils were significantly less likely than the other pupils to expect that they would be mothers in four years time. The fact that no difference existed between the Redpath pupils and the state school pupils concerning expected relationship status could be because women, even professional women, may define their identity in terms of their relations with men rather than work (Gilligan 1982). It could also be because young women from all social backgrounds seek romance and personal relationships (McRobbie 1991).

As, so far, few significant differences have been found between the Greenbank pupils and the Wellsprings pupils, it is surprising to note that the Greenbank pupils and the Wellsprings pupils differed in their expectations concerning the likelihood of them being in a steady relationship. Yet on page 276 it was noted that the Wellsprings pupils had a significantly greater proportion of friends who were male than the Greenbank pupils, and this finding does indicate a greater level of social interaction between the sexes among the Wellsprings pupils compared to the Greenbank pupils. In addition, when analysing the data which had been collected elsewhere in the questionnaire, it was apparent that the Greenbank pupils were significantly less likely than the Wellsprings pupils to agree with the statement 'Its much more grown up to have a boyfriend' ($p = 0.01$).

In order to explore how the pupils' expectations concerning each situation were related, the answers given by pupils in the same school to each question were correlated. The results of this analysis are detailed in tables 27, 28, and 29. The data gathered on the extent to which the pupils enjoyed school, believed their teachers trusted them and valued their education, and the proportion of their friends who were at another school or had left school, were also felt to be relevant. Hence, they were also correlated and have been noted below.

Table 27 *Redpath pupils' expectations*

	Further Education	Employed	Training Scheme	Steady Relationship	Living with Partner	With a Child	Enjoys School	View of teachers	Friends at another school	Friends who have left school
Further Education		-.110	-.129	.042	-.159	-.188	.285^{xx}	.153	-.101	-.128
Employed			.069	.141	.393^{xx}	.347^{xx}	-.245^{x}	-.151	.121	-.020
Training Scheme				.094	.095	.076	-.083	-.104	.077	-.083
Steady Relationship					.188	.065	-.058	.008	.003	.114
Living with Partner						.322^{xx}	-.057	-.095	.040	.079
With a Child							-.084	-.178	.163	.208
Enjoys School								.033	.030	.101
View of teachers									-.198	-.062
Friends at another school										.144

^{xx}2 sided p < 0.01, ^{x}2 sided p < 0.05

Table 28 *Wellsprings pupils' expectations*

	Further Education	Employed	Training Scheme	Steady Relationship	Living with Partner	With a Child	Enjoys School	View of teachers	Friends at another school	Friends who have left school
Further Education		-.337^{xx}	-.125	.167	-.217	-.385^{xx}	.208	.210	.049	-.263^{x}
Employed			.169	.249^{x}	.420^{xx}	.369^{xx}	-.331^{xx}	-.328^{xx}	-.003	.009
Training Scheme				.098	.091	.090	-.332^{xx}	-.143	.094	.168
Steady Relationship					.511^{xx}	.265^{x}	-.121	-.106	.019	.184
Living with Partner						.558^{xx}	-.087	-.234^{x}	-.028	.287^{x}
With a Child							-.250^{x}	-.182	.047	.150
Enjoys School								.002	-.058	-.247^{x}
View of teachers									.006	-.044
Friends at another school										-.041

^{xx}2 sided p < 0.01, ^{x}2 sided p < 0.05

Table 29 *Greenbank pupils' expectations*

	Further Education	Employed	Training Scheme	Steady Relationship	Living with Partner	With a Child	Enjoys School	View of teachers	Friends at another school	Friends who have left school
Further Education		-.438[xx]	-.266[x]	.033	-.182	-.319[xx]	.425[xx]	.132	-.031	-.251[x]
Employed			.261[x]	.246[x]	.205	.109	-.257[x]	.005	-.128	-.105
Training Scheme				.107	.137	.106	-.062	-.094	.059	.095
Steady Relationship					.415[xx]	.191	.150	.044	-.093	-.008
Living with Partner						.518[xx]	.041	-.075	-.015	.105
With a Child							-.100	-.029	-.030	.077
Enjoys School								-.103	.038	-.199
View of teachers									-.099	-.061
Friends at another school										-.236[x]

[xx]2 sided p < 0.01, [x]2 sided p < 0.05

The correlations noted in the above tables highlight a number of significant associations. When focusing on the pupils' expectations concerning the likelihood of them being in some form of further education in four years time it is apparent that, for the Redpath pupils and the Greenbank pupils, the more a pupil enjoyed school, the more likely she was to expect that she would be in some form of further education. However, for the Greenbank and Wellsprings pupils, the more a pupil expected she would be a mother in four years time, and the more a pupil expected she would be employed, the less likely she was to expect that she would be in some form of further education in four years time.

Among the state school pupils it also evident that the greater proportion of the pupils friends who had left school, the less likely the pupil was to expect that she would go on to some form of further education. If such friends had left school in order to enter employment rather than attend some form of further education, this

relationship may be the result of friends acting as role models and encouraging their friends to enter employment rather than continue with their studies. The final relationship to be noted with respect to the pupils' expectations concerning college or university was evident among the Greenbank pupils' data. This relationship indicated that the more a pupil expected she would be in some training scheme in four years time, the less likely she was to expect that she would be attending some form of further education.

When taking an overview of these relationships, two main themes emerge. First, for the Greenbank pupils and the Redpath pupils it is clear that the more a pupil enjoyed school, the greater her expectation was that she would be in some form of further education in four years time. Second, that for the Wellsprings pupils and the Greenbank pupils there was a significant negative correlation between the expectation of going on to some form of further education with both the expectation of being a mother and the expectation of being employed in four years time. This suggests that the state school pupils who expected to go on to some form of further education, also expected that they would remain relatively free of personal commitments and other responsibilities. Interestingly, in contrast and in all three schools, it appeared that pupils who expected that they would be employed in four years time, expected they would also have other commitments.

For the Redpath pupils and the Wellsprings pupils, the more a pupil expected she would be employed in four years time, the more likely she was to expect that she

would be living with a partner. For these pupils there was also a positive relationship between the expectation of being employed and the expectation of being a mother. For the Wellsprings pupils and the Greenbank pupils there was a positive relationship between the expectation of being employed and the expectation of being in a steady relationship in four years time. Interestingly, the more a Greenbank pupil expected that she would be employed in four years time, the more likely she was to expect that she would be in some form of training scheme. This positive relationship implies that the Greenbank pupils believed they would be able to combine work and training; an expectation which perhaps reflects the practical image of the training schemes available to young people.

For pupils in each school, it was evident that the less a pupil enjoyed school, the more likely she was to expect that she would be employed in four years time. Among the Wellsprings pupils the importance of school on their expectations concerning future employment status was also evident by the fact that the less a pupil believed her teachers trusted her and valued a girl's education, the more likely she was to expect that she would be working in four years time. Noting these relationships, and recalling that a positive correlation had existed between the Redpath pupils' and Greenbank pupils' enjoyment of school and their expectations regarding their future involvement in further education, it would appear that among the pupils, there was a divide between those who enjoyed school and expected to go on to some from of further education, and those who did not enjoy school and expected to leave school and go straight into some form of employment.

Considering on page 290 it was suggested that a pupil may view training and employment as compatible experiences, the idea of a pupil who does not enjoy school, leaving school in order to enter the world of paid employment was also evident in the Wellsprings pupils' data. This is because on analysing these data it was apparent that the less a Wellsprings pupil enjoyed school, the more likely she was to expect that she would be involved in a training scheme in four years time.

Moving on to consider how the pupils' expectations concerning personal relationships and social roles related to one another, it was evident that for pupils in each school, the more a pupil expected she would be living with a partner, the more likely she was to expect that she would be a mother in four years time. Among the Wellsprings pupils it was also clear that the more a pupil expected she would be in a steady relationship, the more likely she was to expect that she would be a mother. To some degree each of these relationships suggest that pupils in each of the schools viewed motherhood as a role which should be entered within a stable relationship.

Finally it is worth noting that there was no significant correlation between having friends at another school and the pupils' expectations concerning their future roles. However, it is evident that the greater the proportion of a Wellsprings pupil's friends who had left school, the less the pupil enjoyed school and the less likely she was to expect that she would go on to some form of further education. The first relationship suggests that the friendships an individual experiences at school may

increase her enjoyment of this setting. Possible reasons for the second relationship have already been discussed on page 288.

One of the key themes to emerge when considering the pupils' expectations of their futures was that enjoyment of school encouraged an interest in further education. As it was noted on page 280 that the Redpath pupils enjoyed school more than the Greenbank pupils and significantly more than the Wellsprings pupils, this relationship could explain why these pupils were more likely than the Wellsprings pupils and the Greenbank pupils to expect that they would be in some form of further education in four years time (page 283). Interestingly, the qualitative data collected during the discussion groups may suggest another reason for the Redpath pupils' greater academic orientation.

The view that parents expected their child to go on to university and succeed academically was expressed by some of the Redpath participants:

> 'My parents just expect that I am going to go to university, they wouldn't think to ask me if I want to leave after my standard grades.' (S)
> 'She (a girl in their year who was leaving at the end of in 4th year) has a different background though.' (H) (2nd Redpath discussion group)

> '...you would feel guilty (if you became pregnant) because your mum and dad are putting you in this school because they want you to do well, and if that happened it would sort of ruin it for them as well as you.' (T)
> 'Yea.' (group) (2nd Redpath discussion group)

This view was not expressed during any of the discussions held in the state schools. Actually, based on the views expressed by two of the state school participants, it appeared that they viewed university as a place which 'others' attended:

> 'How would you feel if you got pregnant?' (KT)
> 'You won't be young any more and have other responsibilities, being a mother and thinking of the things you might have done if you hadn't had a baby. Going off to university, that's if.... *some people can do that*. You won't be able to go out with your pals.' (C) (2nd Greenbank discussion group)

> 'How would becoming a mother affect your future plans?' (KT)
> 'I think it would be hard because *if you wanted to* go to university, it would be harder.' (C) (2nd Wellsprings discussion group)

Young middle class women may be under greater pressure than young working class women to succeed academically (Lucey as cited in Rattansi and Phoenix 1998), and middle class parents are more likely than working class parents to want their children to go to university (Griffin 1985). Thus, it may have been the case that the Redpath participants' views of their futures were influenced by the expectations of their parents, while the state school participants' views of their futures were influenced by their own perceptions of the opportunities they had available to them. This first point reflects Lucey's (as cited in Rattansi and Phoenix 1998) observation that middle class culture, like working class culture, imposes constraints upon the opportunities an individual will have. The second point, to some extent, relates to Skeggs's (1997) comment that working class women experience class in terms of exclusion as they do not have access to economic resources and cultural ways to be anything other than working class.

The Wellsprings and Greenbank participants did not comment whether they felt

they had fewer educational opportunities than other women of their age. However,

the participants taking part in the second Redpath discussion did appear to realise

such exclusion could exist and that they were perhaps under greater pressure than

their state school peers to succeed academically:

> 'You are expected to stay on.' (A)
> 'The thought of not doing Highers.' (S)
> 'In any other schools done by the Government like practically half the people leave after 4th year and go to do jobs. I know its stereotypical but like go into a hairdresser, you know what I mean?' (T)
> 'Yea.' (group)
> 'And here you are just expected, its the very little minority that do leave after 4th year.' (T)
> 'Yea.' (S)
> 'So do you think school and parents put pressure on?' (KT)
> 'Yes.' (group)
> 'Your parents are more likely to want you to be happy but the school is more.' (A)
> 'If I said to my parents I wanted to leave after 4th year they would be like, "What?", they wouldn't expect it but if I really wanted to they would let me but they would be a lot more upset and shocked than someone else's parents.' (S)
> 'School is definitely much more pressure on doing well.' (A)
> 'Because we have been given lots of different choices about 5th and 6th year but it has never even been talked about the choice of leaving and going to a college.' (T)
> 'Yea.' (group)
> 'No one even mentioned it.' (A)
> 'I don't think they do it to pressurise, I just think they are used to having hardly anyone that leaves. They wouldn't really think, you know what I mean.' (S)
> 'That is like my friends at (named a state school in Edinburgh) they are all expected to leave, they encourage them to leave if they don't get a certain number of, they add up their scores and their standard grades and if they don't get over a certain mark they don't let them do Highers and basically send them to college part time. Like my friend didn't want to go and she was like given all the brochures and pointed out all the courses she could do and she was like "No, I want to stay at school".' (F) (2nd Redpath discussion group)

This relatively long quote has been reproduced because, in addition to illustrating how some of the Redpath participants viewed their own situation and the situation of others, it also indicates the tendency for private schools to encourage pupils to be ambitious and future orientated in terms of academic success and career planning (Roker 1994). It also reveals that some of the Redpath participants felt they were not only under pressure from their parents to do well but also from their teachers.

Interestingly, comments made by some of the participants quoted in the above extract imply that they felt their teachers placed greater emphasis than their parents did, on the importance of academic success. In light of this it is worth noting that Roker (1991), when interviewing young women attending a private school and young women attending a state school, found that the privately educated pupils differed significantly from the state educated pupils in terms of academic achievements, university ambitions and knowledge of future career choices. Such differences were found even though pupils in each school were from similar socio-economic backgrounds. Hence, as Roker concluded, it would appear that the priorities and values which exist within a school may have a greater impact on an individual's future and views than her home and family life.

Neither the pupils nor the participants were asked to specifically define which occupations they intended to embark upon. However, earlier on page 283 it was noted that the Redpath pupils were significantly more likely than the Wellsprings

pupils and the Greenbank pupils to expect that they would be at college or university in four years time. Indirectly, this finding suggests that the Redpath pupils were aiming for more professional careers than the state school pupils. Interestingly, when analysing the discussion group data, it was apparent that whilst the state school participants tended to talk in terms of having a career, some of the Redpath participants talked in terms of having a 'huge career plan', and wanting a 'good' career and a 'decent' job. In addition, when considering the impact early motherhood would have on their future plans, the Redpath participants were more likely than the Wellsprings participants and the Greenbank participants to express the view that their career plans would be ruined and not simply postponed or changed:

'How would early motherhood affect your future plans?' (KT)
'It would just ruin them.' (A)
'It depends what your plans are.' (C)
'And it depends if you marry the boyfriend or something.' (S)
'Some people just have plans just to be a mother and get married and be a housewife.' (L)
'It would ruin my plans.' (T)
'If it was me personally, it would ruin them.' (A)
'I think it would ruin the plans of most people in this school.'
'Yes because we are expected to do something.' (C)
'You would probably get chucked out of this school.' (F)
'Yea.' (group)
'Which would mean you wouldn't be able to finish your education and you wouldn't be able to go to university which is what I want to do, so you wouldn't be able to get a decent job.' (F)
'A decent job.' (A)
'I want to have a career and a life before I have children.' (C) (2nd Redpath discussion group)

'What about your future plans. Do you think it (early motherhood) would affect your future?'
'Aye.' (group)

'Because you wouldnae get to do what you wanted to do.' (B)

'No.' (BH)

'Well you could still have a career and that.' (B)

'You could still have a career.' (BH)

'But just may be no what you wanted.' (B)

'But may be not as quick as you wanted. Postpone it just for a couple of years until the wean is up and at school and that. I mean you have got all your life.' (C) (1st Greenbank discussion group)

'How do you think it (early motherhood) would affect your long term plans?' (KT)

'Your career.' (3 voices)

'I have not thought that far ahead.' (PT)

'Ok, you three said your career.' (KT)

'Aye, I say that too...' (S)

'And you think it would affect your long term plans?' (KT)

'Not really no.' (PT)

'So you don't have any plans'? (KT)

'Not too much no.' (PT)

'And you two?' (KT)

'I don't know. If you had the wean now then may be, when you want to start a career say when you are 20 then eventually when it was going to school you would be able to have a 9 to 5 job anyway because it would be at school. So, it wouldnae really affect you that much.' (F)

'I would just take each day as it came.' (S)

'In a couple of weeks anyway I am going to start work so, but if I was to have a wean I would be able to go back to it really easily.' (PT)

'Do you know want you are going to do?' (KT)

'Aye, be a hairdresser.' (PT) (1st Wellsprings discussion group)

Therefore, analysis of the questionnaire data had shown that the Redpath pupils were significantly more likely than the Wellsprings pupils and the Greenbank pupils to expect that they would in some form of further education in four years time. This finding, indirectly, was taken to imply that the Redpath pupils were aiming for more professional careers necessitating academic qualifications. Interestingly, based on the language used during the discussions and the manner in which the participants described how early motherhood would affect their futures, it appeared that the

Redpath participants were more vocationally ambitious than the state school participants. Yet, even though there were differences between the Redpath pupils versus the Wellsprings pupils and the Greenbank pupils' educational expectations, it should be recalled that the mean scores noted in table 26 (page 282) for the pupils' expectations concerning their involvement in further education indicated that, overall, pupils from each school expected it was likely that they would go on to college or university. Thus, it could have been the case that most of the pupils in each school were aiming for such careers. In addition, whilst the Redpath participants appeared more vocationally ambitious than the Wellsprings participants and Greenbank participants, as the above quotes illustrate, there was evidence to support Lees's (1986) observation that young women from different socio-economic backgrounds may talk in terms of having a career. This could relate to the fact that young women are no longer solely seen in terms of being a wife and mother but also as future workers (McRobbie 1991).

Considering the Redpath participants appeared more vocationally ambitious than the state school participants, it was interesting to note that participants in each school held similar views towards motherhood and the context in which they thought they would enter this role.

5.7) *The participants' views of motherhood and marriage*

When asked in what context they thought they would enter motherhood, most of the participants stated that they would probably be in their late twenties or early thirties, in a stable relationship or married, and have completed their education and established a career. It appeared that some of the Redpath, Greenbank and Wellsprings participants felt it would be their situation rather than their age which was important, as they made comments which suggested that they had calculated their expected age on the basis on when they thought they would be in a stable relationship or have a career. This point is illustrated by the following quote:

> 'What kind of age or what kind of context do you think of, when do you think you will have children?' (KT)
> 'I want to have them after I have got a career, if you know what I mean, when I am older, 28 or something.' (RH)
> 'So late 20s.' (KT)
> 'Yea, that's when I plan to have children.' (RH)
> 'What about the rest of you?' (KT)
> 'I would say about the same.' (group)
> 'So do you see it after you have ...' (KT)
> 'Done everything I have wanted to do.' (B)
> 'Ok, and what kind of relationship will you be in?' (KT)
> 'Hopefully a steady relationship, married.' (RH)
> 'Married.' (2nd Greenbank discussion group)

The participants were not asked to explain why they thought they would have a career when entering motherhood. However, within each school, throughout the discussions which focused on motherhood and early motherhood, some of the participants made reference to how they felt the responsibility of motherhood could reduce a woman's social life and opportunity to focus on her own needs. Thus,

some of the participants appeared to view motherhood as a role which curtailed a woman's freedom and this, in turn, may have meant that they felt it was important that a woman established her career prior to becoming a mother. The idea of motherhood curtailing a woman's ability to work reflects the dominant reproductive ideologies which suggest a conflictual model of employment and motherhood (Luker 1996). It also suggests that despite the independent and progressive attitudes which were implied by the participants' intentions to work, these women may have been influenced by traditional gender roles. This provides support for McRobbie's (1978) observation that a woman's biological capacity extends to her social location.

Some of the Redpath, Wellsprings and Greenbank participants who had expressed the view that they would probably be married or in a stable relationship when entering motherhood, linked this view to their belief that, in order to cope with motherhood, they would need the support of a partner. It was unclear whether the participants meant physical, emotional or social support as they talked in terms of needing to share the responsibility and burden of motherhood, rather than in terms of needing help with specific aspects of this role. Some of the Greenbank and Wellsprings participants also indicated that they held this view because they felt a child should have a father figure:

> 'I would have to be married.'
> 'Why?' (KT)
> 'Because…(silence).'
> 'You think to have children you should be married?' (KT)

'Aye.'
'Or at least be in a stable relationship where there is a mum and a dad, well the child's father.' (2nd Greenbank discussion group)

'Why do you think you have to be married?' (KT)
'Because you cannae look after the wean yourself, its too much of a burden.'
'So you think it helps?' (KT)
'Aye.'
'Father.'
'Sorry?' (KT)
'You need a father figure.' (2nd Wellsprings discussion group)

When focusing on the views the participants had expressed when discussing

motherhood or the factors which they associated with this role, it was evident that in

each school there were participants who viewed motherhood as being a potentially

contradictory experience:

'What do you think motherhood entails. Do you think it's hard work or not?' (KT)
'I think it is both.' (P)
'I think there are good times and bad times.' (DH)
'It depends on your situation.' (F)
'I think if you are happily married, you have got quite a lot of money and don't have to work then it can be totally fun, you can just do fun things with your kids. But if you have got to struggle and work and bring them up when they are wee and everything then its probably a lot of hard work.' (P) (1st Redpath discussion group)

'What words do you associate with motherhood?' (KT)
'Looking after.' (BH)
'Love.' (F)
'Between?' (KT)
'Mother and daughter, mother and son, the entire family.' (F)
'Caring for someone.'
'So responsibility.' (KT)
'Yes.' (F)
'Is it hard work or fun?' (KT)
'Hard work.' (group)
'Fun as well as hard work I think.' (BH)
'Yes.'

'Yes.' (1st Wellsprings discussion group)

'What does motherhood remind you of?' (KT)
'Nappies.'
'Hell.'
'Leaving home.'
'Sick.'
'No sleep.'
'Going mental.'
'Shouting.'
'Depression.'
'Aye.'
'Nae money.'
'Nae drink.'
'You neglect yourself because you have got to always be there for the wean.'
(BH)
'You couldnae go out or anything like that.'
'No social life.'
'Aye, no social life or a very low social life.'
'Less money, no existence.'
'What do you mean?' (KT)
'That you've not got a life. Its dedicated to this wean.'
'Its not all bad. Sometimes it could be good.'
'Aye, sometimes.' (number of voices) (1st Greenbank discussion group)

The last quote illustrates that during the first Greenbank discussion, it appeared that

some of the participants were aware that within the present structures, a child's

needs are often met only through a mother's suppression of her own needs (Woollett

and Phoenix 1991). Considering on page 300 it was argued that participants may

have wanted to have a career by the time they became mothers because they viewed

motherhood as a role which curtailed a woman's freedom, some of the Redpath and

Wellsprings participants may also have been aware of this situation. Above on page

299 it was also mentioned that during the discussions which focused on early

motherhood, references were made to how motherhood could reduce a woman's

social life and opportunity to focus on her own needs. During these discussions, a

few of participants in each school also mentioned how they thought early motherhood would demand that the individual matured emotionally in order to cope with her new role, and during the Greenbank and Wellsprings discussions some of the participants referred to the financial aspects of motherhood. Whilst such comments were made during discussions which focused on early motherhood, they do suggest that participants in each school felt motherhood was a role which involved responsibility and maturity. The participants' views of early motherhood are detailed further in Chapter Six.

Therefore, the Redpath, Wellsprings and Greenbank participants appeared to hold similar views concerning the context in which they thought they would enter motherhood. They also appeared to appreciate that motherhood has massive implications for a woman's life (Jackson and Faulker 1993) and to be aware of both the positive and negative aspects of this role. The data provide no evidence to support Sharpe's (1976) observation that young women from relatively deprived backgrounds are more likely than young women from relatively affluent backgrounds to view motherhood positively.

when discussing the participants' view of the context in which they thought they would enter motherhood, it was noted that most had indicated that they thought they would be married or in a stable relationship. The factor which appeared to influence the participants' view of whether they would be married or not, was the extent to which they felt marriage would be personally beneficial.

The comments made by those who expressed the view that they would probably be married, implied that these participants viewed marriage as an arrangement which, compared to cohabiting, brought a greater degree of security to the relationship and was more socially acceptable. This latter view was suggested during both the Redpath and the Greenbank discussions, where some of these participants described marriage as being 'nicer' or 'better' than cohabiting. The former comment was a view expressed during the Redpath and Wellsprings discussions and appeared to be based on the idea that marriage brought greater security because it was seen to reduce a man's ability to abandon his partner:

> '(when cohabiting) You are practically married just without the vows.' (F)
> 'But if you are not married then the Dad can run away. You know what I mean. They can if they are married as well but it is easier for them to walk out.' (T)
> 'But then you would be glad you didn't get married to them in the first place if they are going to do that.' (DH) (1st Redpath discussion group)

> 'You don't have to be married but I would prefer to be.'(S).
> 'But it's better.' (BH)
> 'It's only then you are secure and that. When you are married, then you know that your husband loves you and is not going to run away because you have a wean. He might but the chances are pretty slim.' (S)
> 'So marriage gives you security?' (KT)
> 'Aye.' (S)
> 'Aye.' (1st Wellsprings discussion group)

The fact that young women from different socio-economic backgrounds expressed the view that marriage could bring women a greater feeling of security, suggests that this view did not relate to the participants' social situation but rather to their gender.

This point appears to relate to Lees's (1986) observation that, regardless of a woman's socio-economic position, unequal power relations exist between the sexes. In contrast, it appears to conflict with Holland et al.'s (1998) view that the institution of marriage has more appeal to young working class women, than young middle class women. Interestingly, although some of the participants had appeared to view the legal aspect of marriage as a way of increasing a woman's personal security, among the Redpath discussion group participants this legal dimension was also seen as a reason for not marrying:

> 'Marriage doesn't really make that much difference because if you are married, then if it doesn't work out, then there is only one way out and it's divorce, you know.' (C)
> 'Its like a big hassle.' (S)
> 'And there would be bigger bad feelings at the end of it, but if you did split up the other way it would probably be a lot more better chance.' (T) (2nd Redpath discussion group)

Among the Redpath participants it was also apparent that an awareness of divorce can reduce a young woman's willingness to marry (Lees 1986):

> 'I don't need to (be married), I would just like to be.' (S)
> 'I don't want to be married.'(T)
> 'You don't want to be?' (KT)
> 'No, not at all.' (T)
> 'Why?' (KT)
> 'Because I don't think it would work out because every marriage I know hasn't worked out.' (T) (2nd Redpath discussion group)

It appeared that some of the Greenbank participants did not want to marry because they associated being a 'wife' with housework, childcare and responding to the

needs of a demanding husband. Hence, there was some support for Lees's (1986)

observation that a young woman may view marriage as entailing a loss of freedom.

However, it appeared that not all of the Greenbank participants held this view and it

was unclear whether such responsibilities were associated with marriage or, on a

more general level, living with a male partner:

> 'Like years ago that was the done thing, to go and get married and have a
> baby but women are wanting careers and all that now.' (P)
> 'Aye.' (group)
> 'Women want a life now, they are not wanting to be stuck in the house with
> a wean doing house stuff all day.' (BH)
> 'That's what guys expect of you.'
> 'That's what guys expect?' (KT)
> (mixed responses)
> 'Not all guys.'
> 'Some guys want to stay at home and do the housework rather than vice
> versa.' (C)
> 'Most guys I think expect the woman to be in watching the baby, making
> their dinner for them, waiting for them to come home from work and all
> that.' (S)
> 'Aye.'
> 'Aye.' (1st Greenbank discussion group)

Therefore, some of the Redpath participants and some of the Wellsprings

participants had appeared to view marriage as an arrangement which could bring a

mother a greater sense of personal security. In addition, during the Redpath and

Greenbank discussions, it had appeared that young women may view marriage as

more personally and socially acceptable than simply cohabiting. Yet, comments

made by some of the Redpath participants implied that they felt marriage could

complicate a relationship and comments made by some of the Greenbank

participants suggested that they viewed marriage as an arrangement which could

reduce a woman's freedom. It is interesting that at similar views or ideas were expressed by participants from different social and economic backgrounds, as this suggests that the participants' background had little influence on their views of marriage. Earlier on page 304, when noting that both Redpath and Wellsprings participants had expressed similar views, it was suggested that the participants' views of marriage and relationships may have been influenced more by their gender than their socio-economic background.

At the beginning of this section it was mentioned that most of the participants had stated that they thought they would enter motherhood when they were either in a stable relationship or married. In light of this, it is interesting to note that analysis of the questionnaire data showed that, in general, pupils from each school disagreed with the statement 'I would consider having a child outside of a stable relationship' (table 30) and that no significant differences were found when comparing the mean scores for the pupils' responses to this statement.

Table 30 *Pupils' willingness to consider single motherhood (Mean score and standard deviation noted. Scale: 1 = strongly agree, 3 = unsure, 5 = strongly disagree)*

Redpath (n = 86)	Wellsprings (n = 76)	Greenbank (n = 86)	Total (n = 248)
4.23 (0.88)	4.26 (0.87)	4.16 (0.91)	4.22 (0.88)

5.8) *The pupils' sexual and contraceptive experiences*

The pupils were asked if, and at what age, they had experienced 'kissing with tongues', 'heavy petting (hand touching genitals/private parts)', 'oral sex (mouth touching genitals/private parts)', and 'sexual intercourse'. Maintaining this order of sexual behaviours, as both the number of pupils who had experienced each behaviour decreased and the age at which this behaviour had first been experienced increased, the sexual behaviour of the pupils reflected the tendency for young women to move gradually from kissing towards sexual intercourse via other forms of sexual expression (Currie and Todd 1993, Moore and Rosenthal 1993).

The analysis concerning what proportion of pupils in each school had experienced each form of behaviour showed that, while similar proportions of pupils from each school had experienced kissing and oral sex, a significantly greater proportion of the Wellsprings pupils than the Redpath pupils and the Greenbank pupils had experienced petting and sexual intercourse ($X^2 = 13.2$, p < 0.01; $X^2 = 30.3$, p < 0.01; $X^2 = 4.0$, p = 0.03; $X^2 = 7.6$, p < 0.01). It was also clear that a significantly greater proportion of the Greenbank pupils than the Redpath pupils had experienced sexual intercourse ($X^2 = 8.7$, p < 0.01) (table 31).

Table 31 *Number and percentage of pupils who had experienced a particular sexual activity*

Behaviour	Redpath (%) (n = 86)	Wellsprings (%) (n = 76)	Greenbank (%) (n = 86)
Kissing	78 (90.7)	73 (96.1)	76 (88.4)
Petting	50 (58.0)	64 (84.2)	61 (70.8)
Oral Sex	28 (32.6)	33 (43.3)	27 (31.4)
Sexual Intercourse	14 (16.3)	44 (57.9)	31 (36.0)

In Chapter Four on page 182 it was noted that Kaplan-Meier survival analysis was undertaken on the questionnaire data concerning the proportion of pupils in each school who had experienced sexual intercourse. The results of this analysis are presented in chart 18. The data have been presented so that the proportion of pupils in each school who had experienced sexual intercourse is depicted. The 'stepwise' progression of each line is because pupils gave the age at which they first experienced sexual intercourse in years, rather than in years and months. Hence, even if a pupil first experienced intercourse at the age of 14 and 9 months, this pupil would be noted as having first had intercourse at the age of 14. The 'censored' symbols indicate pupils who are still to experience sexual intercourse. Their position indicates the age of the pupil at the time of the survey.

When focusing on chart 18 it is apparent that at all ages, a greater proportion of Wellsprings pupils than Redpath or Greenbank pupils had experienced sexual intercourse. This chart also indicates that the first Wellsprings pupil to experience sexual intercourse was 9 years old at the time, while the first Greenbank pupil to experience sexual intercourse was 11 years old and the first Redpath pupil was 12 years old.

One minus Survival Functions
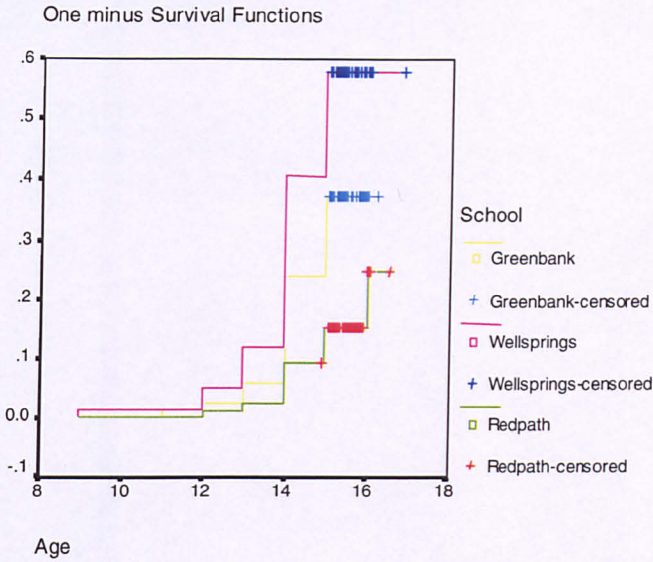
A pairwise log rank test was undertaken in order to assess whether the survival functions for the pupils in each school differed significantly from one another. The results of this analysis showed that there was a significant difference between the Redpath pupils versus the Greenbank pupils and the Wellsprings pupils, and between the Greenbank pupils and the Wellsprings pupils (p < 0.01 in all three cases).

There was no significant difference between the pupils from each school concerning partner's age at first intercourse. It was apparent that, for the pupils in each school, their first sexual partner had been slightly older. This situation would appear to be the norm as a young woman's first partner is usually slightly, but not significantly, older than herself (Miller and Moore 1990) (table 32 and chart 19).

Table 32 *Mean age of pupils' partners at first intercourse*
(Standard deviations given in brackets)

	Redpath (n = 14)	Wellsprings (n = 43)	Greenbank (n = 31)	Overall (n = 88)
Partner's age	15.63 (1.32)	15.57 (1.37)	16.00 (1.32)	15.74 (1.35)

Chart 19 *Partner's age at first intercourse*
(Mean score and 95% confidence intervals noted)
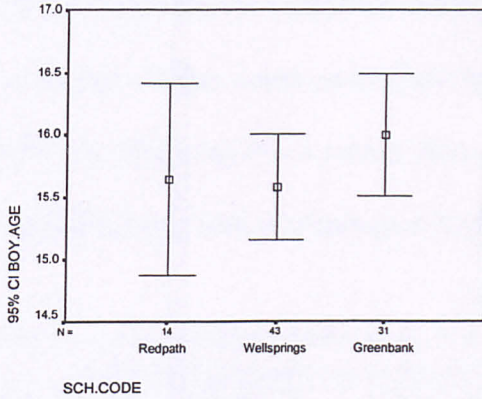
79 per cent (11/14) of the sexually active Redpath pupils, 82 per cent (36/44) of the sexually active Wellsprings pupils, and 90 per cent (28/31) of the sexually active Greenbank pupils had experienced sexual intercourse on more than one occasion. Although a greater proportion of the state school pupils than the Redpath pupils had experienced intercourse more than once, this difference was not significant. The fact that a few of the pupils in each school had experienced intercourse only once does show that the initiation of sexual intercourse does not necessarily lead to a high level of sexual activity (Moore and Rosenthal 1993). However, the majority of sexually active young people will experience intercourse within six months of initiation (Miller and Moore 1990) and this point was evident in the fact that the majority of the sexually active pupils had experienced intercourse on more than one occasion.

There was also no significant difference between the pupils from each school concerning number of sexual partners during the last year and in total (table 33). In addition, there was no significant difference between the pupils from each school concerning whether contraception had been used during first and last intercourse (table 34). However, it was evident that, on both occasions, a smaller proportion of Greenbank pupils than Wellsprings or Redpath pupils had used contraception.

Table 33 *Average number of partners in the last year and in total*
(Standard deviations noted in brackets)

Experience	Redpath (n = 11)	Wellsprings (n = 35)	Greenbank (n = 28)	Overall (n = 74)
Last year	1.64 (1.75)	1.50 (0.73)	1.93 (1.30)	1.69 (1.6)
In total	2.17 (1.65)	3.36 (3.47)	2.74 (2.80)	2.96 (2.80)

Table 34 *Percentage of sexually active pupils who had used contraception*

Event	Redpath	Wellsprings	Greenbank	Row total
First intercourse	85.6 (12/14)	86.4 (38/44)	64.4 (20/31)	78.5 (70/89)
Last intercourse	100 (11/11)	100 (35/35)	78.6 (22/28)	91.9 (68/74)

Despite the smaller proportion of Greenbank pupils using contraception, it is evident that over 60 per cent of the sexually active pupils in each school had used some form of contraception during first and last intercourse. In a survey conducted with over 7,000 young people who were under the age of 16 and viewed as representative of 14 year olds living in Scotland, it was evident that 15 per cent of the girls had experienced sexual intercourse. During first and most recent intercourse approximately 60 per cent of these had used a condom and approximately 9 per cent had used the withdrawal method (Wight et al. 2000). Hence, the Greenbank pupils use of contraception, whilst lower than the other

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pupils, would not appear to be particularly low for young women under the age of 16.

Considering young women from relatively affluent backgrounds are more likely than women from less affluent backgrounds to use contraception (Morrison 1985), it is interesting that no difference was found between the Redpath pupils and the state school pupils. Yet, comparisons made between pupils on factors which were viewed as reflecting how confident a pupil felt in her ability to use condoms, and how easily a pupil believed it would be for her to access medical help and contraceptive supplies[11], indicated that, in relation to each of these views, there was no significant difference between the sexually active pupils from each school. In addition, when analysing the discussion group data it was apparent that both Wellsprings and Redpath participants had mentioned that they had access to a family planning clinic which was specifically orientated to the needs of young people. As youth-orientated clinics tend to have longer opening hours and less need for fixed appointments than family planning clinics, this provision may have meant that pupils at Wellsprings Grammar and Redpath School had relatively good access to contraceptive advice and supplies. With this point in mind, and whilst acknowledging that the proportion of Greenbank pupils using contraception was not significantly smaller than that of the other pupils, it is interesting to note that some of Greenbank discussion group participants also mentioned that there was a family planning clinic nearby but did not indicate that this clinic was run specifically for

young people. Furthermore, it did appear that the Greenbank participants had greater difficulty than the Wellsprings participants in accessing their local clinic:

'You can get them at the family planning clinic but that's only on a Friday from 2 to 3 and we are at school so how are we meant to get them.' (B)
'So greater access to contraception (would help young women)'. (KT)
'Aye.' (group) (2nd Greenbank discussion group)

'Its easy to get.' (PT)
'Easy to get.' (S)
'You can walk into most shops and buy condoms.' (F)
'Walk up to the clinic and get them.' (D) (1st Wellsprings discussion group)

In addition, a comment made by a Redpath participant, and which was supported by a fellow participant, suggested that young women only identify with clinics tailored specifically to their needs:

'The thing is, if you thought there might be a problem with the contraceptive then you should go to the Brook and get something, the morning after pill or something.' (F)
'Yea.' (1st Redpath discussion group)

Yet analysis of the questionnaire data implied that it was a lack of planning, rather than lack of access, which had prevented pupils from using contraception during first and last intercourse (tables 35 and 36). This reason is considered the main reason why young women do not use contraception (Trussell 1988) and reflects the fact that most teenage sex is unplanned (Brindis 1993; Moore and Rosenthal 1993). As this reason remained the main reason for not using contraception, it would appear that spontaneity is not a factor unique to the experience of first intercourse.

Table 35 *Reasons for not using contraception during first intercourse* [12]

Reason	Redpath (n = 2)	Wellsprings (n = 6)	Greenbank (n = 11)	Total (n = 19)
Had not planned to have sex		4	11	15
Believed she would not get pregnant		1	3	4
Did not mind if she became pregnant		1	1	2
Did not know how to get contraception		1	1	2
Felt guilty about having sex		1	1	2
Boyfriend did not want to use any type of contraception			1	2
Drunk	1			1
Never thought	1			1

Table 36 *Reasons for not using contraception during last intercourse*

Reason	Greenbank (n = 6)
Had not planned to have sex	5
Believed she would not get pregnant	1
Did not mind if she became pregnant	2
Did not know how to get contraception	2
Boyfriend did not want to use any type of contraception	1

Regression analysis was used to explore which factors may have influenced whether or not contraception had been used during first and last intercourse but no significant relationships were found[13]. This may be a reflection of the sample size used.

Table 37 details which methods of contraception were used during first intercourse. When viewing this table the popularity of the condom during first intercourse is clearly apparent (West et al. 1993, Wight et al. 2000). Interestingly it is evident that some of the pupils had used this method in combination with the contraceptive pill. This 'Double Dutch' approach has been promoted in the Netherlands and is believed to be one of the reasons why this country experiences the lowest teenage

pregnancy rate in the world (Doppenberg 1993). Here, the use of this method could be taken as implying that pupils were aware of the need to protect themselves against both pregnancy and STDs.

Table 37 *Method of contraception used during first sexual intercourse*

Method used	Redpath (%) (n = 14)	Wellsprings (%) (n = 44)	Greenbank (%) (n = 31)	Row total (n = 89)
Condom	9 (64.3)	22 (50.0)	16 (51.5)	47 (53.7)
Contraceptive pill		2 (4.4)		2 (2.1)
Pill and condom	1 (7.0)	10 (22.6)	2 (6.5)	13 (14.5)
Withdrawal	1 (7.0)	2 (4.4)	2 (6.5)	5 (5.6)
Emergency contraception		1 (2.3)		1 (1.0)
Condom and emergency contraception	1 (7.0)			1 (1.0)
Condom and contraceptive injection		1 (2.3)		1 (1.0)
No contraception used	2 (14.3)	6 (13.6)	11 (35.5)	19 (21.2)

When focusing on table 38, which details the methods used by pupils during last intercourse, the popularity of the condom and the use of the Double Dutch approach is again apparent. It is also apparent that a greater percentage of the sexually active pupils used the contraceptive pill during last intercourse compared to first intercourse. As the length of the pupils' relationships was not explored, it cannot be stated whether this increase is due to the stability of the relationship encouraging a more permanent method to be used.

Table 38 *Method of contraception used during last sexual intercourse*

Method used	Redpath (%) (n = 11)	Wellsprings (%) (n = 35)	Greenbank (%) (n = 27)	Row total (%) (n = 73)
No method used			6 (22.0)	6 (8.1)
Condom	6 (54.4)	18 (51.3)	11 (41.0)	35 (47.8)
Contraceptive pill	3 (27.3)	5 (14.3)	2 (7.4)	10 (13.7)
Pill and condom	1 (9.1)	9 (25.6)	7 (25.8)	17 (23.3)
Withdrawal	1 (9.1)	3 (8.6)	1 (3.6)	5 (6.7)

Logistic regression was undertaken to explore which factors, if any, were significant concerning whether or not a pupil had experienced sexual intercourse[14]. When

undertaking this analysis data provided by pupils from each school were initially analysed as one large data set. Having established which variables were significant in influencing the pupils' sexual behaviour, data collected from pupils in each school were then explored as three separate data sets.

The results of the analysis undertaken, using all of the data gathered, are noted in table 39.

Table 39 *Logistic regression on the data gathered from the pupils concerning sexual intercourse (1 = has experienced sexual intercourse, 0 = has not experienced sexual intercourse)*

Variable	Univariate Analysis		Multivariate Analysis	
	Odds Ratio	P	Odds Ratio	P
School				
Redpath (n = 86)	0.35	< 0.01	0.84	0.81
Wellsprings (n = 76)	2.44	< 0.01	2.30	0.11
Greenbank (baseline) (n = 86)	*1.00*			
Family				
Living with both parents (per category) (1 = yes, 0 = no)	1.93	0.02	0.68	0.56
Living in a reconstituted household (per category) (1 = yes, 0 = no)	0.46	0.04	0.48	0.37
Single parent (baseline)	*1.00*			
Socio-economic position				
Deprivation score (per unit of score) (1 = low area deprivation, 5 = high area deprivation)	1.74	< 0.01	1.15	0.60
Social class score (per unit of score) (1 = high social class, 2 = low social class))	1.40	0.01	0.98	0.92
Amount of spending money (per pound)	1.06	< 0.01	1.08	< 0.01
Expected roles				
Expected employment status (per unit of score) (1 = very likely, 5 = very unlikely)	0.61	< 0.01	0.74	0.21
Expected motherhood status (per unit of score) (1 = very likely, 5 = very unlikely)	0.73	< 0.01	1.07	0.75
Expected college status (per unit of score) (1 = very likely, 5 = very unlikely)	1.82	< 0.01	1.14	0.50
Current influences				
Level of parental surveillance (per unit of score) (factor score, high score = high surveillance)	0.43	< 0.01	0.52	< 0.01
Proportion of friends who are female (per unit of score) (1 = none, 5 = all)	0.50	< 0.01	0.79	0.50
Proportion of friends who are male (per unit of score) (1 = none, 5 = all)	2.40	< 0.01	0.10	0.10
Level of sociability (per unit of score) (factor score, high score = sociable)	2.75	< 0.01	1.81	0.01
Perception of peers' sexual behaviour (per unit of score) (1 = all experienced, 7 = none)	0.55	< 0.01	0.87	0.46
Age at first menstruation (per year)	0.77	0.03	0.85	0.31

From the above table it is apparent that whilst a number of variables were significant during univariate analysis, during multivariate analysis the only variables to remain significant were the amount of money a pupil had to spend each week, the level of parental surveillance a pupil was under, and the extent to which a pupil was sociable[15]. The odds ratios for these variables indicate that the greater amount of spending money a pupil has, and the more sociable the pupil is, the more likely she is to experience sexual intercourse. They also indicate that the more parental surveillance a pupil is under, the less likely she is to experience sexual intercourse.

When exploring whether these variables were important factors among pupils attending a particular school, a variety of results were apparent. Initially, for the Redpath pupils all three variables were significant (table 40). However, further analysis indicated that the apparent influence of parental surveillance was due to the correlation which existed between this variable and the amount of spending money a pupil had ($r = -0.42$, $p < 0.01$), and apparent influence of the amount of spending money a pupil had was due to the correlation which existed between this variable and how sociable a pupil was ($r = 0.42$, $p < 0.01$). Thus, the only factor to remain significant was how sociable a Redpath pupil was. As when analysing all the data collected from pupils in each school, the odds ratio for this factor indicated that the more sociable a Redpath pupil was, the more likely she was to have experienced sexual intercourse.

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Table 40 *Logistic regression on the Redpath pupils' sexual behaviour*

Variable	Univariate Analysis		Multivariate Analysis	
	Odds Ratio	P	Odds Ratio	P
Level of parental surveillance (per unit of score) (factor score, high score = high surveillance)	0.43	0.01	0.51	0.06
Amount of spending money (per pound)	1.06	0.02	1.02	0.70
Level of sociability (per unit of score) (factor score, high score = sociable)	2.76	0.01	2.17	0.04

The amount of spending money a Wellsprings pupil received was not found to be significant when undertaking univariate analysis. Hence, during multivariate analysis consideration was only given to the factors indicating how much parental surveillance a pupil was under and how sociable she was. The results of this analysis indicated that the greater surveillance a pupil was under, the less likely she was to have experienced sexual intercourse; and the more sociable the pupil was, the more likely she was to have experienced intercourse (table 41).

Table 41 *Logistic regression on the Wellsprings pupils' sexual behaviour*

Variable	Univariate Analysis		Multivariate Analysis	
	Odds Ratio	P	Odds Ratio	P
Level of parental surveillance (per unit of score) (factor score, high score = high surveillance)	0.42	< 0.01	0.43	< 0.01
Level of sociability (per unit of score) (factor score, high score = sociable)	1.94	0.01	1.83	0.01

Both the amount of money a pupil had to spend, and how sociable a pupil was, were significant in relation to the likelihood of a Greenbank pupil experiencing sexual intercourse (table 42). As expected based on the above discussion, both of these factors were positively associated with a Greenbank pupil's level of sexual experience. The initial influence of parental surveillance appeared to have been due to the correlation which existed between this variable and a pupil's level of

sociability (r = -0.24, p = 0.05).

Table 42 *Logistic regression on the Greenbank pupils' sexual behaviour*

Variable	Univariate Analysis		Multivariate Analysis	
	Odds Ratio	P	Odds Ratio	P
Level of parental surveillance (per unit of score) (factor score, high score = high suveillance)	0.62	0.05	0.68	0.18
Amount of spending money (per pound)	1.11	< 0.01	1.13	< 0.01
Level of sociability (per unit of score) (factor score, high score = sociable)	2.93	< 0.01	2.83	< 0.01

Thus, for the Redpath, Greenbank and Wellsprings pupils, level of sociability was an important factor in relation to whether or not the pupil had experienced sexual intercourse. It would be reasonable to think that this factor was significant because the more sociable an individual is, the more likely she is to meet other people which is a prerequisite to sexual relationships. With the apparent influence of this factor in mind it is interesting to recall that earlier on page 276 it was noted that, in general, the Wellsprings pupils were significantly more sociable than the Redpath pupils, as this may explain why a significantly greater proportion of Wellsprings pupils than Redpath pupils had experienced sexual intercourse. However, on page 276 it was also noted that the Wellsprings pupils were not significantly more sociable than the Greenbank pupils and yet, on the basis of experience of sexual intercourse, were more experienced than the Greenbank pupils.

Interestingly, though, on page 265 it was apparent that the Wellsprings pupils were under significantly less parental surveillance than the Greenbank pupils. Thus, whilst there was no significant relationship between level of parental surveillance and whether or not a Greenbank pupil had experienced sexual intercourse, the

relatively high proportion of Wellsprings pupils who had experienced intercourse could, in part, be due the lower level of parental surveillance these pupils were under. A point which would be supported by the fact that it was also noted on page 265 that these pupils were under significantly less parental surveillance than the Redpath pupils and, as just noted, on the basis of sexual intercourse were more experienced.

Ramirez-Valles et al. (1998) state that the negative relationship between sexual activity and parental surveillance could be because the level of parental surveillance an individual is under may indicate the extent to which he/she socialises and communicates with his/her parents. According to Ramirez-Valles et al., this relationship is because parental surveillance reflects the degree to which the individual's parents have the opportunity to promote values and norms which could encourage postponement of sexual experience.

The fact that a Greenbank pupil's sexual behaviour was associated with the amount of money she had to spend is less easy to explain. As the pupils were not asked to note how they 'earned' their money, the source of the pupils' spending money is not known and thus, this relationship cannot be discussed in light of how the pupils obtained their money. Yet, irrespective of the source of their money, the relationship between spending money and sexual behaviour could be because the more spending money a pupil had, the more able she was to go out and socialise. Certainly, this suggestion would be supported by the apparent significance of how

sociable a Greenbank pupil was. However, as there was no significant correlation between this variable and how much spending money a pupil had, and since both factors remained significant when undertaking multivariate regression, it would appear that the influence spending money had on a Greenbank pupil's sexual behaviour was independent of her level of sociability. Thus, it is unfortunate that data were not gathered concerning the source of the pupils' spending money since it might have been the experience of earning rather than the experience of spending, which was important.

5.9) *Pupil expectations concerning the context for first intercourse*

The pupils who had not experienced sexual intercourse were asked at what age, and in what type of relationship, did they expect they would first have this experience. In relation to expected age, the category most frequently chosen by the state school pupils, and in particular by the Greenbank pupils, was that of 'don't know' (table 43). A notable proportion of the Redpath pupils were also unsure of what age they would be when they first experienced intercourse. However, in total, just under fifty per cent (48.6%, 35/72) of the Redpath pupils indicated that they expected they would be sexually active either 'by the age of 18' or 'by the age of 17'. This finding implies that the differences noted earlier concerning what proportion of the pupils in each school had experienced intercourse (page 308), in a few years time and based on the pupils' expectations, may not be so distinct.

Table 43 *Age at which the pupils expect they will first experience sexual intercourse (expressed in percentages)*

Age	Redpath (n = 72)	Wellsprings (n = 32)	Greenbank (n = 55)
When 20 or older	6.9 (5)	9.4 (3)	7.3 (4)
By the age of 20	6.9 (5)	6.3 (2)	1.7 (1)
By the age of 18	22.2 (16)	15.6 (5)	5.5 (3)
By the age of 17	26.4 (19)	12.5 (4)	16.4 (9)
By the age of 16	13.9 (10)	12.5 (4)	9.1 (5)
Don't know	23.6 (17)	43.8 (14)	60.0 (33)

Compared to the pupils' expectations concerning what age they would be when they first experienced sexual intercourse, the pupils from each school appeared to be more certain about the relationship context in which they would first have this experience (table 44). The category most frequently chosen by the pupils in each school was that of 'when in love'. This finding appears to reflect Bury's (1984) comment that young women's sexual behaviour is governed by notions of partnership and love. It also appears to be in keeping with Holland et al.'s (1998) work which states that, although young women no longer feel they need to be married before becoming sexually active, they do feel they should be 'in love'. The notion that young women no longer believe they need to wait until they are married could explain why only a few of the pupils indicated that they expected they would wait until they were engaged or married.

Table 44 *Context in which the pupils expect to first experience sexual intercourse (expressed in percentages)*

Emotional context	Redpath (n = 72)	Wellsprings (n = 32)	Greenbank (n = 55)
When in love	41.7 (30)	40.5 (13)	34.4 (19)
When going steady	25.0 (18)	21.9 (7)	20.0 (11)
When engaged/married	6.8 (5)	3.0 (1)	3.5 (2)
When sexually attracted	18.1 (13)	15.5 (5)	16.4 (9)
In love and attracted	1.4 (1)		1.8 (1)
Don't know	6.8 (5)	18.7 (6)	23.5 (13)

However, while overall the pupils appeared to be more certain about the relationship context in which they would first experience intercourse, over 20 per cent of the Greenbank pupils had chosen the 'don't know' category. In addition, a number of the pupils in each school indicated that they expected they would first experience sexual intercourse 'when sexually attracted'. Thus, there was some evidence of uncertainty and of less romantic contexts being considered.

Due to the relatively small number of responses given in each category, analysis to explore what factors influenced the pupils' expectations was not undertaken. However, it is interesting to note that considering the differences which were detailed on page 308 concerning the proportion of pupils in each school who had experienced intercourse, when comparing the expectations of pupils who had not experienced sexual intercourse, it would appear pupils in each school held similar views concerning when, and in what relationship context, they would first have this experience. This finding suggests that pupils from each school held similar values concerning the wider issues which surround sexual relations. Hence, it could explain why pupils from each school held similar views towards the acceptability of male versus female sexual behaviour, and the importance of sexual intercourse within a relationship.

5.10) *The pupils' views on the acceptability of male versus female sexual behaviour, and the importance of sexual intercourse*

Pupils were asked to indicate on a 5 point scale the extent to which they agreed with the following statements: 'It is more acceptable for a teenage boy to have sex than it is for a teenage girl' and 'You can enjoy each other's bodies without sexual intercourse'. No significant differences were found between the answers given by pupils in each school. The mean scores noted in table 45 indicate that, in general, pupils from each school were unsure/disagreed that it is more acceptable for a teenage boy to have intercourse, and agreed that you can enjoy each other's bodies without having intercourse.

Table 45 *Pupils' views of male versus female behaviour and sexual intercourse (Mean scores and standard deviations noted. Scale: 1 = strongly agree, 3 = unsure, 5 = strong disagree)*

Statement	Redpath (n = 85)	Wellsprings (n = 73)	Greenbank (n = 86)
Relative acceptability	3.52 (1.37)	3.48 (1.42)	3.58 (1.40)
Sexual intercourse	1.87 (0.63)	1.84 (0.75)	1.79 (0.81)

The fact that no significant differences existed between the pupils could be because there was no significant relationship between these views and the pupils' experience of sexual intercourse. This point is based on the fact that when undertaking regression analysis, no significant relationship was found between the pupils' views of either of these issues and whether or not they had experienced sexual intercourse. Alternatively, it is possible no differences were found between the pupils because young women from all social circumstances are exposed to the unequal power

relationships which exist between the sexes (Lees 1986). Hence, a pupil's views of these issues may have been influenced more by her gender than her socio-economic background.

When using regression analysis to explore the pupils' views towards the acceptability of female sexual activity and the importance of intercourse[16], no significant relationships were found concerning the Redpath pupils' view of how acceptable it was for a young woman to be sexually active compared to a young man. However, the state school pupils' view of this issue was associated with their level of self confidence and the proportion of their friends who were male ($p < 0.01$ in both cases). The regression coefficients for these relationships indicated that an increase of 1 on the scale for self confidence (a factor score standardised to have a standard deviation of 1) led to an increase of 0.27 in the direction of agreeing it was just as acceptable for a women to be sexually active as it was for a man (the scale for this variable ran from 1 to 5); and an increase of 1 on the 5 point scale for the proportion of the pupil's friends who were male led to a decrease of 0.45 concerning how acceptable it was for women to be sexually active. This implies self confidence increased feelings of gender equality, whilst mixing with young men led to a young woman forming more sexist views. This last finding could be because men can impose their sexual ideology on women (Wood 1984), and because men rather than women determine the boundaries of sexual relations (Holland et al. 1990).

A Redpath pupil's view of the importance of sexual intercourse was associated with her deprivation score and level of self confidence (beta = 0.17, p = 0.02; beta = 0.33, p < 0.01). The regression coefficients for these relationships indicated that the more deprived the residential area in which a Redpath pupil lived, and the more confident a pupil was, the less likely to she was to view sexual intercourse as an important part of a relationship.

The relationship between deprivation score and this view is surprising considering young women from deprived backgrounds are more likely than their affluent peers to have experienced sexual intercourse (Holland 1993). However, as noted on page 325, there was no significant relationship between the pupils' view of this issue and their experience of sexual intercourse. The association with self confidence would appear to reflect the assumption which currently exists in health education, and which assumes that there is a negative relationship between a young person's self confidence and his/her level of sexual behaviour. Interestingly, however, West and Sweeting (1997) concluded, having studied a cohort of about a 1,000 young people aged 15, that no such relationship exists; if anything, young people with high self esteem are more likely to have experienced sexual intercourse. No significant relationships were found when exploring what factors influenced a state school pupil's view of the importance of sexual intercourse within a relationship.

As deprivation scores and the proportion of friends who were male were significant factors, and since these factors varied between the Redpath pupils versus the

Wellsprings pupils and the Greenbank pupils (pages 260 and 275), the lack of variation between the pupils in relation to their views on female sexual behaviour and sexual intercourse is even more surprising. Yet, these factors were influences which were not common to the pupils from each school. For example, it was noted on page 326 that the state school pupils' view of how acceptable it is for a young woman to be sexually active compared to a young man was associated with the proportion of their friends who were male. No significant relationship was found between a Redpath pupil's view of this issue and the proportion of her friends who were male. Hence, there is no reason to assume that the difference which existed between these pupils, in relation to the proportion of their friends who were male, would lead to a difference concerning their views regarding the sexual behaviour of young women.

In addition to believing that a young woman's experience of sexual intercourse would influence her views concerning female sexual behaviour and sexual intercourse, it would be reasonable to think that women who have experienced sexual intercourse would be more knowledgeable than their non sexually active peers of contraception, medical confidentiality and the risk of pregnancy. Yet, in the next section it is noted that the Redpath pupils appeared most knowledgeable of such issues. This apparent discrepancy could be taken as highlighting the fact that a young woman may have knowledge in the sense of having information, but may or may not have knowledge in the sense of sexual experience (Thomson and Scott 1992). It may also relate to the fact that young women gain knowledge not only

through their own sexual experiences but also though discussing personal matters with their friends and parents, and by consulting books, magazines and leaflets (Holland et al. 1998).

5.11) *The pupils' knowledge of contraception, medical confidentiality and the risk of pregnancy*

Five of the questions asked in the questionnaire aimed to explore the pupils' contraceptive/sexual knowledge. These questions focused on their knowledge of the risk of pregnancy when having sex for the first time; the risk of pregnancy when having sex standing up; the risk of pregnancy when using the withdrawal method; the time period within which emergency contraception should to be used; and finally, the rights a woman under the age of 16 has to medical confidentiality. All except the question on emergency contraception requested a true/false/don't know response. The emergency contraception question required the pupil to tick 1 of 5 boxes; 4 of which were time periods, 1 of which was a 'don't know' category. It is evident that when these questions were developed, heterosexual rather than homosexual relations were being considered. Whilst heterosexuality in young women cannot be assumed, the focus here was on heterosexual experiences due to the overall aim of this thesis.

For each question a greater percentage of Redpath pupils than Wellsprings pupils and Greenbank pupils gave the correct answer (tables 46 and 47). This difference was not significant in relation to the pupils' knowledge of a young woman's rights to medical confidentiality. However, the Redpath pupils were significantly more likely than the Greenbank pupils to accurately assess the risk of pregnancy when having sex the first time ($X^2 = 8.0$, $p < 0.01$). They were also significantly more likely than the Wellsprings pupils to know that emergency contraception should be used within 72 hours ($X^2 = 4.3$, $p < 0.05$), and significantly more likely than both the Greenbank pupils and the Wellsprings pupils to realise that a young woman can become pregnant when having sex standing up, and when using the withdrawal method ($X^2 = 9.6$, $p < 0.01$; $X^2 = 6.1$, $p < 0.01$; $X^2 = 5.5$, $p = 0.02$; $X^2 = 5.3$, $p < 0.05$). No significant differences were found between the Wellsprings pupils and the Greenbank pupils concerning their knowledge of such issues.

Table 46 *Pupils' knowledge of medical confidentiality and the risk of pregnancy in various situations (number of correct answers noted, percentage of correct answers given brackets)*

Question	Redpath (n = 86)	Wellsprings (n = 73)	Greenbank (n = 85)
Confidentiality	69 (80.2)	58 (79.5)	63 (74.1)
First time	85 (98.8)	68 (93.2)	75 (88.2)
Sex standing up	79 (91.9)	57 (78.1)	63 (74.1)
Withdrawal method	60 (70.6)	38 (52.8)	45 (52.9)

Table 47 *Pupils' knowledge of emergency contraception (number of correct answers noted, percentage of correct answers given brackets)*

Question	Redpath (n = 86)	Wellsprings (n = 70)	Greenbank (n = 85)
The morning after	14 (16.3)	19 (27.1)	28 (32.9)
Within 48 hours	25 (29.1)	22 (31.4)	19 (22.4)
Within 72 hours	45 (52.3)	25 (35.7)	35 (41.2)
Don't know	2 (2.3)	4 (5.7)	3 (3.5)

Although these differences existed, it should be noted that more than 50 per cent of the pupils from each school gave the correct answer to each of the questions requiring a true/false/don't know response. However, the pupils' knowledge of the time period in which emergency contraception should be used was relatively poor. Just over 50 per cent of the Redpath pupils, and less than half of the Wellsprings pupils and the Greenbank pupils answered this question correctly. Although this relatively low score could relate to the fact that the pupils had a greater degree of choice when answering this question, Graham et al. (1996) found that only 26.4 per cent of the 1,207 young men and women they interviewed knew the correct time scale in which this method should be used. Thus, young women's knowledge of this particular method does appear to be relatively poor.

Although the pupils' use of various sources of information was not explored, pupils were asked to indicate on a 6 point scale how well they believed the topic areas of contraception, how to access medical advice about sex, and how to refuse to have sexual intercourse had been taught within their school. Pupils were also asked to indicate on a 6 point scale how comfortable or uncomfortable they felt talking about sex with their mothers, fathers, sisters, brothers, boyfriends, best girlfriends and favourite teachers.

5.12) *The pupils' views of their sex education and how comfortable they felt talking to others about sex*

The 6 point scale on which the pupils were asked to indicate how well they felt the topic areas of contraception, how to access medical advice about sex, and how to refuse to have sexual intercourse had been taught within their school ran from 'very well' to 'I don't remember it being discussed'. Although there was some variation among the responses given by pupils in each school, in response to each subject area, the mean scores calculated indicated that, in general, pupils from each school felt each area had been taught to a reasonable level (table 48).

Table 48 *Pupils' view of their school sex education (Mean scores and standard deviations noted) (Scale: 1 = very well, 3 = okay, 6 = don't remember it being discussed)*

	Redpath (n = 86)	Wellsprings (n = 76)	Greenbank (n = 85)	Overall (n = 247)
Medical advice	2.76 (1.16)	2.20 (1.06)	2.66 (1.06)	2.55 (1.12)
Refuse intercourse	3.00 (1.36)	2.17 (1.15)	2.35 (1.22)	2.52 (1.30)
Contraception	2.27 (1.10)	1.75 (0.95)	1.95 (1.00)	2.00 (1.04)

When comparing the pupils' views concerning how well each of these subject areas had been taught within their school, it was clear that the Redpath pupils had rated the teaching of how to resist sexual pressure significantly lower than the Greenbank pupils and the Wellsprings pupils ($p < 0.01$ on both occasions). The Redpath pupils had also rated how well the subjects contraception and how to access medical advice had been taught in their school, significantly lower than the Wellsprings pupils ($p < 0.01$ on both occasions). Based on the Greenbank and Wellsprings pupils' answers, how to access medical advice had been taught significantly less

well in Greenbank Academy than in Wellsprings Grammar ($p < 0.01$). No other significant differences were found between the state school pupils' answers.

In order to assess the pupils' 'overall' view of their sex education, the scores which pupils had assigned to the teaching of each subject were summed. In keeping with the above discussion, it was apparent that the Redpath pupils had rated the sex education they had received significantly lower than the Wellsprings pupils and the Greenbank pupils ($p < 0.01$, $p = 0.01$). It was also clear that the Greenbank pupils had rated their sex education significantly lower than the Wellsprings pupils ($p = 0.05$). Thus, based on the pupils' views, it would appear that the Wellsprings pupils had received the most comprehensive sex education programme while the Redpath pupils the least. However, in light of the Redpath pupils' apparently greater level of sexual/contraceptive knowledge, this finding may be a reflection of how critical the pupils were, rather than an indication of what they had been taught.

Table 49 details the mean scores for the pupils' responses to the questions concerning how comfortable the pupils felt discussing sex with certain individuals.

Table 49 *Mean scores for how comfortable pupils felt talking about sex with specific individuals (Scale: 1 = very comfortable, 3 = in between, 6 = never have)*

	Redpath (n = 86)	Wellsprings (n = 76)	Greenbank (n = 85)	Overall (n = 247)
Best friend (girl)	1.62 (0.80)	1.62 (0.91)	1.60 (0.90)	1.60 (0.89)
Mother	2.84 (1.27)	2.88 (1.40)	2.79 (1.37)	2.83 (1.36)
Sister	2.82 (1.62)	3.03 (1.84)	3.27 (1.85)	3.04 (1.76)
Boyfriend	3.51 (1.90)	2.68 (1.77)	2.94 (1.82)	3.05 (1.85)
Brother	3.38 (1.66)	3.94 (1.70)	3.74 (1.57)	3.68 (1.65)
Teacher	4.35 (1.47)	3.75 (1.62)	4.06 (1.42)	4.05 (1.50)
Father	4.11 (1.25)	4.22 (1.45)	3.90 (1.24)	4.07 (1.39)

When viewing the mean scores noted above it is apparent that, in general, pupils from each school felt comfortable talking to their girlfriends, felt 'in between' talking to their mothers and sisters, felt 'in between'/uncomfortable talking to their boyfriends or brothers, and felt uncomfortable talking to their fathers and teachers. Hence, the tendencies for young women to discuss sexual matters primarily with their female friends (Brown et al. 1992, Currie et al. 1997, Farrell 1978), and to feel more comfortable talking to their mothers than their fathers (Heaven 1994), are apparent.

When comparing mean scores across rather than down the table, it is apparent that there was actually little difference between how comfortable pupils from each school felt talking to a specific individual. With this point in mind it is not surprising to note that only two significant differences were found when comparing the pupils' mean scores: the Redpath pupils felt significantly less comfortable than the Wellsprings pupils talking to their boyfriends and favourite teacher about sex (p < 0.01, p < 0.05).

On page 308 was noted that a greater proportion of Wellsprings pupils than Redpath pupils had experienced sexual intercourse. Thus, the first difference noted in relation to how comfortable the Redpath pupils and the Wellsprings pupils felt when talking to their boyfriend about sex could relate to variations in the sexual relations experienced by pupils in each school. Considering on page 333 it was

noted that the Wellsprings pupils had rated their sex education significantly higher than the Redpath pupils, it is interesting that the Wellsprings pupils felt more comfortable than the Redpath pupils talking to a teacher about sex. This suggests that the Wellsprings pupils' views of their sex education could have been influenced by the relationship they had with a particular teacher and not necessarily by what had actually been taught.

During the discussion groups possible reasons why the Redpath pupils were less willing than the Wellsprings pupils to talk to a guidance teacher were revealed. First, the view that teachers did not respect pupil confidentiality was expressed during the first Redpath discussion group:

> 'I wouldn't tell any teacher in this school anything.' (P)
> 'No way.' (group)
> 'There are always going, "You can talk to us" but they are part of the school and the fact is they gossip a lot.' (P)
> 'You tell teachers something and say they won't tell anyone else and before you know it it's all around the staff room and teachers are saying "Excuse me I heard..." and you are like, "Oh no".' (LH) (1st Redpath discussion group)

This view was not expressed during the discussions held in the state schools.

Second, although each of the schools involved in the study had guidance teachers, comments made by some of the Redpath participants suggested that they did not know that such teachers existed within their school:

> 'So it would be good to have like a school counsellor?'(KT)

'Yea.' (group)
'Yea, we don't have a counsellor. We don't have anyone like that at our school.' (A) (2nd Redpath discussion group)

Interestingly, when conducting the survey and distributing the flyers which stated that any information could be discussed with a guidance teacher, a number of the Redpath pupils had asked who their guidance teachers were. None of the state school pupils had asked this question. Thus, not only had some of the Redpath participants made comments which suggested that they did not know guidance teachers were working in their school, but comments made by Redpath pupils suggested that even if they did know, they were unclear as to who these individuals were. As members of staff in each school used the term guidance teacher, there is no reason to believe that the pupils' comments were due to the wrong terminology being used on the flyers. Hence, the difference between the Redpath pupils and the Wellsprings pupils concerning how comfortable they felt talking to a teacher about sex, may have related to the pupils' image of their teachers and their knowledge of the school guidance system.

5.13) *Summary*

As the main aim of the thesis focused on the views held by young women from different socio-economic backgrounds, in this chapter attention has been given primarily to the similarities and differences found between the Redpath, Greenbank

and Wellsprings pupils' socio-economic backgrounds, views, experiences and knowledge. The discussion group participants' vocational ambitions, the views they held towards motherhood and marriage, and the comments they made regarding access to contraception and teachers' respect for pupil confidentiality, were also described in order to complement and illuminate some of the quantitative material.

The chapter began by detailing pupils' social class and area deprivation scores, where and with whom they lived, and what levels of parental surveillance they were under. On viewing the analysis of these factors it was evident that, overall and on the basis of social class and area deprivation scores, the Redpath pupils came from a significantly more affluent background than the Wellsprings and the Greenbank pupils. The Redpath pupils' relatively affluent position was not only reflected in their social class and area deprivation scores but also in their home life. For example, it was evident that a significantly greater proportion of the Redpath pupils than the Wellsprings and the Greenbank pupils lived in privately owned housing and with both parents; both factors which have been associated with greater levels of affluence (Dorling et al. 2000, Sweeting et al. 1998). In addition, lower levels of parental surveillance have been associated with greater levels of deprivation (Ramirez-Valles et al. 1998), and it was clear that the Redpath pupils were under significantly greater levels of parental surveillance than the Wellsprings pupils. Among all of these variables, only two differences were found between the state school pupils: the Wellsprings pupils had a significantly lower deprivation score than the Greenbank pupils, and were under significantly lower levels of parental

surveillance. Despite such differences, no significant differences were found between the Redpath, Wellsprings and Greenbank pupils concerning the amount of money they had to spend each week, their levels of self confidence, and the perceptions they held concerning their ability to change their current and future situations. There were also no significant differences between the pupils concerning their ethnicity, religious affiliation, religiosity and average age.

In order to gain some insight into the relationships the pupils had outside of the home, consideration was then given to the composition of the pupils' friendship groups, how sociable they (the pupils) were, and what views they held towards their school and teachers. Most of the differences found occurred between the Redpath pupils versus the Wellsprings and the Greenbank pupils, and some of these could be explained with reference to the pupils' backgrounds. For example, the Redpath pupils had a significantly smaller proportion of friends who had left school than both the Wellsprings and the Greenbank pupils, and significantly more friends at another school than the Wellsprings pupils. It was argued that the first difference could exist because staying on rates for pupils in private education are higher than those recorded for pupils in state school education (Roker 1991). The second finding was related to the fact that state school pupils are drawn from certain catchment areas, whereas private school pupils may commute from various geographical locations. The fact that the Redpath pupils enjoyed school significantly more than the Wellsprings pupils was also discussed in relation to the pupils' background, as it was noted that young women from relatively affluent

backgrounds are more likely than their less affluent peers to enjoy school (Furlong and Cartmel 1997). Yet, not all of the differences found between the Redpath and state school pupils could be explained in such terms. For instance, even though all of the pupils attended co-educational schools, differences were also found between the Redpath pupils versus the Wellsprings pupils and the Greenbank pupils concerning the proportion of their friends who were male and the proportion of their friends who were female. On the basis of the proportion of friends who were male, a difference was also found between the Wellsprings pupils and the Greenbank pupils. The state school pupils were also found to differ with regard to the views they held concerning the extent to which their teachers trusted them and valued a girl's education.

When examining the pupils' expectations concerning what they would be doing in four years time, it was evident that the Redpath pupils were significantly more likely than the other pupils to expect that they would be in some form of further education. This finding was viewed as suggesting that the Redpath pupils were academically more ambitious than the other pupils and, indirectly, as implying that the Redpath pupils were aiming for professional careers necessitating academic qualifications. Interestingly, the Redpath participants were more likely than the Wellsprings participants and the Greenbank participants to express the view that they were aiming for a 'decent' career rather than simply a career. They were also more likely to voice the option that early motherhood would not simply postpone their career plans but would ruin them. The discussion group data illuminated a possible reason

for the Redpath pupils' academic expectations, as it was evident that some of the Redpath participants had discussed how they felt under pressure from their parents and teachers to succeed academically, whereas such pressure was not mentioned during either a Wellsprings or a Greenbank discussion.

The fact that the majority of the Redpath pupils expected that they would go on to some form of further education could explain why these pupils were significantly less likely than the other pupils to expect that they would be employed in four years time. Certainly, analysis of data collected from pupils in all three schools had shown a negative relationship between the expectation of going on to university and the expectation of employment. Yet, although such differences were noted, it was also apparent that, overall, pupils from each school expected that they would be at college or university in four years time. Furthermore, in each school, participants had talked in terms of having a career, and this situation provided support for Lees's (1986) observation that young women from diverse socio-economic backgrounds may talk in terms of having a career.

When focusing the expectations the pupils held in terms of motherhood and personal relationships, differences were found between the Redpath pupils versus the Wellsprings pupils and the Greenbank pupils, and between the Wellsprings pupils and the Greenbank pupils. The Redpath pupils were significantly less likely than the Wellsprings pupils and the Greenbank pupils to expect that they would have a child in four years time, and the Wellsprings pupils were significantly more

likely than the Greenbank pupils to expect than they would be in a stable relationship.

When analysing the relationship between the expectations the pupils held towards motherhood and future relationships, a positive correlation was found. This was taken as suggesting that pupils within each school viewed motherhood as a role which should be entered within a stable relationship. Certainly, analysis of the questionnaire data shown that, in general, pupils from each school were not willing to consider single motherhood.

When detailing the participants' views concerning the context in which they thought they would enter motherhood, it was noted that most of them had expressed the view that they would probably be in their late 20s or early 30s, in a stable relationship or married, and have completed their education and established a career. Comments made by some of the Redpath, Wellsprings and Greenbank participants indicated that they were aware of the negative and positive aspects of motherhood, and that they felt the responsibilities associated with motherhood could reduce a woman's social life and opportunity to focus on her own needs. It was also noted that the discussions surrounding early motherhood had revealed that a few of the participants in each school felt this role would require the young woman to mature emotionally, and that some of the Greenbank and Wellsprings participants appeared to be aware of the financial aspects of motherhood. Together, these data were viewed as suggesting that young women from different socio-economic

backgrounds may appreciate the way in which this role can affect a woman's situation.

When moving on to discuss the pupils' sexual and contraceptive behaviour, it was evident that a significantly greater proportion of the Wellsprings pupils than the Greenbank pupils and the Redpath pupils had experienced sexual intercourse. It was also evident that a significantly greater proportion of the Greenbank pupils than the Redpath pupils had experienced this behaviour. Such findings do suggest that women from relatively deprived areas are at greater risk of pregnancy. Yet, no significant differences were found when focusing on the pupils' contraceptive behaviour, even though the Wellsprings pupils and the Greenbank pupils were less knowledgeable than the Redpath pupils of the risk of pregnancy in certain situations. It was interesting that the Wellsprings pupils and the Greenbank pupils were less knowledgeable since, overall, these pupils had rated their school sex education significantly higher than the Redpath pupils. Furthermore, the Wellsprings pupils had rated their sex education significantly higher than the Greenbank pupils, and felt significantly more comfortable than the Redpath pupils talking to their boyfriends and teachers about sex. Considering the differences which were found between the pupils concerning their levels of sexual behaviour, it was also interesting that pupils from each school held similar views concerning how acceptable it is for a young woman to have sexual intercourse compared to a young man, and how important sexual intercourse is within a relationship. Yet, as noted at

the time, there was no statistical relationship between experience of sexual intercourse and the pupils' view of either of these issues.

When exploring which factors were associated with the pupils' experience of sexual intercourse, it was evident that for the Redpath, Wellsprings and Greenbank pupils, the more sociable a pupil was the more likely she was to have experienced sexual intercourse. As argued at the time, it would be reasonable to think that this relationship was because the more sociable a pupil was, the more likely she is to meet other people which is a prerequisite for sexual relationships. When regressing on the pupils' sexual behaviour, it was also noted that the greater level of parental surveillance a Wellsprings pupil was under, the less likely she was to have experienced sexual intercourse. In addition, it was evident that the more spending money a Greenbank pupil had, the more likely she was to have experienced sexual intercourse. It was suggested that the relationship between parental surveillance and the Wellsprings pupils' experience of sexual intercourse might have been because the level of parental surveillance an individual is under may indicate the extent to which a pupil's parents have the opportunity to promote values which could encourage postponement of sexual experience. The relationship between the amount of spending money a Greenbank pupil had and her sexual behaviour did not appear to exist because the more money a pupil had to spend, the more able she was to socialise. As information was not gathered on how the pupils obtained their money, whether this money was obtained through parental handouts, paid employment or gifts could not be assessed. Thus, consideration could not be given

to whether it was the process of obtaining this money which might explain the relationship between spending money and the experience of sexual intercourse.

Therefore most of the differences noted when analysing the questionnaire data occurred between the Redpath pupils versus the Wellsprings pupils and the Greenbank pupils; a finding which indicates the importance social and economic factors can play in shaping a young woman's views, expectations and behaviour. Yet, similarities as well as differences existed between the Redpath pupils and the other pupils, and these were based on factors such as, levels of self confidence, expectations concerning future relationships, and willingness to consider single motherhood. Factors which might influence the views a young woman holds towards teenage pregnancy and early motherhood. Furthermore, differences were found between the Wellsprings pupils and Greenbank pupils concerning, for example, their expectations regarding the likelihood that they would have a child in four years time and the proportion of their friends who were male; factors which might be expected to influence their views of teenage pregnancy and early motherhood. In addition, analysis of the discussion group data had suggested that participants in each of the schools held similar views towards motherhood and the context in which they believe they will enter this role. It was also evident that some participants in each of the schools had intentions to undertake paid employment, and held both negative and positive views towards marriage. Therefore, the quantitative analyses undertaken gave a complex and sometimes complicated picture of the lives and situations of the pupils. In addition, analysis of the

discussion group data implied that participants in each of the schools may not hold

particularly disparate views concerning the role of motherhood.

The following chapter details the views the pupils and participants held towards

teenage pregnancy and early motherhood, and considers the influence some of the

factors and issues discussed in this chapter had on such views.

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[1] In 1991 McRobbie's *Feminism and Youth Culture. From Jackie to Just Seventeen.* Macmillan, London was published, and in 1993 Sue Lees's *Sugar and Spice. Sexuality and Adolescent Girls.* Penguin Books, London was published.

[2] During this discussion concerning how socio-economic status has been defined and measured, I am aware that Crompton has been referred to on numerous occasions. This reliance on Crompton is a reflection of the fact that the information she provides on this subject is particularly relevant and up to date.

[3] Interestingly a new classification of occupations has just been developed and accepted by the ONS (Karen O'Reilly, University of Aberdeen, personal communication).

[4] Each of these indexes is composed of a number of variables which have been selected in the view that they reflect a particular need or dimension of deprivation. Each index varies in terms of the variables which have been incorporated, and this variation reflects the fact that most of the indexes have been developed with a specific purpose in mind (Lee et al. 1995). For example, Jarman's (1983) Underprivileged Area Score was developed in order to guide the targeting and distribution of resources for primary health care and includes indicators such as, residents under the age of 5 and the proportion of households with elderly residents.

[5] Although it is realised that a deprivation score is assigned to an area rather than a person, for simplicity, during the remainder of this chapter deprivation scores are described as relating to the pupil rather than to the areas in which the pupil lived.

[6] In 22 cases deprivation scores could not be assigned. In 19 of these cases this was because the pupil had not given her postcode, and in the remaining 3 cases this was because deprivation scores could not be matched to the postcode given. Twenty one of the pupils had no social class score and this was either due to insufficient or no information being given for either the pupil's mother's or father's occupation.

[7] The 'other' category includes 'other rented accommodation', 'temporary accommodation', in 'care or foster home', 'school boarding house' and 'don't know'.

[8] 'Others' refers to living with a man and/a women who were/was not the pupil's father or mother.

[9] The level of parental surveillance pupils from each school were under was explored in relation to the pupils' social class and deprivation scores, which adults the pupils' lived with, and how comfortable the pupils felt talking to their parents about sex.

[10] When viewing the mean scores noted, 1 – 2.5 was taken as 'likely', 2.51 – 3.5 as 'unsure' and 3.51 – 5 as 'unlikely'.

[11] The first factor incorporated data collected in response to questions which asked the individual to indicate how easy or difficult it would be for her to 'get a condom', 'use a condom properly' and 'persuade a boyfriend to use a condom'. The factor viewed as reflecting access to medical help and contraceptive supplies incorporated data collected in response to questions which asked each pupil how easy or difficult it would be for her to 'make an appointment at a clinic or with a doctor to get

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contraception', 'discuss contraception in a clinic or with a doctor' and 'get to a clinic or to a doctor's surgery'.

[12] A greater number of reasons than pupils who had not used contraception are noted because pupils could tick more than one reason.

[13] The pupils' use of contraception was explored in relation to their social class and deprivation scores; partner's age and own age at first intercourse; the pupils' views of the costs of early motherhood and the extent to which they feared becoming pregnant; and finally, the pupils' levels of personal confidence and perceived level of personal control over current and future situations.

[14] The factors considered were: the pupils' social class and deprivation scores; the relationship status of their parents; the amount of money they had to spend each week; the extent to which they were under parental surveillance and feared becoming pregnant; their views concerning the extent to which society and women value motherhood; the degree to which they believed abortion is acceptable; their perceptions concerning the proportion of their female peers who are sexually active; extent to which they enjoy school and feel their teachers trust them and value a girl's education; the pupils' predictions concerning their education, employment, personal relationships and motherhood status in four years time; the extent to which the pupils' believed 'it is more acceptable for a teenage boy to have sex than it is for a teenage girl', and felt sexual intercourse was important within a relationship; the pupils' views concerning how well their school sex education had covered the topic of how to refuse intercourse; the pupils' levels of personal confidence and perceived level of personal control over current and future situations; the age at which the individual started to menstruate; how sociable the individual was; and finally, the composition of the pupils' friendship groups in terms of what proportion of their friends are female and what proportion of their friends are male.

[15] Only variables which were significant during univariate analysis have been noted. This point applies to all the tables given in this chapter and in Chapter Six which display the results of regression analysis.

[16] These views were explored in relation to the pupils' social class and deprivation scores; levels of personal confidence and perceived control over current and future situations; composition of friendship groups in terms of what proportion of their friends were male and what proportion were female; whether or not the pupil had experienced sexual intercourse; and finally, the pupils' views concerning what proportion of their female peers were sexually active.

Chapter Six

The Pupils' and Participants' Views of Teenage Pregnancy and Early Motherhood

The purpose of this chapter is to document the data which were collected from the participants and pupils and which provide an insight into how young women from different social and economic backgrounds view teenage pregnancy and early motherhood. Data collected on issues which might have influenced the views held by the participants and pupils are also documented. For example, details are given of the pupils' knowledge of women who have experienced a teenage pregnancy, and their perceptions of their own abilities to access medical advice and contraceptive supplies.

The chapter begins by documenting the extent to which the participants appeared to have knowledge of women who have experienced a teenage pregnancy, and detailing the pupils' knowledge of women who have experienced a teenage pregnancy, had an abortion, entered early motherhood and/or surrendered a child for adoption. The discussion then moves on to detail the participants' and pupils' views of early motherhood and teenage mothers. This discussion is followed by an analysis of the data collected on participants' views of possible reasons for teenage pregnancies, and the responses the pupils gave to questions concerning reasons which have been documented within the literature as possible explanations for

teenage pregnancies. The pupils' perceptions of their own abilities to access medical advice and contraceptive supplies, and their perceptions of their own abilities to use and obtain a condom, are then detailed. Consideration is then given to the participants' and pupils' predictions concerning how they would react if they were to conceive in the next month. When discussing the participants' views on how they thought they would react, their predictions concerning how parents, partners and friends might react are also detailed.

6.1) *The pupils' and participants' knowledge of teenage pregnancy and the various pregnancy outcomes, and their views of early motherhood and teenage mothers*

When analysing the discussion group data it appeared that, compared to the Redpath participants, teenage pregnancy and early motherhood were relatively familiar events for the Greenbank participants and the Wellsprings participants. While during the state school discussions participants openly discussed friends, relatives and fellow pupils who were either currently pregnant or young mothers, only two of the Redpath participants mentioned that they knew someone who had experienced a teenage pregnancy. While the outcome of one of these pregnancies was not discussed, it was evident that the other individual mentioned had experienced a miscarriage.

It is interesting that only two of the Redpath participants mentioned such knowledge as the Redpath participants' completed questionnaires indicated that nine of the Redpath participants knew women who had experienced a pregnancy while under the age of 16. In Chapter Four on page 194 it was noted that this situation meant that, compared to their school peers, a significantly greater proportion of the Redpath participants had knowledge of women who had experienced a teenage pregnancy. Why only two of the Redpath participants mentioned such contact could be because, as will be noted in the next paragraph, such knowledge was relatively rare amongst the Redpath pupils. It is possible, therefore, that the Redpath participants were not forthcoming with such information because they viewed it as 'unusual' or 'uncharacteristic' of their circumstances. They may also have felt that this situation meant that the individual, or individuals known to them, might be identifiable.

When analysing the questionnaire data collected not only from the discussion group participants but also from their fellow pupils, it was evident that 85 per cent of the Wellsprings pupils and 92 per cent of the Greenbank pupils knew at least one individual who had experienced a pregnancy while under the age of 16. Only 34 per cent of the Redpath pupils had such knowledge. When using a chi-squared test to assess the significance of these differences, it was apparent that a significantly smaller proportion of the Redpath pupils than the Wellsprings pupils and the Greenbank pupils had experienced such contact ($X^2 = 42.2$, $p < 0.01$; $X^2 = 60.5$, $p <$

0.01). No significant difference was found between the Greenbank pupils' and the Wellsprings pupils' level of contact.

The notion of teenage pregnancy being a rare event among the Redpath pupils was also evident in the questionnaire data as these data showed that most of the individuals known to the Redpath pupils, as women who had experienced a teenage pregnancy, were described as 'friends' rather than as 'neighbours', 'relatives' or 'others' (table 50). Hence it was suggested that a Redpath pupil would only know of such an event if it occurred to someone she knew personally, rather than someone within her wider social network. Whilst the majority of the individuals known to the Wellsprings pupils and the Greenbank pupils were also described as friends, the relatively high contact these pupils had experienced with pregnant teenagers meant that these pupils also knew a notable number of 'other' young women who had experienced a teenage pregnancy.

Table 50 *Descriptions of women known (percentages given in brackets)*

Description	Redpath (n = 86) (%)	Wellsprings (n = 76) (%)	Greenbank (n = 86) (%)
Friend	29 (64.3)	70 (46.2)	128 (67.4)
Neighbour	2 (4.3)	8 (5.3)	5 (2.5)
Relation	2 (4.3)	11 (7.3)	12 (6.2)
Others	12 (26.7)	62 (41.0)	45 (23.7)
Column Total	45	151	190

In keeping with such findings, the analysis of questionnaire data also implied that the Redpath pupils had significantly less knowledge than the other pupils of teenage motherhood. Each pupil who had known someone who had experienced a pregnancy while under the age of 16, was asked to detail the outcome of this

pregnancy. The actual number and percentage of pupils in each school who knew at least one person who had kept or aborted a teenage pregnancy are detailed in table 51.

Table 51 *Number of pupils who knew someone who had kept or aborted a teenage pregnancy (percentages given in brackets)*

	Redpath (n = 86)	Wellsprings (n = 76)	Greenbank (n = 86)
Pregnancy kept	12 (14.0)	57 (75.0)	75 (87.1)
Pregnancy aborted	12 (14.0)	8 (10.5)	6 (7.0)

The results of a chi-squared test showed that a significantly smaller proportion of the Redpath pupils than the Wellsprings pupils and the Greenbank pupils knew someone who had kept a pregnancy ($X^2 = 61.4$, $p < 0.01$; $X^2 = 92.3$, $p < 0.01$). It was also evident that a significantly greater proportion of the Greenbank pupils than the Wellsprings pupils knew someone who had kept a pregnancy ($X^2 = 3.9$, $p < 0.05$). Thus, if keeping a pregnancy is translated as the individual entering motherhood, it would appear that the Greenbank pupils had experienced the most direct contact with teenage motherhood and the Redpath pupils the least. Despite these differences, no significant differences were found between the pupils concerning their knowledge of women who had aborted a teenage pregnancy. This finding may be a reflection on both the rarity of teenage pregnancy in the Redpath pupils' social network and the fact that relatively few of the state school pupils appeared to know such women.

When focusing on the outcome of each of the pregnancies known to the pupils in each school, it was apparent than more than 70 per cent of the pregnancies known to

the Wellsprings pupils and the Greenbank pupils had been kept. This outcome was also the most frequently occurring outcome for the pregnancies known to the Redpath pupils but only accounted for 40 per cent of these pregnancies (table 52). In addition, over 30 per cent of the pregnancies known to the Redpath pupils had been aborted. Thus, in contrast to the state school pupils, the pregnancy outcome of keeping the child did not dominated the Redpath pupils' knowledge. When focusing on the pupils' knowledge of the various pregnancy outcomes it was also apparent that the Wellsprings and Greenbank pupils knew a number of young women who were currently pregnant. This finding gives the impression that teenage pregnancy was an event which was continually part of the state school pupils' lives.

Table 52 *Outcomes of pregnancies known (percentages given in brackets)*

Outcome	Redpath (n = 86) (%)	Wellsprings (n = 76) (%)	Greenbank (n = 86) (%)
Aborted	15 (33.2)	9 (6.0)	6 (3.2)
Kept	18 (40.0)	109 (72.2)	143 (75.3)
Adopted	1 (2.1)	3 (2.0)	2 (1.1)
Miscarried	5 (11.0)	14 (9.3)	13 (6.7)
Currently pregnant	2 (4.3)	12 (7.8)	15 (7.9)
Don't know	4 (8.9)	4 (2.5)	11 (5.8)
Column Total	45	151	190

When considering the data gathered on the pupils' knowledge of teenage pregnancy and the various pregnancy outcomes, it should be noted that different pupils might have been thinking about the same individual when completing their questionnaire. Thus, within these data there may be cases of 'double' counting. Yet, even if the same person was being considered, these data still indicate what proportion of pupils in each school had knowledge of women who had experienced a teenage

pregnancy, had an abortion etc. Thus, one can state, for example, that a significantly greater proportion of the Greenbank pupils than the Redpath pupils knew women who had experienced a teenage pregnancy, even if some of the Greenbank pupils were referring to the same individual when completing their questionnaires.

The fact that analysis of the questionnaire data had suggested that teenage pregnancy was an event which was continually part of the state school pupils' lives, could explain why teenage motherhood appeared to be an event which had salience for the state school participants and their families.

This salience was implied during the discussion groups held in the state schools as a number of the Greenbank participants and the Wellsprings participants mentioned that they had discussed early motherhood with their parents. In addition, some of the state school participants' described conversations in which their parents had voiced their concerns about the possibility that the participant may be sexually active and therefore at risk of becoming pregnant. Based on the descriptions given, it appeared that most of these conversations had taken the form of a 'protective discourse' (Thomson and Scott 1992); an approach which the participants themselves viewed as unnecessary and suggested that their parents feared for their daughter's safety more than they themselves did:

> 'I've been told for years that if I came home pregnant I would get chucked out there and then.' (LH)

'So how have these conversations come up?' (KT)

'I don't know, my dad is just like that. He just talks about things like that all the time.' (LH)

'Aye, they say "You are getting to that age".' (P)

'I was going out with a guy who was older than me and it all started.' (LH)

'Oh that's heavy.' (BH)

'I would always get about half a lecture before I went out. "Don't do this, don't do that". I don't listen to any of it (laughs). It went in there and out there (pointing to her ears).' (LH)

'We had that conversation when like my cousin was pregnant, ken. Like my older sister came to tell my mum and she was really good about it and that, because like the three of us were together and she was like "What if it had happened to you?".' (B)

'So basically these conversations have happened because certain events have occurred?' (KT)

'No, my mum just talks to me about these things. Like me and my mum are like best pals and talk to each other about anything. I could probably tell her anything at all. It's great having that kind of relationship with my mum but you arenae scared to tell them, but I would be scared to tell my dad.' (BH)

'Helen (talking to another participant) are you getting told it because your sister is pregnant and that?' (P)

'What?' (KT)

'My big sister is pregnant but like I get, like it's not like talks, it's more like lectures. As soon as I go out of the door my mum says "Dinnae do anything", like she is really, really tough.' (H)

'Because of your sister?' (KT)

'Yes. Like I get the blame for everything because she is pregnant. She thinks because she is pregnant I am going to get pregnant.' (H) (1st Greenbank discussion group)

'When I was out with a guy one night and I came in and I had come in a wee bit late and he (her father) goes "What have you been up to?" and I said "I was just sitting and that" (I wasnae going to tell him) and he went "Dinnae be getting up to things" and I said "Dad I ken" and he went, "You mind now, you ken what's it's all about now" and I went "Aye". I was 15 at the time. My mum is like "She kens". "I was just checking" (father), "She kens" (mother). He goes, "I've been a lad of his age, I ken what they are after" (father).' (F)

'Aye.' (group)

'"I ken what they are thinking and what they are wanting to do" (father) and I am like this, "So do I".' (F) (1st Wellsprings discussion group)

Although such advice is often based on real fears, such warnings link the individual's sexual behaviour to the potential for reproduction and, in the absence of

other information, can produce a very limited view of female sexuality (Thomson
and Scott 1992). The participants' objection to such advice may have been a way of
them resisting adult pressure and interference. Alternatively, it could indicate an
'unreality gap', a cognitive inability to appreciate the consequences of one's own
behaviour (Holland et al. 1990b), and therefore may be due to them not appreciating
their own vulnerability.

In contrast to the data collected during the state school discussions, the data
collected during the Redpath discussions implied that the participants viewed early
motherhood as a 'foreign' event. During both Redpath discussions, participants
made comments which suggested that they thought it was unlikely that anyone with
their background or from their school would become a young mother:

> 'This is going to sound a really bad thing to say but I think a lot of teenage
> mums don't come from these kinds of schools.' (LH)
> 'Yes.' (group)
> 'They come from broken families and stuff I think.' (BE)
> 'I was going to say that but I thought you would think me a snob.' (F) (1st
> Redpath discussion group)

> 'What is your image of a teenage mother in general. Do you think there is
> an image, a stereotype?' (KT)
> 'Yes there is.' (number of voices)
> 'Definitely'.
> 'I think very stressful and poor.' (T)
> 'Poor.'
> 'They tend to be, well like at our school..' (F)
> 'You wouldn't think it would happen but like my friend is at (names a state
> school in Edinburgh) and she knows lots of people there who have had
> them.' (S)
> 'I think they are poor before they have had the child.' (L)
> 'Yea, there are from the lower classes. That sounds really snobby but...' (S)
> 'Yea it does.' (2nd Redpath discussion group)

The idea of the Redpath participants viewing teenage mothers as women who came from relatively poor backgrounds, was also suggested during the first discussion as words and phases such as 'poor', 'from a bad area' and 'depend on the dole' were used by individual participants to describe their image of a teenage mother. A few of the Redpath participants also commented that they thought some young women became mothers in order to receive state benefits. In addition, participants taking part in the second Redpath discussion made the following comments when asked what factors did they feel influenced a young woman's decision concerning the outcome of her pregnancy:

> 'I suppose it does depend on, I think money is another part of it I think. I think if your situation is in.' (C)
> 'Poverty.' (A)
> 'Yea, less money, it's sort of normal and other people have got babies.' (C)
> 'If your parents aren't that well off, and you know they have done it with not much money, and you think "Oh I can just carry on" (and have the child).' (T)

This quote suggests that these participants not only viewed early motherhood as an event which was more common among disadvantaged women, but also that women from relatively poor backgrounds were fairly accepting of early motherhood.

Therefore, the Redpath participants envisaged early motherhood as something which happened to others. It appeared that they felt teenage motherhood was not part of their lives and nor would it be for teenage motherhood was an event which,

in their view, happened only to poorer, less well educated girls. With this point in mind it is worth noting that when viewing the participants' completed questionnaires, it was evident that the Redpath participants had experienced very little direct contact with teenage motherhood since only two out of the fourteen pregnancies known to them had been kept. Eight of these pregnancies had been aborted, one had been surrendered for adoption and another had been miscarried. The outcomes of the two remaining pregnancies were not known.

During the second Redpath discussion, it was also apparent that some of the participants thought teenage mothers came from 'unloved' backgrounds and entered motherhood in order to have someone to care for:

> 'They may be unloved. They may come from a family were they haven't had love and if they have their own child then there is a strong bond.' (C)
> 'They focus all their attention on it.' (T)
> 'They might feel like they are not loved and if they have their own child then they know they will always be there for them...they might have this idea that having a baby will change them and they will be perfect mothers.' (C)
> 'They will be really happy.' (T)
> 'Some of them choose to have children. I knew someone who wanted one. It's silly but there are people who choose.' (F)
> 'But most the time when they want one, well this is generalising again, but it's because they want someone to focus their attention on.' (A)
> 'And they know then that they will always have someone to focus their attention on. You know if they feel really unstable and they feel if I had him, he would love me.' (T) (2nd Redpath discussion group)

Interestingly, comments made by participants taking part in the other Redpath discussion suggested that if someone they knew did become a teenage mother, the explanation would be seen in terms of particular emotional needs:

'I think people like Kate (a fellow pupil) is just desperate for someone to care about her.' (P)
'Is she a young mother?' (KT)
'No but she is very close to becoming one.' (P)
'She started having sex when she was 12 and she is 15 now and she has gone through three really heavy relationships.' (B)
'And she is always thinking she might be pregnant.' (P)
'But the thing is she has like been adopted and she is very insecure.' (D)
'Yes.' (group)
'Not that that's an excuse but I think she is very messed up inside.' (D) (1st Redpath discussion group)

This view is interesting considering Phipps Yonas (1980) states that, within the literature, psychological explanations have typically been put forward for white, middle class pregnant teenagers while socio-cultural explanations have been used to explain teenage pregnancy among black, lower class women.

It is also interesting to note that none of the Redpath participants mentioned that they had discussed sexual matters with their parents. Middle class parents are usually more willing than working class parents to discuss such matters with their children (Farrell 1978, Holland et al. 1998). In addition, in Chapter Five on page 334 it was apparent that no significant differences were found between the pupils from each school concerning how comfortable they felt talking to their parents about sex. However, the greater willingness of middle class parents to discuss personal matters has been associated with middle class parents having stronger parent-child communication (Farrell 1978). In addition, the state school participants' descriptions of conversations they had held with their parents suggested that the extent to which a parent was willing to discuss personal matters

might not depend upon the parent's relationship with his/her daughter, but upon the importance attached to giving such information. Two such descriptions were quoted earlier in this chapter on page 354.

The manner in which the Redpath participants talked about teenage mothers suggested that they were aware that teenage motherhood has remained the almost exclusive province of the socio-economically disadvantaged (Geronimus 1991). Their image of teenage mothers as individuals who came from relatively poor backgrounds, may explain why the following view was expressed during the second Redpath discussion:

> 'They (the young mothers) see it as a way out so like they don't have to work and they can get all these benefits.' (C)
> 'Yea.' (T)
> 'And you think "That sorts of saves me if I am not very good academically". They think, "Oh that's fine I can just have a baby, settle down, get a house and go on the dole".' (C) (2nd Redpath discussion group)

Such comments imply that these participants believed teenage pregnancies were not simply accidents but contrived means of improving one's situation and creating a role. The notion of young mothers entering motherhood in order to gain a role or respected status is one which is supported by the literature (Hudson and Ineichen 1991). However, the notion that teenagers become mothers in order to receive welfare and housing benefits is one which has received little or no support (Moore and Rosenthal 1993, Phipps Yonas 1980); although Phoenix (1991) states that, once

pregnant, an individual's situation will influence her decision to enter or defer motherhood.

The idea that the Redpath participants were aware that teenage motherhood occurs primarily among disadvantaged women, and the suggestion that teenage pregnancies are not simply accidents, imply that among these participants there was a view that some form of subcultural acceptance exists within relatively deprived communities. The notion of women entering early motherhood in order to improve their situation also suggests that at least some of the Redpath participants felt that young women residing in deprived areas lack any sense of academic interest or career ambition. Whilst the views of some researchers would support such beliefs (e.g. Curtis et al. 1988, Dash 1989 and Phoenix 1991), Phipps Yonas (1980) argues that there is no evidence to suggest that teenage pregnancy is positively viewed in any social group. In addition, Vinovski (1981) carefully states that the culture of adolescent childbearing is yet to be fully documented and analysed.

In the previous chapter (page 283) it was noted that the Wellsprings pupils and the Greenbank pupils were significantly less likely than the Redpath pupils to expect that they would be at college or university in four years time. This finding was taken to indicate that the Redpath pupils were academically more ambitious than the other pupils. It was also taken to suggest that the Redpath pupils were aiming for more professional careers than the state school pupils. However, it was also apparent that, in general, pupils from each school thought it was likely that they

would be at college or university in four years time (table 26, page 282). In Chapter Five it was also evident that some of the state school participants had talked in terms of having a career (page 297), and that participants from each school appeared to hold similar views regarding the context in which they thought they would become mothers (page 303). In addition, below it will be evident that both analysis of the questionnaire data and analysis of the discussion group data raised questions concerning the existence of a subcultural acceptance.

Three of the questions in the questionnaire were used to explore the pupils' views of early motherhood. All of these questions asked the pupil to indicate on a 5 point scale the extent to which she agreed or disagreed with a particular statement. The first two statements were: 'I would consider having a child whilst I am still a teenager', and 'Teenage mothers can cope with being parents'. The mean scores and standard deviations for pupils in each school, in response to each of these statements, are noted in tables 53 and 54. The final question actually consisted of 5 sub-statements and asked the pupil to indicate the extent to which she agreed that early motherhood had negative implications concerning a young woman's education; social life; ability to cope financially and independently; employment prospects; and finally, marriage prospects. Factor analysis was undertaken on the data collected in response to each of these sub-statements and reduced the dimensionality of the data to a single score. The pupils' mean scores, and 95% confidence intervals for these scores, are depicted in chart 20.

Table 53 *Mean scores and standard deviations concerning the pupils' willingness to consider teenage motherhood (Scale 1 = strongly agree, 3 = unsure, 5 = strongly disagree)*

Redpath (n = 86)	Wellsprings (n = 76)	Greenbank (n = 86)	Total (n = 248)
4.40 (0.87)	4.07 (1.15)	4.24 (0.89)	4.24 (0.98)

Table 54 *Mean scores and standard deviations concerning the pupils' views of a young mother's ability to cope (Scale 1 = strongly agree, 3 = unsure, 5 = strongly disagree)*

Redpath (n = 86)	Wellsprings (n = 72)	Greenbank (n = 86)	Total (n = 244)
3.15 (0.96)	2.75 (1.04)	3.02 (1.02)	2.99 (1.02)

Chart 20 *Pupils' views concerning the costs of early motherhood (Mean score and 95% confidence intervals noted. Low score = costs believed to exist)*
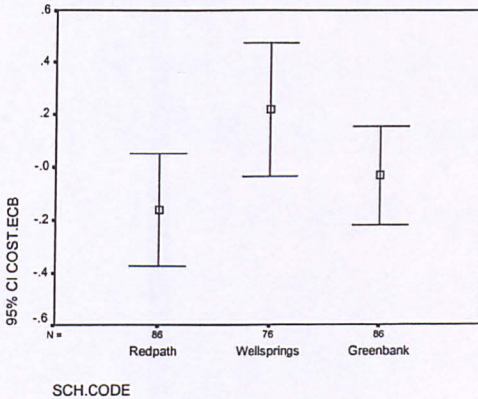
On viewing the mean scores noted in tables 53 and 54 it is apparent that, in general, pupils from each school were unwilling to consider early motherhood and were unsure as to whether teenage mothers can cope. However, when comparing the pupils' mean scores using a 2 sided t-test, it was clear that the Redpath pupils were significantly less willing than the Wellsprings pupils to consider early motherhood (p = 0.04), and were significantly less likely than the Wellsprings pupils to agree that teenage mothers can cope (p = 0.01). As willingness to enter early motherhood is predictive of the likelihood of a young woman entering this role (Abrahause et al. 1988), this first finding is of particular interest. Comparing mean scores also

showed that the Redpath pupils were significantly more likely than the Wellsprings pupils to agree that teenage motherhood has various negative implications ($p = 0.02$).

None of these differences were found between the Redpath pupils and the Greenbank pupils, or between the Greenbank pupils and the Wellsprings pupils. Thus, whilst overall pupils from each school had indicated that they were not willing to consider teenage motherhood, there was evidence to suggest that young women from relatively deprived backgrounds may view teenage motherhood as more acceptable than women from relatively affluent backgrounds. However, significant differences were only found between the Redpath pupils and the Wellsprings pupils. In Chapter Five (charts 1 and 2, page 259) it was apparent that, between the Redpath, Greenbank and Wellsprings pupils, and on the basis of the pupils' social class and area deprivation scores, the greatest difference in terms of socio-economic background existed between the Redpath pupils and the Wellsprings pupils. Thus, it would appear that this difference in view may only be evident when the views of young women from extreme ends of the socio-economic scale are compared.

Earlier it was mentioned that analysis of the discussion group data also raised questions concerning whether or not a subcultural acceptance towards early motherhood exists. This situation arose because the comments made by Redpath participants, Greenbank participants and Wellsprings participants, when asked how

they would react if they were to become pregnant in the next month, suggested that

they thought they would be shocked and upset:

'So what does everyone have under their own name (on the Reactions Sheet)?' (KT)
'Scared.' (T)
'Upset.'
'Shocked.'
'Gutted.'
'Worried.'
'Really disappointed.'
'Afraid.'
'Stunned.'
'Not sure what to do and may be angry.'
'Confused.' (2nd Redpath discussion group)

'(And in) box number 3, yourself?' (KT)
'Scared.'
'Suicidal.'
'I didnae ken what I would do.'
'Oh when it first happens I think you would feel sick, violently sick.' (BH)
'Physically sick as well.' (C)
'I think I would just break down with the shock. Shocked, upset, scared and depressed.' (LH)
'I think I would just ignore it to start of with to see if it would go away but obviously it willnae go away.' (C)
'So first you would deny it?' (KT)
'Aye. Just think there must be a mistake.' (C) (2nd Greenbank discussion group)

'So, what does everyone have under me (on the Reactions Sheet)?' (KT)
'Scared, uncomfortable and wouldn't be able tell parents.' (BH)
'Confused.'
'Scared and shocked.' (F)
'Panic, depressed, upset, scared, alone.' (S)
'So, all of yours are quite negative.' (KT)
'Aye, I cannae see a positive side to having a kid.' (S)
'At this age or in general?' (KT)
'At this age.' (S) (1st Wellsprings discussion group)

Such comments may have been linked to the participants' views of early motherhood, for participants in each school viewed this role as having a number of negative implications for a young woman.

Throughout the discussions which focused on the participants' views of early motherhood, and how they thought this role would affect their current situation and futures, participants in each discussion group made comments which suggested that they felt early motherhood reduced a woman's independence. For example, within each school, a few of the participants commented on how they thought a young mother would have to place the child's needs before her own, and a number of the participants described how they believed the responsibilities of motherhood would curtail their social life and reduce their freedom. In addition, as noted in Chapter Five (page 296), in each of the schools, some of the participants had discussed how they thought early motherhood would negatively affect their future careers. Such comments may have been based on a view of motherhood as a role which reduced a woman's independence. In each school some of the participants discussed how they felt a young mother would have to mature emotionally in order to cope with the responsibilities of motherhood. Interestingly, when asked if they thought they would gain anything from becoming a young mother, some of the Redpath participants, Greenbank participants and Wellsprings participants mentioned the need to mature as a possible benefit. However, when discussing this view it appeared that participants taking part in the first Redpath discussion did not view this situation as a true advantage since they felt it was forced upon the individual:

'You don't think you would gain anything from being a young mum?' (KT)
'I suppose you would gain a lot more maturity and responsibility.' (DH)
'Yea.' (group)
'You would grow up a lot.'
'I think you would have to.'
'I don't know if that is a good thing.' (P)
'No.'
'No, you would be forced to which is a shame.' (DH)
'You know, you would miss out on a lot.' (P) (1st Redpath discussion group)

During the more general discussion concerning early motherhood, it was evident

that the some of the Greenbank participants also felt that this need was not a true

advantage:

'Oh that would be your life ruined if you had a wean.' (BH)
'What, if you had a baby?' (KT)
'At this age.' (number of voices)
'Because you are still at school and stuff.' (C)
'Because you have your whole life ahead of you.'
'Aye, you have got your whole life, why rush into anything.' (BH)
'You have always got somebody else to think about. You cannae like do things.' (C)
'Aye you cannae say "I want to do this or that".' (BH)
'But girls who have had weans at our age, I would say, they have become maturer quicker.' (C)
'Aye.' (number of voices)
'Because they have had to realise that they can't do anything.' (C)
'But that's not really a good thing.'
'It's like they have missed out a part of their lives because they have had to grow up really fast.' (C) (1st Greenbank discussion group)

Another possible advantage mentioned during the Redpath discussions was gaining

love for the child, and a few of the Redpath participants discussed how they

thought, if you did not particularly enjoy your life or felt something was missing,

then having a child might improve your situation. One of the Wellsprings

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participants described how she thought a young mother would be able to spend more time with her child than an older mother as, in her view, a young mother was less likely to be working. Another Wellsprings participant and one of the Greenbank participants commented that they thought a young mother might have a better understanding than an older mother of her child as the age difference would be less. During one of the Greenbank discussions it was also argued that a young mother would be more understanding if her daughter conceived at a young age.

In each of the schools, some of the participants also appeared to believe that early motherhood reduced a woman's relationship prospects, as they commented that men were unlikely to want to take on the responsibility of someone else's child. In addition, participants taking part in the second Redpath discussion openly discussed how they thought early motherhood would place too much strain on a young person's relationship. Comments made by some of the participants taking part in this discussion also implied that they felt a young father would abandon his parental responsibilities. The majority of putative fathers do abandon their parental responsibilities (Hudson and Ineichen 1991) and it appeared that the participants taking part in this discussion were aware that the responsibilities of early parenthood usually fall on the young mother (Phoenix 1991):

> 'Say it was like an 18 year old guy like, guys that are more known for sort of getting bored and going away.' (S)
> 'They have got less responsibilities.'
> 'Say it was like the guys who had the babies, and then you were going out with someone and he had a baby and that was like all there was to your

relationship then you would get bored, even though it was your baby too.'
(S)
'It's easier for them to leave.'
'It's easier for the guy because they haven't actually had the baby, like once you have had them you cannot, you wouldn't be able just to give it up but for him it's easier to walk away and could back just once a month.' (S)
'And he could go to another girl.' (T)
'And even though people don't want it to be it is always the mother who has the responsibility.' (L)
'Yea.' (group)
'When it comes down to it.'
'Because an 18 year old guy is never going want a baby.' (S)
'The guys say "I will take half the responsibility" but for them to do stuff you would probably have to ask them. They are not going to just go and do it.' (T) (2nd Redpath discussion group)

As a number of the Greenbank participants and Wellsprings participants had discussed how they thought a young father could abandon his partner, it appeared that some of the state school participants were also aware of this situation.

Therefore, there was evidence to suggest that, within each school, there were participants who appreciated that early motherhood can constrain a young woman's freedom and social life, hinder her career and relationship prospects, and steal her adolescence (Simms and Smith 1986, Phoenix 1991). Thus, whilst analysis of the questionnaire data had shown that, in general, pupils in each school were unwilling to consider teenage motherhood, analysis of the discussion group data had revealed that participants in each of the schools viewed early motherhood in a predominately negative light. In light of such findings it is worth noting that no significant differences were found when comparing the answers the discussion group participants had given, with those of their fellow pupils, in response to the survey questions which had focused on their views concerning the implications of early

motherhood and how willing they would be to enter this role. There were also no significant differences found between the state school participants and their fellow pupils' answers to the question which asked them to indicate the extent to which they agreed with the statement 'teenage mothers can cope with being parents'. Although a significant difference was found between the Redpath participants' answers and those of their fellow pupils in relation to this statement, this difference indicated that the Redpath participants were less likely than their peers to agree that teenage mothers can cope (group $\bar{x}$ = 3.64 (s.d = 0.93) versus $\bar{x}$ = 3.06 (s.d = 0.95), p < 0.05). Thus, if anything, the Redpath participants might have given a slightly more negative view of early motherhood than would have been given by some of their fellow pupils.

Yet, while the discussion group participants in each school appeared to hold similar views concerning the implications of early motherhood, some of the Redpath, Wellsprings and Greenbank participants also emphasised different aspects of this role. Some of the Redpath participants appeared to believe that early motherhood had negative implications for the young mother's child, as they commented that a child of a young mother 'couldn't get the best upbringing', that early motherhood not only ruined the young mother's life but also that of her child, and that a young mother might not be able to 'support' her child. In addition, comments made by some of the participants taking part in the second Redpath discussion suggested that they felt young mothers were less able than older mothers to cope emotionally with

motherhood, and that this was because the young mother was less mature and had

less support:

> 'If they are in a café or something and they start hitting their children, I know older people do to but you see it quite a lot with teenage mothers and you just feel really sorry for the baby.' (S)
> 'You feel really sad.'
> 'But you also feel sorry for the mother.'
> 'Yes but that's just what you think.' (S)
> 'It's taking away their...'(T)
> 'Independence.'
> '...childhood because a lot about growing up is becoming an older teenager and like going out a lot with your friends and that would take a lot of your freedom away because you would have to look after your child.' (T)
> 'You are less likely to be in a relationship if you are a teenage mother.' (A)
> 'Yea.'
> 'When you see a teenage mother they always seem to be on their own but when you see like older mothers they are usually with somebody.' (F)
> 'Because they have not fully matured and they have still got to change if you know what I mean. So if they were with someone at the start of the relationship they would probably have changed.' (T)
> 'Yea definitely.'
> 'Before they have strengthened it so that they would have ending up maybe not liking the partner they are with.' (T)
> 'They are not mature enough, teenage mothers, to take on the responsibility.' (A)
> 'Some of them are.' (F)
> 'Yea, I wouldn't say that I just think it's too much for them.' (T)

Some of the Redpath participants also appeared to associate early motherhood with

sexual promiscuity, as a few of them described their image of teenage mothers as

women who were 'quite tarty', and one participant commented that she thought

some women 'just go out with their boyfriends and have sex and stuff'. In addition,

comments made by participants taking part in the first Redpath discussion implied

that they viewed early motherhood as a role which is socially stigmatised:

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'When you are walking about town you see people and they might be with their younger sisters or they might be with their child, you never know if they are the mum or not and they tend to get a lot of funny looks from people.' (F)
'Society has changed so much everyone is like that (concerned face).' (DH)
'You feel like turning around and saying, "This is not my baby".' (F)
'I know, that's what I would be like because I have got a recent baby sister and if I was to walk around everyone would be like that.' (DH)
'Staring.' (KT)
'"But it's not my sister" (said as if she was shouting to everyone around her).' (DH)

Some of the participants taking part in the second Redpath discussion also appeared to believe that early motherhood was a role which could socially degrade a young woman. This was because they made comments which suggested that they felt others might draw negative conclusions about the individual because of her situation as a young mother:

'Even in a sort of basic job like working in a shop, no one wants to hire a 16 year old single mum because it gives them too many hassles if they can hire a 15 year old school girl who goes to a good school to come along and work after school.' (S)
'Or even a 24 year old.' (T)
'Yes, even an old person.' (S)
'And the things that they think of, when they think of teenage mums as well is not just the fact that they have got a baby but it is all the other things that they would think of.' (F)
'Yea.'

Thus, it appeared that some of the Redpath participants felt that a young mother could struggle to cope financially and emotionally with motherhood, and that a few of the Redpath participants associated this role with sexual promiscuity. It also appeared that some of the Redpath participants felt early motherhood was a role which could socially and morally degrade a young woman.

When discussing how early motherhood could affect a young woman, participants taking part in the second Greenbank discussion emphasised how they thought a young mother would struggle to cope with the financial aspects of motherhood. The participants taking part in this particular discussion also emphasised how they thought a young mother might struggle emotionally to come to terms with her situation, although interestingly they also argued that they thought a young mother would be able to cope:

'What about teenage motherhood then?' (KT)
'It's going to be harder.' (C)
'It's going to be a big responsibility for somebody so young.' (B)
'So it will be harder because the person is still young?' (KT)
'Aye.' (group)
'They might think its taking away their childhood, their teenage years. They are a mum and they are just a teenager.' (B)
'They have not been young long enough.' (Y)
'You are still a teenager yourself but you have got children.' (B)
'So it's harder because she is still young?' (KT)
'Aye.' (group)
'Do you think she will be able to cope?' (KT)
'Aye.' (group)
'(early motherhood might also be hard) cos she (the young mother) might stay on at school and she's got the pressure of exams and then the pressure of looking after a child when she is at home. And when she is at school the pressure of having to look for a sitter.' (C)

In the above quote it is apparent that one of the Greenbank participants felt that a young mother would struggle because she would have to juggle the responsibilities of motherhood with those concerning her education. Comments made by one of the Wellsprings participants suggested that she also felt there was a potential conflict between early motherhood and an individual's schooling. This time, however, it

appeared that the participant felt that the individual would have to make a choice, as this conflict was not only in terms of time but also because motherhood would place financial demands on the individual:

> 'So do you have any images of teenage motherhood?' (KT)
> 'Insecurity.' (F)
> 'Why?' (KT)
> 'Why? Well you are not going to have the money to look after it.' (F)
> 'How do you know?' (PT)
> 'Well, if you are still at school they havenae, but if you have left school and got a job then there's a difference but if you are still at school.' (F)
> 'You would have to make a lot of sacrifices, like you might have to come out of school.' (S) (1st Wellsprings discussion group)

Two other Wellsprings participants made comments which suggested that they thought early motherhood would have financial implications. One of these participants mentioned that she thought early motherhood would curtail a young woman's social life, as it would mean the individual would be unable to afford to go out. The comments made by the other participant implied that she believed, without financial support, a young woman might not be able to keep her child. This participant is quoted later on page 411.

Therefore, in addition to the negative aspects of early motherhood which had been mentioned during discussion groups held in each school, some of the Redpath participants also appeared to view early motherhood as a role which could have negative implications for the young mother's child and could socially stigmatise a young woman. Some of the Greenbank participants appeared to view this role as one which a young woman might struggle with, both financially and emotionally,

and according to the views of one participant, could place the individual in a position of having to juggle different aspects of her life. Comments made by some of the Wellsprings participants suggested that they viewed early motherhood as a role which might entail the individual having to make choices concerning her role as a mother and her situation as a pupil. A few of the Wellsprings participants also appeared to be aware of the financial aspects of this role. Considering the Greenbank participants and the Wellsprings participants were from relatively disadvantaged backgrounds, their comments regarding the financial implications of early motherhood could relate to their own situations. The attention some of the Redpath participants had given to the social implications of early motherhood could be associated with their view that most teenage mothers come from relatively poor backgrounds. Thus, to some extent, each of these 'additional' associations may have related to the participants' own situation and concerns.

During the state school discussions it became apparent that some of the participants knew young mothers who had continued with their education. This knowledge may have meant that at least some of the state school participants had an appreciation for the complexities around early motherhood. It could also have meant that, unlike some of the Redpath participants who appeared to believe teenage mothers entered motherhood since they lacked academic focus and wanted to abandon 'adolescent' roles, some of the state school participants may have realised that early motherhood did not necessarily allow such abandonment. This situation could explain why, when discussing possible reasons for teenage pregnancies or their views of teenage

mothers, most of the Greenbank participants and most of Wellsprings participants either directly commented that they thought most teenage pregnancies were accidents, or made comments which implied that they held this view. Certainly, it did appear that some of the participants held this view because they felt that the costs of early motherhood did not outweigh the benefits:

> 'It could happen to anybody.' (RH)
> 'So you don't have an image of a teenage mum?' (KT)
> 'No, I don't.' (RH)
> 'Are their any words you associate with a teenage mother?' (KT)
> 'No.' (RH)
> 'You don't think that they are someone who has been careless or is a tart?' (KT)
> 'I don't think they are a tart. I mean they may have had sex just the one time and have got pregnant. That doesnae mean that they are a slag or a slut.' (RH)
> 'I think they have probably just been unlucky because I don't think someone of our age would set out to be a mother at our age.' (C)
> 'Aye.' (group)
> 'They don't plan it.' (RH) (2nd Greenbank discussion group)

> 'Why do you think teenagers become pregnant?' (KT)
> 'An accident.' (F)
> 'I would say mainly accidents. I don't know anybody who has planned it, being a teenager. They are just stupid if they do.' (D)
> 'A lot of teenagers want to live their life. They don't want to be tied down with a wean so I would say it is just accidents.' (S) (1st Wellsprings discussion group)

The Greenbank quote reproduced above suggests that viewing a teenage pregnancy as an unplanned event removes any moral or social stigma from the pregnancy and the young mother. Comments made by two of the Wellsprings participants also indicated how this view could leave a young woman 'blame' free:

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'I didnae say folk are a tart if they end up pregnant. If they end up pregnant, they end up pregnant.' (F)
'Its just an accident, just one of them things which happens. Accidents happen.' (S) (1st Wellsprings discussion group)

Thus, it was evident that most of the state school participants did not view teenage pregnancies as planned events and that, in contrast to some of the Redpath participants, some of the state school participants did not associate teenage motherhood with sexual promiscuity.

The tendency for the Greenbank and the Wellsprings participants to believe that most teenage pregnancies were unplanned, could explain why none of these participants made the socio-economic distinction which had been made by the Redpath participants. The only comment made by the state school participant in relation to the influence of family background was made by a Wellsprings participant and focused on the individual having an abusive, uncaring background. Hence, it focused on *emotional* rather than *economic* deprivation. This tendency could also explain why when asking the state school participants if they thought there was a 'stereotypical' teenage mother or a certain type of individual who becomes a young mother, the majority stated that they did not. However, one of the Greenbank participants did comment that her image of a teenage mother was 'somebody who's not been careful'. In addition, a few of the participants taking part in the second Wellsprings discussion commented that they thought women 'with a bad reputation for sleeping around', and women who did were not interested in or successful at school, were more likely to become young mothers. Therefore, it

did appear that whilst most of the state school participants did not have any particular image of a teenage mother, a few felt that some women were more at risk of entering early motherhood. In addition, it was evident that some of the Wellsprings participants, like some of the Redpath participants, associated early motherhood with sexual promiscuity and/or a lack of educational motivation.

Although the participants' views concerning the reasons for teenage pregnancies have been discussed and located in relation to their images of young mothers, it is worth focusing specifically on the explanations they gave when directly asked why they thought some women conceive in their teenage years. This is because this question led to a number of other possible explanations being discussed. In addition, this focus will reveal that the participants' views concerning the reasons for teenage pregnancies may have been influenced not only by their knowledge of teenage mothers, but also by their current situation.

6.2) *Reasons for teenage pregnancies*

6.2.1) *The participants' views*

Earlier on page 359 there was a suggestion that the Redpath participants' view of teenage mothers as individuals who came from relatively poor backgrounds had encouraged some of these participants to view teenage pregnancies as planned

events. Whether the participants' fellow pupils viewed young mothers as women who came from relatively poor backgrounds cannot be determined as none of the questions in the questionnaire gather data on the pupils' images of teenage mothers. All that can be stated is that, when offering possible explanations for teenage pregnancies, comments made by some of the Redpath participants implied that they realised that teenage pregnancies can be the result of young women not realising or appreciating the risks involved in having unprotected intercourse (Brown et al. 1992, Trussell 1988):

> 'I think if they are quite young they are just stupid about it. They are like...'(P)
> 'They don't realise.'
> '...well from what I have seen on TV, I don't actually know much about it, but they seem to be total, just going out and the talk show host says "Why didn't you use a condom?", "Oh I didn't think".' (P)
> 'Kills the mood.'
> 'Just being stupid about it.' (P)
> 'Some people think I won't get pregnant if I don't use a condom once and just take it for granted.' (BE) (1st Redpath discussion group)

> 'Why do you think teenagers do become pregnant then?' (KT
> 'Some people think "Oh it's never going to happen to me".' (S)
> 'Yea, (they) think that they are invincible.' (F)
> '"One time", they say. "One time, it will never happen to me".' (S)
> 'Yea.' (2nd Redpath discussion group)

During both Redpath discussions a lack of knowledge concerning contraceptive methods and a lack of access to contraceptive supplies were also mentioned as possible explanations. However, while discussing these a number of participants in both groups commented that they felt young women knew about contraception and that contraception was relatively easy to access. Hence, it appeared that whilst

acknowledging these possible explanations, some of the Redpath participants also felt such explanations should not exist. Such views may have been linked to the participants' own situations as Redpath School is located in a city which has numerous family planning clinics run specifically for young people. Thus, these participants had good access to contraceptive information and supplies.

During the Wellsprings and Greenbank discussions, participants mentioned both intentional and unintentional explanations for teenage pregnancies. During the first Greenbank discussion group, the following explanations were put forward to explain why some teenagers become pregnant: to gain more attention (Hudson and Ineichen 1991), to increase a partner's commitment (Phipps Yonas 1980), and because they want a child (Dash 1989). Attention seeking and wanting a child were also explanations mentioned during the Wellsprings discussion groups. Interestingly, comments made by some of the Wellsprings participants implied that they, like some of the Redpath participants, thought an individual may want a child in order to improve her situation or create role for herself:

> 'Why else would a teenager get pregnant?' (KT)
> 'They may want to.' (T)
> 'Why?' (KT)
> 'Some people think it's cool to have a wean.' (T)
> 'And maybe they are not doing so well at school or...' (LH)
> 'For attention.'
> 'Aye, and may be they are not doing well at school and that and they didnae really want to get a job so they think, "Oh well I will just have a wean and put off getting a job".' (LH)
> 'So it gives them something to do?' (KT)
> 'Aye.' (LH) (2nd Wellsprings discussion group)

So, although the state school group participants had stressed that they viewed teenage pregnancies as unplanned events, during the Wellsprings and Greenbank discussions intentional explanations were also mentioned.

During the second Greenbank discussion, comments made by one of the participants suggested that she viewed a lack of contraceptive knowledge as another possible explanation. Those of a fellow participant implied that she felt it was a not simply a lack of knowledge and but also a lack of confidence:

'Any other reasons?' (KT)
'May be people don't know enough about contraception and that.' (RH)
'Folk are embarrassed to say.' (B)
'What, say that they don't know?' (KT)
'Aye and to ask for it.' (RH)
'And to say to the guy to use something.' (B)

It appeared that the Wellsprings participants did not view a lack of contraceptive knowledge as a possible explanation. This explanation was not mentioned during the second discussion group and when the participants taking part in the first Wellsprings discussion group were directly asked if they thought teenagers knew about contraception, the responses they gave indicated that they thought teenagers did know. Considering in Chapter Five (page 333) it was noted that, overall, the Wellsprings pupils had rated their sex education significantly higher than the other pupils, it is interesting to note that having responded to this direct questioning, one participants linked her response to the provision of sex education in schools:

'So do you think teenagers know about contraception?' (KT)
'Aye.' (group)
'Aye because you get taught it at school.' (F) (1st Wellsprings discussion group)

Whether or not the Wellsprings participants mentioned more intentional explanations than the Greenbank participants, as noted earlier on page 376, the overall impression given by the state school participants' comments implied that most of them viewed teenage pregnancies primarily as accidents. When exploring why the Wellsprings participants held such views it appeared that, like some of the Redpath participants, a few of them felt young women sometimes did not appreciate the risk of unprotected intercourse:

'A lot of teenagers want to live their life. They don't want to be tied down with a wean so I would say it is just accidents.' (S)
'Why do you think teenagers are so careless?' (KT)
'It is not a case of being careless. It is just one of those things which happens. I mean they could have been using protection but it just failed, that way it is nobody's fault.' (S)
'Folk get drunk as well at a party.' (F)
'Aye.' (group)
'And..' (F)
'Get carried away.' (PT)
'Do you just think they don't realise the risk?' (KT)
'Aye, until it happens.' (D)
'You think it is never going to happen to you.' (H) (1st Wellsprings discussion group)

From the above extract it is evident that one of the Wellsprings participants (participant S) mentioned contraceptive failure as a possible explanation. The comments made by this participant imply that she felt this reason absolved the individual from all blame. They also suggest that she held a rather fatalistic view

towards teenage pregnancy, since they imply that she felt, no matter how careful the individual was, the risk of pregnancy could not be avoided.

On viewing the data collected during the Greenbank discussions, the thinking underlying the views of those whose comments had indicated or suggested that they viewed most teenage pregnancies as unplanned, was less clear as these participants had not been asked to explain why had made such comments. However, earlier on page 375 it was evident that some of the Greenbank participants appeared to believe that some young women were just 'unlucky'. In addition, one Greenbank participants mentioned 'being careless' as a possible explanation; a comment which suggests that she felt teenage pregnancies could be result to women not using contraception. In addition, a comment made by another Greenbank participant suggested that she felt alcohol could cloud a woman's judgement:

> 'Sometimes they are just not careful say at a party and they get totally and utterly steaming and then they don't ken what they are doing then.' (C) (1st Greenbank discussion group)

Interestingly, during at least one of the discussion groups held within each school, male pressure to have unprotected intercourse was mentioned as a possible explanation for a teenage pregnancy. However, it did appear that the Redpath participants were critical of those who allowed themselves to be subjected to such pressure, whilst the Wellsprings and Greenbank participants were not:

'I don't understand how people can have such a lack of (contraceptive) knowledge.' (L)

'Because like, that's what sometimes the boyfriend might say "Its OK this way honestly" and then they (the young woman) go "All right then" and then they get pregnant and the boyfriend walks out and they are left. And if they are that ignorant when they get pregnant, what are they supposed to do when they have a baby?' (F)

'So you think boys put pressure on girls?'

'Yes.' (group) (1st Redpath discussion group)

'I think the boyfriend might even say things like, "You can have sex this way because you won't get pregnant" and the lassie might not know herself that she cannae or she can.' (C)

'So the lassie might not know she can get pregnant?' (KT)

'Aye.' (C)

'So do you think boys might trick girls?' (KT)

'Aye' (group)

'Why?' (KT)

'Because they just want to have sex and that's it.' (C)

'Do you not think that they know they can have sex carefully?' (KT)

(silence)

'Or do you think they don't think about that, they just want to have sex?' (KT)

'Aye, that's what I think.' (C) (2nd Wellsprings discussion group)

'Even in magazines and the problem pages are like, "If you really love your boyfriend" and all that and "He wants to have sex", and you are like, "Well you have got to wear a condom then", and he's like "No it doesnae fit or mines too big or it hurts or it doesnae feel comfortable", and you are kind of stuck in the middle thinking "What do I do. Do I just do it or no do it?" And he just brings on the big guilt trip of, "If you loved me you would just do it", and then you think, "Oh well, I had better do it without one then".' (C)

'So it could be male pressure.' (KT)

'Aye.' (group) (2nd Greenbank discussion group)

Therefore, although the Redpath participants' comments regarding young mothers had suggested that they viewed teenage pregnancies as planned events, it was evident that when directly asking these participants to offer possible explanations for teenage pregnancies, unintentional explanations were mentioned. The idea of

teenage pregnancies being a result of young women not appreciating or realising the risks involved in having unprotected intercourse was mentioned during the Redpath discussions and during the Wellsprings discussions. Although none of the Greenbank participants openly stated that they thought teenage pregnancies were the result of women not appreciating the risks involved, it did appear that a few of them felt that some teenage pregnancies were the result of contraception not being used. During the Greenbank discussions, the possibility of contraceptive ignorance and a lack of confidence in negotiating sexual relations were also mentioned as possible explanations. Yet, not all of the possible explanations mentioned by the state school participants implied that they thought teenage pregnancies were unplanned. During Wellsprings and Greenbank discussions, attention seeking and wanting a child were also mentioned. In addition, comments made by some of the Wellsprings participants suggested that they thought a young woman might plan to enter early motherhood in order to improve or change her situation. It was interesting that during at least one of the discussions held within each school, male pressure to have sexual intercourse was mentioned as a possible explanation. Such pressure does exist (Holland et al. 1991). This finding suggests that some of the Redpath, Greenbank and Wellsprings participants may have been aware that heterosexual relations are commonly defined in terms of an active male sexuality and a passive female sexuality, and thus socially construct a woman's sexual identity as subordinate to that of her partner (Holland et al. 1991c).

As explained in Chapter Four, the questionnaire was used to assess the pupils'

views of various possible reasons for teenage pregnancies.   However, before

moving on to consider these views, it is interesting to note that although the

Redpath participants had described young mothers as coming from relatively poor

backgrounds, participants taking part in the first discussion group appeared to

realised that teenage mothers are potentially caring and responsible parents (Phoenix

1991):

> 'You see a lot of them though and they are not very well dressed but if you
> look at their babies they have got like really decent clothes on and
> everything. The baby is catered for but they kind of let themselves go
> because of the baby.' (F)
> 'That's better than...'
> 'I know, that's what I am saying that like, that's the stereotype that they are
> poor now, that's the person but they really do care for their baby a lot of the
> time.' (F)
> 'They probably love them just as much as anybody loves their children.'
> (BE)
> 'Aye.' (group)
> 'They must be pretty brave to go through all that and handle it and not be a
> mess because I know I would be a mess.' (DH) (1st Redpath discussion
> group)

6.2.2) *The pupils' views*

The questions included in the questionnaire were used to explore the pupils' views

of reasons which have been noted within the literature as possible explanations for

occurrence of teenage pregnancy. Thus, each pupil who completed a questionnaire

was asked to indicate on a 5 point scale the extent to which she agreed with the

following statements: When teenagers become pregnant it is usually because 'they want a child'; 'they had unprotected sex because they did not know about contraception'; 'they had unprotected sex because contraception is hard to get'; 'they had unprotected sex because they did not think they would become pregnant'; 'the contraception they used did not work'; and finally, 'their boyfriend refused to use a condom and nothing else was available'. The mean scores for the pupils' responses to each of these statements, and standard deviations for these scores, are detailed in table 55.

Table 55 *Mean scores and standard deviations for the pupils' answers to possible reasons for the occurrence of teenage pregnancies (1 = strongly agree, 3 = unsure, 5 = strongly disagree)*[1]

	Redpath (n = 86)	Wellsprings (n = 76)	Greenbank (n = 86)
Want a child	4.01 (0.75)	3.51 (0.83)	3.79 (0.69)
Did not know about contraception	3.36 (1.04)	3.11 (1.15)	3.29 (1.09)
Contraception is hard to get	3.79 (0.96)	4.03 (0.94)	3.85 (1.02)
Did not think they would become pregnant	2.10 (0.81)	2.18 (1.12)	2.13 (1.00)
Contraception did not work	2.60 (0.95)	2.96 (1.00)	2.91 (1.08)
Boyfriend refused to use a condom	2.60 (0.90)	3.04 (1.09)	2.81 (1.12)

Taking mean scores as indicative of the pupils' views, the following comments can be made. In general, pupils in each school did not agree that teenagers became pregnant because they wanted a child or because contraception is hard to get. In general, pupils from each school did agree that teenagers become pregnant because they do not believe it will happen to them. And finally, in general, the Redpath pupils, the Wellsprings pupils and Greenbank pupils appeared unsure as to whether they thought contraceptive failure, a lack of contraceptive knowledge, and boyfriend refusals were possible explanations.

Factor analysis of the data gathered in response to each of these statements led to three new variables being created. The first variable only included responses to the first statement and thus was taken as indicating the extent to which a pupil agreed that teenage pregnancies were the result of young women wanting a child. As the second variable incorporated data from the statements concerning reasons for unprotected sex, this variable was taken to indicate reasons which related to the use of contraception. The final factor included the data collected in response to the statement which suggested that teenage pregnancies were the result of contraceptive failure.

When comparing the mean scores for pupils in each school, for each of these factors, it was evident that the Redpath pupils were significantly less likely than the Greenbank pupils and the Wellsprings pupils to agree that teenage pregnancies were the result of young women wanting a child ($p = 0.03$, $p < 0.01$). It was also evident that the Redpath pupils were significantly more likely than the Greenbank pupils and the Wellsprings pupils to agree that teenage pregnancies were the result of contraceptive failure ($p = 0.04$, $p < 0.01$). There was no difference between the Wellsprings pupils and the Greenbank pupils concerning this last view, but the Wellsprings pupils were significantly more likely than the Greenbank pupils to agree that teenage pregnancies were the result of young women wanting a child ($p = 0.01$). There was no difference between the pupils from each school concerning the

suggestion that teenage pregnancies were the result of young women experiencing difficulties in using contraception.

It is interesting that the Redpath pupils were significantly more likely than the state school pupils to agree that teenage pregnancies could be a result of contraceptive failure. This finding may relate to the level of sexual experience amongst the Redpath pupils. Whilst in Chapter Five these pupils had been noted as the most knowledgeable of issues surrounding the use of contraception (page 330), it was also apparent that these pupils were least sexually experienced in terms of physical relationships (page 308).

Earlier when describing the participants' views of teenage mothers, it was evident that the Redpath participants had been more likely than the other participants to make comments which implied that they viewed teenage pregnancies as planned events. In light of this, one might have expected the analysis of the questionnaire data to indicate that the Redpath pupils were significantly less likely than the other pupils to agree that teenage pregnancies were the result of young women wanting a child. Yet, when actually focusing on the mean scores noted in table 55 for the pupils' response to the statement 'when teenagers become pregnant it is usually because they want a child', it is apparent that, in general, pupils from each school disagreed with this statement. Hence, whilst differences existed between the Redpath pupils versus the Wellsprings pupils and the Greenbank pupils, this did not mean that the state school pupils viewed teenage pregnancies as planned events; this

difference was relative, not absolute. In addition, earlier when detailing the discussion group data, it was clear that participants from each school had mentioned both intentional and unintentional explanations for the occurrence of teenage pregnancies. Thus, this intentional/unintentional divide did not completely capture the discussion group participants' views.

Above it was noted that no significant differences were found between the pupils from each school concerning the suggestion that teenage pregnancies were the result of young women experiencing difficulties in using contraception. The fact that no differences were found is interesting considering differences were found between the Redpath pupils and the other pupils regarding how confident they felt in their ability to obtain and use a condom, and in their ability to access medical advice and contraceptive supplies.

6.3) *The pupils' views of their own ability to obtain and use a condom, and access medical advice and contraceptive supplies*

Analysis of the questionnaire data showed that the Redpath pupils were significantly less confident than the Wellsprings pupils in their ability to obtain and use a condom ($\bar{x}$ = 0.23 (s.d = 0.99) versus $\bar{x}$ = -0.20 (s.d = 0.94), p < 0.01 (low score = confident)). They were also significantly less confident than the Wellsprings pupils and the Greenbank pupils in their ability to access medical advice and contraceptive

supplies ($\bar{x}$ = 0.22 (s.d = 0.99) versus $\bar{x}$ = -0.16 (s.d = 0.98), p = 0.01 and $\bar{x}$ = -0.10 (s.d = 0.95) p = 0.03). No differences were found between the Wellsprings pupils and the Greenbank pupils concerning either of these variables. These findings are based on comparisons made on two factors which were created through factor analysis. The first factor incorporated data collected in response to questions which asked the pupil to indicate how easy or difficult it would be for her to 'get a condom', 'use a condom properly' and 'persuade a boyfriend to use a condom'. The factor viewed as reflecting how confident the pupil felt in her ability access to medical help and contraceptive supplies incorporated data collected in response to questions which asked each pupil how easy or difficult it would be for her to 'make an appointment at a clinic or with a doctor to get contraception', 'discuss contraception in a clinic or with a doctor' and 'get to a clinic or to a doctor's surgery'. The mean scores, and 95% confidence intervals for these factors, are presented in charts 21 and 22.

Chart 21 *Pupils' perceptions of their own abilities to obtain and use a condom*
       (Low score = confident in own abilities)
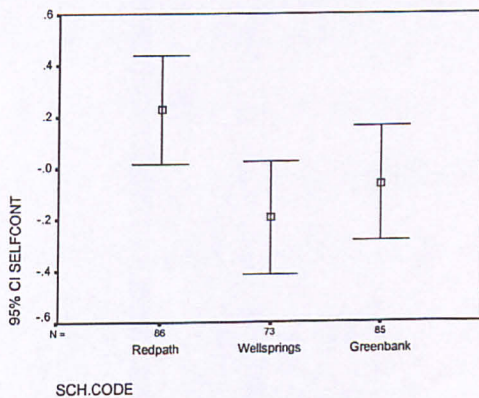
Chart 22 *Pupils' perceptions of their own abilities to access medical advice and contraceptive supplies (Low score = confident in own abilities)*
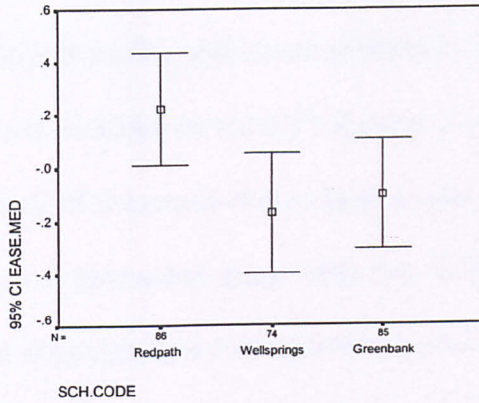
Although one might expect such differences to be reflected in the extent to which pupils from each school agreed that difficulties in accessing and using contraception was a reason, it is possible that this did not occur because the Redpath pupils may have felt that their perceptions of their own abilities were not relevant when considering possible reasons for the occurrence of teenage pregnancy. A theory which is based on the fact that, as noted on page 356, the Redpath participants envisaged teenage motherhood as an event which happens to other women.

Regression analysis was undertaken in order to explore which factors influenced the pupils' views of their own abilities to obtain and use a condom. The results of this analysis suggested that the difference between the Redpath pupils and the Wellsprings pupils, in relation to how confident the pupils were in their ability to obtain and use a condom, related to the pupils' level of sexual experience, extent to which they felt comfortable talking to their boyfriend about sex, and the extent to which they believed they could access medical advice and supplies. This comment

is based on three points. First, each of these variables was positively related to a Redpath pupil's and a state school pupil's belief in her ability to obtain and use a condom (tables 56 and 57)[2]. Second, because it was noted in Chapter Five that, out of all of the pupils, the Redpath pupils were the least likely to have experienced sexual intercourse (page 308) and were significantly less comfortable than the Wellsprings pupils talking to their boyfriend about sex (page 334). Finally, because it has just been noted that the Redpath pupils were less confident than the Wellsprings pupils in their ability to access medical advice and contraceptive supplies. A Redpath pupil's perceptions of her own ability to obtain and use a condom were also greater if she believed the subject of contraception had been taught well during the school sex education she had received.

Table 56 *Regression on Redpath pupils' self efficacy with condoms (n = 86)*
(High score = confident)

Variable	Univariate analysis		Multivariate analysis	
	Beta	P	Beta	P
Experience of sexual intercourse (1= had intercourse, 0 = not had intercourse)	1.20	< 0.01	0.86	< 0.01
Ease talking to boyfriend (per unit of score) (1= never have, 6 = comfortable)	0.15	< 0.01	0.10	0.01
Access medical advice and supplies (per unit of score) (factor score, high = good access)	0.56	< 0.01	0.40	< 0.01
School sex education on contraception (per unit of score) (1 = not discussed, 6 = taught well)	0.26	< 0.01	0.31	< 0.01

Table 57 *Regression on state school pupils' self efficacy with condoms (n = 158)*[3]
(High score = confident)

Variable	Univariate analysis		Multivariate analysis	
	Beta	P	Beta	P
Experience of sexual intercourse (1= had intercourse, 0 = not had intercourse)	0.78	< 0.01	0.52	< 0.01
Ease talking to boyfriend (per unit of score) (1= never have, 6 = comfortable)	0.20	< 0.01	0.12	< 0.01
Access medical advice and supplies (per unit of score) (factor score, high = good access)	0.42	< 0.01	0.30	< 0.01
Amount of spending money (per £10)	0.27	< 0.01	0.11	0.15

The relatively low level of confidence the Redpath pupils had in relation to their ability to access medical advice and supplies also appeared to relate to the pupils' level of sexual experience and how comfortable they felt when talking to others. This comment is based on the fact that a Redpath pupil's belief in her ability to gain access to medical services and advice was greater if the pupil had been sexually active and felt comfortable talking to her best friend about sex (table 58)[4]. As there was no difference between the pupils from each school concerning how comfortable they felt talking to a best friend about sex (page 334), the influence of sexual experience would appear to be the main reason why the Redpath pupils were significantly less confident than the other pupils in their ability to access medical advice and supplies; although the state school pupils' view of their own ability to access medical advice and supplies was not associated with their level of sexual experience.

Table 58 *Regression on Redpath pupils' access to medical advice and supplies (n = 86) (High score = confident)*[5]

Variable	Univariate analysis		Multivariate analysis	
	Beta	P	Beta	P
Experience of sexual intercourse (1= had intercourse, 0 = not had intercourse)	0.88	< 0.01	0.62	0.02
Ease talking to best friend (per unit of score) (1= never have, 6 = comfortable)	0.38	< 0.01	0.26	0.04
Ease talking to mother (per unit of score) (1= never have, 6 = comfortable)	0.18	0.01	0.10	0.15
Amount of spending money (per £10)	0.27	0.04	0.17	0.20

A state school pupil's view of this issue was associated with how comfortable she felt talking to a best friend about sex, and by how personally confident she was.

The regression coefficients for each of these relationship indicated that the more comfortable a state school pupil felt talking to her friend, and the more personal confidence she had, the more likely she was to believe that she would be able to access such information and supplies (table 59).

Table 59 *Regression on state school pupils' access to medical advice and supplies (n = 159) (High score = confident)* [6]

Variable	Univariate analysis		Multivariate analysis	
	Beta	P	Beta	P
Ease talking to best friend (per unit of score) (1= never have, 6 = comfortable)	0.29	< 0.01	0.21	0.01
Level of personal confidence (per unit of score) (factor score, high = confident)	0.17	0.02	0.14	0.04
Experience of sexual intercourse (1= had intercourse, 0 = not had intercourse)	0.30	0.04	0.24	0.11
Ease talking to boyfriend (per unit of score) (1= never have, 6 = comfortable)	0.10	0.01	0.04	0.38
School education on how to access medical advice (per unit of score) (1 = not discussed, 6 = taught well)	0.21	< 0.01	0.11	0.17
School education on contraception (per unit of score) (1 = not discussed, 6 = taught well)	0.22	< 0.01	0.08	0.35

The fact that how confident a Redpath pupil and a state school pupil felt in her own ability to access medical advice and supplies was related to how comfortable she felt talking to her best friend about sex, suggests that peer communication increases a young woman's knowledge of the services available. It also suggests that peer communication may encourage a young woman to believe her friends would emotionally and/or practically support her if she sought such information and supplies. The fact that the Redpath pupils' views of this issue were associated with their level of sexual experience, whilst the state school pupils' views were associated with their general level of confidence, suggests that the Redpath pupils'

views were related to their levels of sexual confidence or knowledge, whereas the state school pupils' views were related simply to their general level of confidence.

6.4) *Predicted reactions to a teenage pregnancy*

6.4.1) *The participants' views of how they and others would react*

Earlier it was noted that participants in each school appeared to view early motherhood in a predominately negative light (page 368). It is therefore not surprising to note that, in each discussion, the overall impression given by the participants' comments concerning how they would react if they became pregnant in the next month, implied that they thought they would be shocked, scared and upset. There was one Wellsprings participant, however, who did not directly state how she believed she would feel, but who made a number of comments which implied that she would not be too worried if she became pregnant in the next month. This participant (PT) was quoted in Chapter Five as stating that she was planning to leave school in the next couple of weeks in order to start working as a hairdresser; a career which she argued she could easily go back to if she became a mother (page 297). This participant also made comments which suggested that she thought parents and friends would not be too concerned about the pregnancy, and that a teenage pregnancy would not have major implications concerning her current

situation. This participants' views of how parents and friends would react, and how a pregnancy would affect her current situation are quoted below.

In addition to describing how they thought they would react to a teenage pregnancy, participants in each school were also asked to comment on how they thought parents, partners and friends would react to the news.

The overall impression given by the Redpath participants' descriptions of how they thought parents would react implied that their parents would be very upset and angry. Most of the participants taking part in the first Redpath discussion actually commented that they would not even tell their parents in fear of their parents' reaction. In addition, participants taking part in the second Redpath discussion commented that they thought they would tell their mothers before their fathers:

> 'I would tell my mum before my dad, I couldn't go up to both of them and go.' (S)
> 'No.'
> 'I would just die.' (S)
> 'I would tell my mum and say, "Please don't tell my dad".' (F)
> (laughter)
> 'I would tell my mum first definitely and she would tell my dad. I wouldn't go near my dad.' (A)
> 'I think my mum would be much calmer.' (C)
> 'My mum would be absolutely hysterical but not as bad as my dad.' (T)
> 'Yea.' (2nd Redpath discussion group)

Some of the Redpath participants also discussed how their parents would be disappointed, and a few commented that they thought their parents would be embarrassed. One participant even stated she thought her parents would call her 'a

tart'. However, a few of the Redpath participants did comment that although their mothers would be upset, they would also be supportive.

Comments made by the Greenbank participants implied that they also thought their parents would be very upset and angry. One participant even mentioned that her parents had warned her that she would be asked to leave home if she became pregnant. A few of the participants taking part in the second discussion also mentioned that they thought their parents would be disappointed. Yet, none of the Greenbank participants stated that they would not tell their parents and some of the participants made comments which suggested that they thought their mothers would be fairly calm:

> 'My mum wouldn't go too mad.'
> 'Your mum wouldn't go mad?' (KT)
> 'No she would go mad at first, she would be angry.'
> 'My dad would go mental, my dad would go of his head.'
> 'After they would go looking for the guy.'
> 'My mum would be ok.'
> 'So why wouldn't your mum go mad?' (KT)
> 'Because my mum is like that.' (1st Greenbank discussion group).

In addition, one of the Greenbank participants commented that she thought her mother would be 'really supportive', and appeared to have based this view on a past experience:

> 'My mum would be supportive. My mum would be really supportive because my two big brothers, well my oldest big brother, his girlfriend got pregnant and he never told my mum until she was just about ready, until she was just about ready to have the wean. My mum went mental because he never told her. Then Lisa got pregnant, well, my other brother's girlfriend,

well ex girlfriend, she was all right. But he was really, really scared to tell her (the mother). (BH) (1ˢᵗ Greenbank discussion group)

Both girlfriends were teenagers when they conceived.

As had been the case during the Redpath and Greenbank discussions, comments made by the Wellsprings participants suggested that most of them thought their parents would be upset by the news. During the first Wellsprings discussion, two of participants even commented that they would not be able to tell their parents. Such comments appeared to be linked to a fear of how parents would react:

'I wouldnae be able to tell my mum and dad if I got pregnant. I would just run away.' (B) (1ˢᵗ Wellsprings discussion group)

'Aye, I couldnae tell my mum and dad.' (BH)
'When I am older it would be all right but if I was to walk up to my mum the now, and go mum...Oh.' (S)
'Oh no. I would be the one who would be in the my grave.' (BH) (1ˢᵗ Wellsprings discussion group)

Yet, a few of the Wellsprings participants commented that their mothers would eventually accept the situation and be supportive. In addition, while some of the Wellsprings participants described how they thought their fathers would 'go mental', one of the participants commented that her father would not be angry as 'he just loves weans' and another appeared to believe that her father would not be too upset:

'He (her father) would be a wee bit annoyed and that at first, but he wouldnae say anything.' (PT)

'And what about your mum?' (KT)
'She would probably be ok about it.' (PT)
'Really?' (KT)
'My dad would be running around going "That's you life ruined".' (BH)
'Mine would just go, "Well, it's your fault, you can do what you like".' (PT)
(1st Wellsprings discussion group)

The Redpath participants' descriptions of how their partners would react indicated that most thought their partners would be shocked and would panic at the thought of having been responsible for a teenage pregnancy. Comments made by some of the participants in the first Redpath discussion even implied that they thought their partners would walk away:

'Do you think they (your partners) would stand by you?' (KT)
'No way.' (LH)
'The boys in this school would be like that (blank expression).' (DH)
'I think the boys in this school would be absolutely devastated.' (LH)
'They would just be like that, close up and run.' (DH)
'I think this is getting a bit too heavy, I'll see you later. It's not my fault, it's your fault. If it was my fault the baby would be in me, right.' (impersonating her partner) (F)
'They would may be try and ignore you for a wee bit.'

Interestingly, in each Redpath discussion a few of the participants commented that they might not inform partners of the pregnancy. A possible reason for such comments is noted later on in this section. However, a few did mention that they thought their partners would be supportive and, when talking on a more general level, one participant even commented that she thought some partners might be 'quite happy about it'.

During the first Greenbank discussion, most of the comments made by the participants suggested that they thought partners would be shocked and worried. As some of these participants explained, they thought partners would be worried because they would fear the reactions of both sets of parents, would be concern about the girl since she was only young, and would worry about being 'tied down'. Yet, one of the participants in this discussion mentioned that she thought her partner would be supportive. In addition, another participant commented that although she thought partners would be upset, she also thought partners would 'actually be all right'. There was also the suggestion that one of the participant's partners would be pleased at the prospect of fatherhood:

> 'How would Jason react?' (said to the other participants) (BH)
> 'He would go "Oh, magic".'
> (laughs) (BH)
> 'Why would he go magic?' (KT)
> 'Because he's that kind of guy.' (BH and LH)
> 'Because he likes weans.' (BH)
> 'Because he's just a big wean himself.' (LH)
> 'Aye is he. What are him and my big brother like hey.' (BH)
> 'He likes her.' (LH)
> 'So would Jason see it as a way of keeping you then?' (KT)
> 'Aye, probably.' (BH) (1st Greenbank discussion group)

Interestingly, during the second Greenbank discussion, when asked how they thought partners would react, those who responded to this question answered in fairly general terms, arguing that the reaction would depend upon the relationship and the individual:

> 'And how would partners react?' (KT)

'I think it depends, like who they are and how they feel. I mean sometimes like your boyfriend makes it like he really loves you and then you turn around and say that you are pregnant and you get called names, you get chucked and that's it and some other people they stand by you. It really depends who they are.' (C)

'It depends on the relationship.' (B)

'It depends on what sort of person they are themselves.' (Y)

'Aye.' (B)

'So it's quite unpredictable. It depends on the relationship, whether it is steady, and it depends on the person.' (KT)

'A bit of both.' (Y)

This more general response may have been a result of the participants not being prompted to comment on how they thought their *own* partners would react. Yet, such comments were made during a discussion which focused on how parents, partners and friends would react if the participants became pregnant in the next month. As none of the participants in this group named their boyfriends, which had been the case in some of the other discussions, it is also possible that this general response was because, at the time, none of them were in a relationship.

Most of Wellsprings participants argued that they thought partners would be shocked, and some commented that partners would be worried about what parents would say and what was going to happen. During both Wellsprings discussions, a few of the participants described how they thought a partner's reaction would depend on the boy's nature, and that some partners might walk away. Interestingly, once again there was the suggestion that some men would welcome the news:

'And you have got that they (partners) would be pleased.' (looking at her Reactions Sheet) (KT)

'Well...' (H)

(laughter)

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'I ken what you mean, they would like the idea.' (PT)
'Aye, that's what I meant.' (H)
'So you think some boys would be quite proud to be a dad.' (KT)
'Aye.' (group)
'My brother does. He loves weans.' (S)
'But would he like his own? (KT)
'That's what he says, "I can't wait to have wean". (S) (1st Wellsprings discussion group)

Whereas some of the Redpath participants had commented that they might not inform partners of the pregnancy, none of the Greenbank or Wellsprings participants made such comments.

When describing how best friends would react, most of the participants taking part in the first Redpath discussion mentioned that they thought best friends would be shocked but supportive. Participants taking part in the second Redpath discussion also described how they thought friends would be supportive. During this discussion, participants also described how they thought best friends would be the first person they told and how talking to best friends would help them prepare for informing parents. Yet, before doing so a number of the participants taking part in this discussion made comments which implied that they thought friends would not necessarily be loyal:

'How would best friends react?' (KT)
'Supportive.' (A)
'Supportive.'
'Sympathetic.'
'They would say other things behind your back.' (L)
'Yes.' (number of voices)
'Definitely.'
'No.'
'I don't know, it depends how it is.'

'The very closest people wouldn't be, then people who are like good friends with, you know what I mean, they might.' (S)

'They would go, "Oh I feel so bad" and then run up and laugh about it because they know it's not them.' (T)

'I don't know.' (S)

'They would be really helpful I think.' (A)

'Yea.' (S)

'Yes.'

'In general. It would be your friends who would be the easiest to talk to.' (S)

'Supportive.' (C)

'Yea, supportive.' (A)

'They would be the people I would tell first.' (C)

'Yea, definitely.' (group)

'And then I would say, "What I am going to say to my parents?" and get advice.' (C)

'Yea.' (group)

'And supportive, you know, and then may be tell my parents.' (C) (2nd Redpath discussion group)

None of the state school participants made comments which suggested that they thought friends would gossip. Most of the Greenbank participants commented that they thought friends would be supportive. Some of the participants taking part in the first Greenbank discussion also commented that they thought friends would be shocked and upset. During this discussion it also appeared that some of the participants felt friends would share some of the participant's emotions, as a few mentioned how best friends would be scared for them and a number mentioned that friends would cry with them. A number of the participants taking part in the second Wellsprings discussion also commented that they thought friends would be supportive. When describing how they thought friends would react, a few of the participants taking part in the first Wellsprings discussion also stated that friends would be supportive. Interestingly, comments made by those taking part in this

discussion also suggested that whilst some of them thought friends would be shocked, others thought friends would not be too worried:

'So how would your best friends react?' (KT)
'Shocked.' (D)
'Supportive and may even like the idea. This lassie I know anyway because she is no right in the head.' (BH)
'I don't think they would be that bothered. They would support me, well, she would support me.' (PT)
'How do you mean they wouldn't be bothered. Would they not worry about you?' (KT)
'Well, she would wait to see how I felt and then just whatever.' (PT)
'Mine would probably panic. "What are you going to do, what are you going to do?" (doing an impersonation of her friend). She would probably panic more than me.' (D)
'Shocked but she would be understanding at the same time. She would support me and always be there for me. She would be quite reliable.' (S)

Considering this variation among the comments made by some of the participants taking part in the first Wellsprings discussion, it is worth recalling that on page 398 it was noted that while some participants taking part in this discussion had argued that fathers would go mental, two of the participants had made comments which suggested that they thought their fathers would not be too angry. The array of predicted reactions found within the data collected during this discussion might be a reflection of the fact that this group did not consist of a friendship group, as this situation may have meant that these groups included participants who varied in their ambitions[7]. Thus, amongst these participants there may have been diversity concerning the opportunity costs which would be incurred by a teenage pregnancy. This diversity may also explain why one of the participants in this group (participant S) appeared to believe that a teenage pregnancy would have a number of

implications concerning her immediate situation, while some of her fellow participants appeared to believe that a pregnancy would have little impact:

> 'I would have to give up my judo.' (S)
> 'It would just be your social life really, all your friends and that. I mean you would still see your friends because every once in a while you would go out and that but not as often.' (F)
> 'I would have to give up my training, physical training like fighting and that in case I lost the wean.' (S)
> 'All I do is swimming so I would be able to keep that up.' (H)
> 'And I go to a lot of courses at weekends so I would have to stop going to all them...' (S)
> 'I don't really do anything apart from go out.' (PT)

This finding provides some support for the idea that the fewer the opportunities a young woman has, the less motherhood is viewed as problematic (Simms and Smith 1986). It does not, however, support Olson's (1980) theory that the fewer the opportunities or alternative roles an individual has, the greater the value placed on motherhood. Instead it would appear that, once pregnant, the reasons for avoiding motherhood may seem less significant.

The notion of opportunity costs could also explain why all of the comments made by the Redpath participants implied that they thought their parents would be upset since, as noted in Chapter five (page 292), it was evident that a number of the Redpath participants felt that their parents had invested in their education and had high educational aspirations for their daughters. However, as the majority of the participants predicted that their parents would be upset, what really distinguished the Redpath participants' predictions from those of the other participants was the

fact that, as noted on page 396, a few of the Redpath participants had commented that their parents would be 'embarrassed' by the news. Such comments added a moral dimension to the Redpath participants' accounts of how others would react. They also implied that, unlike the Greenbank and Wellsprings participants, the Redpath participants thought their parents would not only be upset because their daughter was pregnant but also because the pregnancy would indicate that she had been sexually active. This point highlights that, for some parents, the news of a pregnancy can be a dual revelation (MacIntyre 1977). It could also explain why most of the participants taking part in the first Redpath discussion had commented that they would not even inform their parents of the pregnancy while only two of the state school participants had made such a comment.

Interestingly, comments made by some of the participants taking part in the second Redpath discussion revealed that they thought others would also be embarrassed and that those around them would be disgusted by the news:

> 'I think I would feel people had a very low opinion of me.' (C)
> 'Yea.' (group)
> 'Especially my parents.' (C)
> 'I think my parents would be embarrassed about me.' (A)
> 'Yea and especially the school.' (C)
> 'Yea, they would be embarrassed.' (A)
> 'It would just be one of the worse things that could happen in my life.'
> 'It would be, it would ruin it.' (A)
> 'There are worse things.' (C)
> 'There are other things but it is one of the worse things.' (A)
> 'So everyone around you.' (KT)
> 'They would be disgusted.' (T)
> 'You would feel they were disgusted even if they weren't.' (C)
> 'And everyone talking about you.' (T)
> 'Uhu.' (yes) (group) (2nd Redpath discussion group)

This moral dimension was also suggested by the fact that during both Redpath discussions, a number of the participants mentioned how they thought the school would ask them to leave. Furthermore, one participant had explained that she thought a pregnant pupil would be asked to leave because 'it ruins their (the school's) image', and during the first Redpath discussion group a number of the participants discussed how they thought they would be the focus of gossip:

> 'Well if we got pregnant in this school we would be asked to leave anyway, so it would be total changes.' (BS)
> 'Lose your freedom.' (Q)
> 'You would also be, I don't know, some people would really spit on you.' (F)
> 'I was actually going to say that. You would actually be the subject of gossip.' (LH)
> 'Gossip.'
> 'I know it would be, "Do you remember ...".' (F)
> 'Incessant chatter about you and your business.' (LH) (1st Redpath discussion group)

When discussing the pupils in their school who had become pregnant, Wellsprings and Greenbank participants had described how these individuals had been the *focus of gossip*. However, none of the Wellsprings or Greenbank participants commented that they thought they would be asked to leave their school.

Earlier on page 402 it was noted that participants taking part in the second Redpath discussion had discussed how they thought friends who had been informed about the pregnancy might say things behind their back. Such comments imply that some of the Redpath participants thought that they might not even inform friends of the

news. Interestingly, the idea of a pregnancy distancing a Redpath participant from her friends was also suggested by a comment made by one of the Redpath participants as it implied that she thought, if she did become pregnant, she would unable to identify with, or be part of, her current network of friends:

'You would mature too quickly, and when all your friends are having a laugh you come to school and you would just always be serious at first, and it (the pregnancy) would sort of ruin it and you would feel really mature compared to all your friends now and you would feel really left out.' (T) (2nd Redpath discussion group)

None of the state school participants had made comments which suggested that they thought a teenage pregnancy would spoil friendships with peers. Thus, this view and the idea of friends gossiping about the participant might be linked to the rarity of teenage pregnancy within the Redpath participants' social network.

Based on the participants' comments it would therefore appear that the implications which would arise from being pregnant would be greater for the Redpath participants than the state school participants. This finding may offer a possible explanation for why analysis of the questionnaire data showed that a significantly smaller proportion of the Redpath pupils than the Wellsprings pupils and the Greenbank pupils predicted that they would keep the child. These quantitative data are discussed later on in this chapter. It could also explain why most of the Redpath participants had commented that they would seek an abortion if they conceived in the next month, whereas most of the Greenbank and Wellsprings participants had

appeared unsure of what they would do or had commented that they would keep the child. Only one of the Wellsprings participants and only a few of the Greenbank participants had commented that they would have an abortion.

The fact that most of the Redpath participants had commented that they would have an abortion could also explain why most of the participants taking part in the first Redpath discussion had argued that they would not tell their parents about the pregnancy. Certainly, it did appear that these participants viewed abortion as an outcome which would enable them to keep the news to themselves:

> 'I would certainly get an abortion if I got pregnant.' (P)
> 'Yes.' (group)
> 'I just wouldn't get pregnant in the first place.'
> 'I wouldn't even tell my mum and dad.' (DH)
> 'No, I wouldn't.' (number of voices)
> 'I would tell my dad.' (P)
> 'I could tell my mum.'
> 'I wouldn't tell my mum.' (P)
> 'I would probably run away and kill myself.'
> 'I would tell one friend or something and then just.' (BH)
> 'That's what I would do.' (P)
> 'So all of you are saying you would get an abortion?' (KT)
> 'Yes.' (group)
> 'No ifs or buts about it?' (KT)
> 'I wouldn't even tell my parents, no way, neither of them because they would just go so mad.' (DH)
> 'Neither would I.' (number of voices) (1st Redpath discussion group)

The view that the pregnancy would be aborted also appeared to be a reason why some of the Redpath participants had commented that they might not inform partners:

'I think I would have to tell him because imagine if he found out and turned around and said, "Oh I can't believe you kill our baby" sort of thing.' (DH)
'But how would he ever find out. Just say I got pregnant.' (P)
'Tough.'
'I would know, maybe you would know, or one of you, and maybe dad would know, how would he (the boyfriend) ever find out and it saves so much, him getting all weird about it.' (P)
'But you know what this school is like. Someone would see you going into the clinic.' (BS)
'If you have made your decision to have an abortion then I don't see any point in telling the boy in case he is against it and what he doesn't know can't hurt him.' (F) (1st Redpath discussion group)

'If you were going to have an abortion anyway you might not (tell your boyfriend).' (S)
'Yea.' (group) (2nd Redpath discussion group)

The fact that most of the state school participants appeared unsure of what they would do or had commented that they would keep the child implied that, eventually and in contrast to most of the Redpath participants, they would *have* to inform others of the news. This could explain why, as noted earlier, none of the state school participants had commented that they would not inform partners and only a few had commented that they would not inform parents. Yet, interestingly, during the first Greenbank discussion it appeared that two of the participants felt that they would want to inform others of the news since they felt they would be too confused to make a decision alone:

'You would rather some else make the decision for you because it would be easier that way.' (P)
'Aye.' (BH)
'You would want someone to tell you what to do?' (KT)
'A lot of folk would listen to other peoples' advice like because it would be too hard to make it yourself.' (P) (1st Greenbank discussion group)

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Amongst the Wellsprings participants there was also the suggestion that, unless the participant's family was willing to give financial support, early motherhood would simply not be a feasible option:

> 'It depends on your situation, as well (if you could keep the child).' (T)
> 'On your family. If your family are there to support you then you wouldnae have to give it up (the baby) like because they would help you with it. But if you came from a single parent family already and they couldnae afford to keep another baby then you would have to give it up.'(T2) (2nd Wellsprings discussion group)

Thus, a few of the Wellsprings participants may have felt that this decision was not one which they would be able to make alone. Interestingly, Moore and Rosenthal (1993) state that the decision to have a child is one which may depend upon the extent to which the young woman's family can give financial support.

Although the above discussion has suggested that willingness to tell others was influenced by the extent to which others needed to be told, the relationship between outcome and willingness should not be considered as one way since the fear of telling others can be a reason for having an abortion (MacIntyre 1977). In addition, the Greenbank and Wellsprings participants who appeared unsure or predicted that they would keep a pregnancy should not be viewed as participants who were positive about becoming mothers. Those who appeared unsure did not know which outcome they would choose since they held negative views towards both abortion and early motherhood, and in each situation where the participant explained why

she thought she would keep the pregnancy it appeared that this prediction was linked more to a rejection of abortion than to a desire for motherhood. For example:

'Oh I couldnae give my wean away. It, it's like murder, like if it's an abortion. (And) it's not fair on the wean if you give it up for adoption because I don't know, I just don't think its right.' (B) (2nd Greenbank discussion group)

'No I couldnae (have an abortion).' (D)
'No I couldnae.' (BH)
'Why?' (KT)
'Because if I didnae really want it I would have to give it away once I had it.' (D)
'I would like to give it a life, and like give it away but then may be get in touch with it later on in life when I have got a good job and that.'
'I couldnae get an abortion either.' (F)
'Why?' (KT)
'I just think it is wrong.' (F)
'And you said you couldn't either.' (KT)
'I think it's immoral, it's not right. Do I have the right to take a life?' (B)
(1st Wellsprings discussion group)

Later in this chapter it is noted that the idea of young women 'defaulting' to motherhood having rejected abortion was also implied by the results of the questionnaire analysis. This was because this analysis showed that the Redpath and state school pupils' prediction that they would keep a child was influenced more by the extent to which they viewed abortion as acceptable than the extent to which they felt young women can cope with motherhood (tables 66 and 67, pages 430-431).

Both the notion of having an abortion in order to avoid confrontation, and the image of young women 'defaulting' to early motherhood, suggest that the Redpath participants would find dealing with a pregnancy more stressful than the other

participants. Certainly the decision to abort is considered to be more difficult than the decision to deliver (Klerman et al. 1982). However, while it is likely that most of the participants would find it difficult to decide the outcome of a pregnancy, for a number of reasons it did appear that this decision would be harder for the state school participants than for the Redpath participants. First, as noted on page 348, it was apparent that most of the state school participants personally knew women who had become young mothers and this knowledge might have encouraged them to believe that young women could cope with this role. In addition, a number of the state school participants made comments which indicated that they thought family and friends would be supportive if the pregnancy was kept. Thus, it appeared that the state school participants would face a situation in which early motherhood would not be desired, but would be viewed as a feasible outcome.

It also appeared that the state school participants would face a situation in which either the child could be kept or aborted. In both state schools a number of the participants described how they believed that, whatever decision they made, their parents would support them. Yet, considering most of the state school participants appeared to have a negative view of early motherhood and abortion, such freedom would not necessarily aid the decision making process. Thus, the majority of the state school participants would face a situation in which neither outcome appeared more favourable than the other.

In contrast, comments made by some of the participants taking part in the first Redpath discussion group suggested that they thought their parents would rather the pregnancy was aborted than kept:

> 'She (her mother) would be the most helpful. She would be the one who got me to the abortion clinic really quickly and got me the operation properly.' (F)
> 'My dad could do it. My dad could just put me on the kitchen table.' (LH) (laughter)
> 'He's a doctor.' (LH)
> 'My mum and dad would probably edge me to go to an abortion clinic.'
> 'I think mine would as well.'
> 'My mum would whisk me off to the clinic.'
> 'I don't have a clue what my mum would do, I wouldn't tell her. She would be the last person I told.'
> 'So you three think your parents would probably say get an abortion?' (KT)
> 'Yes.' (number of voices)
> 'My mum would say, "Listen it's up to you but I think we all know it would be better for you to have an abortion because it's not fair".' (LH) (1st Redpath discussion group)

A few of the participants taking part in the second Redpath discussion also mentioned that they thought their parents would probably want them to abort the pregnancy.

During the first Redpath discussion a few of the participants also mentioned that they thought partners would probably offer to pay for an abortion, and it was evident that some of the participants thought their sisters might help to arrange this particular outcome:

> 'My sister would probably just whisk me down to the clinic as well. She would be like that, "Let's go".' (BS)
> 'Yea, so would mine.'

'My sister would just take me and just go, "Well it's up to you whether you tell mum or dad but they are going to know something has happened".' (1st Redpath discussion group)

While one of the Wellsprings participants commented that the putative father might want the girl to have an abortion, none of the state school participants made comments which suggested that parents, partners or siblings would help to organise an abortion.

Considering that a number of the Redpath participants had commented that they thought their parents would rather the pregnancy was aborted than kept, it is worth noting that Smith (1993) argues that young women from relatively affluent backgrounds are under greater parental pressure than young women from more deprived backgrounds to have an abortion. It is also worth noting that a woman's attitudes to abortion are influenced by her perceptions of how significant others view this outcome (Brazzell and Acock 1988), and that parents can directly determine the decision to abort (Furstenberg 1980). Partners can also influence the decision to abort (Phoenix 1991).

Thus it appeared that most of the Redpath participants thought that they would have an abortion, and that some of them felt parents, partners and/or siblings would support this decision. In contrast, comments made during the Wellsprings and Greenbank discussions implied that most of the state school participants would face

a situation in which neither abortion nor early motherhood would be viewed as a preferable outcome.

The Redpath participants' descriptions of how they thought they would cope with motherhood also implied that, for them personally, abortion would be the most appropriate outcome. A number of the Redpath participants openly stated that they thought they would be unable to cope with early motherhood. It is unclear whether this view was held because the participants' ambitions had led them to view early motherhood as a role which would be unacceptable to them personally, or because they felt, at the time, they did not have the skills or maturity to cope with motherhood. However, earlier it was noted that a number of the Redpath participants had commented that they would be asked to leave school (page 407), and did it appear that some the Redpath participants thought they would receive little child care support from their mothers:

> 'I think it would be harder to get over a teenage pregnancy rather than an abortion.' (DH)
> 'Because not only is it ruining your life, it's also ruining the child's life as well. You would have to leave school, that would be you tied down. I mean, everyone you know in chat shows and stuff, they have like the mums looking after the baby. My mum wouldn't do that.' (LH)
> 'My mum wouldn't baby sit.' (BE)
> 'My mum wouldn't give up work to look after my baby.' (LH)
> 'My mum would never do that.' (1st Redpath discussion group)

Thus it was implied that, even if a Redpath participant was willing to become a young mother, this outcome would be very difficult. Furthermore, when reflecting upon the state school and Redpath participants' descriptions of how early

motherhood would impact upon their futures, it did appear that this role would have greatest implications for the Redpath participants' futures.

In Chapter Five (page 296) it was noted that the Redpath participants were more likely than the state school participants to express the view that their career plans would be ruined and not simply changed or postponed if they became young mothers. In addition, one of the Redpath participants commented how she hoped to travel and a number of the Redpath participants either directly mentioned that they intended to go on to university or made comments which implied that this was the case; both ambitions which none of the state school participants had mentioned in relation to themselves. Thus, it did appear that the perceived opportunity costs which would be incurred by the Redpath participants through entering early motherhood would be greater than those anticipated by the state school participants.

In Chapter Five (page 283), it was evident that the Redpath pupils were significantly more likely than the Wellsprings pupils and the Greenbank pupils to expect that they would be in some form of further education in four years time. In addition, it was clear that the Redpath pupils were significantly less likely than the Wellsprings pupils and the Greenbank pupils to expect that they would have a child in four years time (page 284). Hence, not only did the Redpath participants appear to have greater career ambitions than the state school participants, but it was evident that these participants had been drawn from pupil populations which varied in relation to

their expectations concerning personal involvement in further education and the extent to which they envisage motherhood as being part of their near future.

The difference between the Redpath and state school participants' views concerning how early motherhood would affect their career plans suggests that the Redpath participants were aiming for more professional careers necessitating academic qualifications. It also suggests that, whilst both Redpath and state school participants had indicated that they had career aspirations, such feelings were more intense and ambitious amongst the Redpath participants. This could explain why, although most of participants from each school had mentioned that they thought they would establish a career prior to entering motherhood, the majority of the state school participants had indicated that they would be willing to curtail such ambition when faced with a teenage pregnancy.

However, despite early motherhood appearing to potentially have greatest implications for the Redpath participants' future situations, based on the fact that most of the Redpath participants had commented that they thought they would have an abortion, it did appear that they viewed abortion as an acceptable outcome. Hence, unlike most of the state school participants, most of the Redpath participants could see an 'escape' from early motherhood.

It is impossible to decipher whether the Redpath participants had been more likely than the state school participants to state that they would have an abortion because

they saw the actual operation as acceptable, or because they believed this outcome represented the only means by which they would be able to preserve their moral reputation and social status, and maintain their future plans. The decision to have an abortion can be seen as a means of ridding oneself of a stigmatising condition (MacIntyre 1977) and is associated with higher educational and occupational aspirations (Moore and Rosenthal 1993). It has been suggested that the most important single factor that predicts a young woman's intention to abort is her general attitude towards this outcome; an attitude which is influenced by her own aspirations and perceptions of the attitudes held by significant others (Brazzell and Acock 1988).

Earlier it was noted that during the discussions held with Wellsprings and Greenbank participants (page 412), it was apparent that some of the participants had rejected abortion on the basis that they viewed this outcome as 'wrong' or immoral. It appeared that these participants held such views because they viewed the foetus as a living being. Some of the Redpath participants who were among the few who had indicated that they might not have an abortion, also made comments which implied that they too had rejected this outcome on moral grounds:

> 'I don't know if I could (have an abortion). I know it is what I should do but say if you missed two periods or something and you realise you are pregnant then like, if it is slightly shaped like a baby, I just could not have an abortion.' (S)
> 'Because you think it's a person?' (KT)
> 'Yea. If one of them did then that's their decision. I wouldn't, I am not going to campaign and go, "No it's a person, it's a person" but if it was actually me I could not get rid of it.' (S) (2nd Redpath discussion group)

'I think, I don't know I think I would feel kind of selfish if I said "I've got my whole life to lead" and I am taking away one.' (C)
'But it's not a life.'
'I know but it would be. I don't remember anything about being in there but you don't know. We don't really know how much they know.' (C)
'No one knows.' (2nd Redpath discussion group)

Yet, some of the state school participants appeared particularly knowledgeable about what abortion entailed. During the first Greenbank discussion, one of the participants mentioned that she had been given the task of writing an essay on this outcome. It was apparent that this task had required the participant to read the literature on abortion, and had lead to a clear understanding of what this outcome would entail and what the various developmental stages of the foetus were. During both Wellsprings discussions, some of the participants mentioned that during a Religious Education lesson they had been shown a programme which graphically detailed the abortion operation. In each case it was apparent that this had shocked and upset them. Although it cannot be assumed that the Redpath participants had not been set such assignments or seen a similar video, none of the Redpath participants mentioned that abortion had been discussed within a school lesson. Hence, the state school participants' greater rejection of abortion may have been linked to a greater knowledge of this outcome. However, the comments made by one Redpath participant implied that, even though she viewed the foetus as a life and considered abortion immoral, she would still seek an abortion:

'I do see its a moral issue but for me I couldn't have a baby. It would ruin my life, it really would. I couldn't handle the responsibility at my age. I have too much to do with my life.' (A) (2nd Redpath discussion group)

In this quote there is a notion of the participant considering her future. This notion supports the suggestion that an individual's view of her current and future situation can influence her view of abortion. Yet, this quote also implies that a young woman's view of her future may have a greater influence than her actual view of this particular pregnancy outcome, over whether or not an abortion is sought.

When detailing the discussion group participants' accounts of how they would react to a teenage pregnancy, it was evident that young women from relatively affluent backgrounds and young women from relatively deprived backgrounds may have different social and cultural expectations (Simms 1993). It was also evident that the desire to avoid pregnancy can be influenced both by an individual's current situation and future ambitions (Trussell 1988). In addition, it appeared that the value a participant gave to a particular outcome was not an absolute value but a relative value; a value balanced against the participant's views of motherhood and abortion, and against her perceptions of her current and future situations.

Initially it appeared that the Greenbank and Wellsprings participants would have more freedom in deciding the outcome of their pregnancy. In the end, however, it appeared that all the participants would face a limited choice, but for the Redpath participants this choice was limited by both personal views and circumstances, whereas the state school participants' decision appeared to be influenced primarily by personal choice. What is interesting is that, in general, these choices led one

group of participants towards abortion whilst the other participants continued along the pathway to early motherhood. This divide once again occurred between the Redpath participants and the state school participants and thus reflected the relationship between socio-economic background and teenage pregnancy outcome.

During this description of the discussion group data the pregnancy outcome of adoption has not been discussed. This is because very few of the participants made comments which implied that they would consider this outcome. In fact only one participant, a Redpath participant, directly stated that she would consider adoption and this finding reflects the decreasing popularity of this outcome. The consideration this Redpath participant gave to adoption appeared to relate to her views of abortion and early motherhood, as she had commented that she disagreed with abortion and thought that she would be unable to cope with early motherhood. The other discussion group participants' rejection of this outcome appeared to relate to a number of factors.

Some of Redpath, Greenbank and Wellsprings participants made comments which implied that they viewed adoption as an outcome which would be emotionally traumatic for the mother. This view appeared to be based on the fact that this outcome entails carrying a child for nine months and then surrendering it, and opens up the possibility of the mother having some form of interpersonal contact with her child prior to this surrendering:

'You could have the baby and then give it away.' (L)
'No way, I could never do that.' (A)
'Once you see it.' (S)
'But you don't actually have to see it.' (L)
'I know but you would need to.' (S)
'I know (you don't have to) but once you have carried around for nine months.' (T) (2nd Redpath discussion group)

'You may be think I will give it away when its first born but you see it and you think "I can't" and your not prepared or nothing. What do you do then?' (C)
'People say "I will just put it up for adoption" but as soon as they have had it that's them.' (BH)
'Aye, that first contact.' (C) (1st Greenbank discussion group)

'I don't think you would be able to give it away.' (PT)
'Once you have had look at it.'
'Aye, once you have seen it and that.' (BH)
'And having it inside you. I don't think I could (give it away).' (D) (1st Wellsprings discussion group)

Some of participants taking part in the second Redpath discussion and the second Greenbank discussion explained that they felt, because the child would continue to live, the mother's memory of the pregnancy and her feelings towards the child would continue as she would always be wondering what her child was doing. During this particular Redpath discussion, comments made by two of the participants suggested that they thought adoption would not only upsetting for the mother but also the child, as the adopted child might feel as if s/he had been rejected:

'Say they loved their parents, their adopted parents but, if you think of it that way maybe they totally hate you for like giving them up even though the circumstances, they would maybe think "Why did they do it, maybe they couldn't cope but they could have tried for me". Maybe they would think,

"Oh, it's OK they didn't have enough money" but they don't think like that.
'They are too young to adapt.' (C)
'They would think it was something wrong with them.' (A)
'Exactly, like they didn't love me.' (C)
'Why, why me.' (A) (said in a child's voice)

Participants taking part in the first Wellsprings discussion also appeared to view adoption as an outcome which would be traumatic for the child. This time, however, this view appeared to be based on a lack of knowledge concerning this outcome as it was apparent that these participants held this view because they believed a mother could contact her child at any time:

'I don't think it is fair on the wean when they try and trace them up when they are older. I don't think its fair, the disruption and everything.' (H)
'Aye.' (group)
'Aye because they have grown up to call other people mum and dad.' (D)
'And then they find out they have go another mum and dad.' (H)
'So you think it is unfair on the child?' (KT)
'Because you can just walk back into their life.' (H) (1st Wellsprings discussion group)

Although none of the Greenbank participants commented upon the emotional impact they thought this outcome could have on a child, during the second discussion it appeared that one of the participants felt this outcome was wrong because she felt a mother had responsibilities towards her child; irrespective of whether or not the child was adopted:

'Something could happen and you wouldnae be there to save her. Say if she was knocked down or something you would sort of say to yourself, "What if they had been with me?" and (you) wouldnae have been there.' (Y)
'So you think if you put a child up for adoption you are still responsible for it?' (KT)
'Aye.' (Y) (2nd Greenbank discussion group)

Therefore, the participants appeared to hold a negative view towards adoption for a number of reasons. These included the idea of having to surrender a child having been pregnant for nine months; the belief that the child's survival would continue a mother's memory of, and responsibility for, her child; and the negative emotions an adopted child may experience.

Before going onto discuss how pupils in each school expected they would react to a teenage pregnancy, it is interesting to note that the themes which had emerged during the discussion groups concerning how the participants believed they would react to, and resolve, a pregnancy were apparent in answers they had given when completing questionnaire. For example, most of Redpath participants had indicated that they would have an abortion, while most of the other participants had marked that they would either keep the child or would be unsure (tables 60 and 61).

Table 60 *Discussion group participants' predicted emotions*

	Redpath		Wellsprings		Greenbank	
	group one	group two	group one	group two	group one	group two
Happy						
Mixed Feelings		2	3	1	2	4
Don't Know					1	
Upset		1			2	1
Very Upset	7	4	2	3	3	1

Table 61 *Discussion group participants' predicted pregnancy outcome*

	Redpath		Wellsprings		Greenbank	
	group one	group two	group one	group two	group one	group two
Keep the child		1	3		3	2
Abort	7	3		1	3	
Surrender for adoption		1				
Don't Know		2	2	3	2	4

6.4.2) *The pupils' views concerning how they would react*

Two of the questions asked the pupil to imagine she was to become pregnant in the next month. One of these questions then asked the pupil how she would feel, and the other asked how the pregnancy would be resolved. Both questions asked the pupil to choose from a number of predefined categories. These categories, along with the pupils' responses, are noted in tables 62 and 63.

Table 62 *Pupils' predicted emotions (percentages given in brackets)*

Predicted emotion	Redpath (n = 85)	Wellsprings (n = 74)	Greenbank (n = 85)
Happy		3 (4.1)	2 (2.4)
Mixed feelings	19 (22.4)	33 (44.6)	37 (43.4)
Don't know	6 (7.1)	6 (8.0)	11 (12.8)
Upset	12 (14.1)	6 (8.0)	9 (10.6)
Very upset	48 (56.5)	26 (35.0)	26 (30.6)

Table 63 *Pupils' predicted pregnancy outcomes (percentages given in brackets)*

	Redpath (n = 85)	Wellsprings (n = 74)	Greenbank (n = 85)
Keep the child	19 (22.4)	36 (48.6)	40 (47.1)
Abort	34 (40.0)	4 (5.3)	11 (12.8)
Surrender for adoption	6 (7.1)	5 (6.8)	3 (3.4)
Don't Know	26 (30.6)	29 (39.2)	31 (36.5)

The emotional reaction most frequently marked by the Redpath pupils was 'very upset', whilst for the Greenbank and Wellsprings pupils it was 'mixed feelings'. When comparing the mean scores for the responses given by pupils from each school it was apparent that the Redpath pupils were significantly more likely than the Wellsprings pupils and the Greenbank pupils to predict that they would be upset

$(\bar{x} = 4.05$ (s.d. = 1.24) versus $\bar{x} = 3.26$ (s.d. = 1.43), $p < 0.01$ and $\bar{x} = 3.24$ (s.d = 1.35) $p < 0.01$; scale = 1 (happy) to 5 (very upset)). There was no significant difference between the Wellsprings and Greenbank pupils concerning this prediction.

When focusing on the pupils' predicted pregnancy outcome, the reaction most frequently predicted by the Redpath pupils was that of abortion, while the most frequently predicted outcome among the Greenbank and Wellsprings pupils was the option of keeping the child. However, a number of the pupils from each school did not know which outcome they would choose. This uncertainty was greater than the uncertainty which had surrounded the pupils' predicted emotions, and this implies that there is not a direct relationship between predicted emotional reaction and predicted pregnancy outcome. It also implies that the pupils' predicted outcomes were not only based on their views of how they personally would react, but also their views of the various pregnancy outcomes available and their expectations concerning how others would react.

When using regression to explore what factors influenced a pupil's predicted emotional reaction[8], only one factor was significantly related to the extent to which a Redpath pupil would be upset. This factor was the amount of money the pupil had to spend each week. The regression coefficient for this relationship indicated that an increase of one pound per week would lead to an increase of 0.03 on the 5 point

scale concerning how upset the pupil would be (beta = 0.03, p = 0.05). This would appear to be rather a curious finding and may be a false positive result.

A state school pupil's predicted reaction was associated with her views concerning how likely it was that she would be in some form of further education in four years time, and the extent to which she was under parental surveillance. The regression coefficients for these relationships indicated that the greater level of parental surveillance a pupil was under, the more upset she would be. They also indicated that the more likely a pupil was to expect that she would be in some form of further education in four years time, the more upset she would be (table 64). Thus, it appeared that the pupils who had the most to lose, were the pupils who were most likely to predict they would be upset if they became pregnant. Initially, a state school pupil's predicted reaction also appeared to be influenced by the extent to which a pupil enjoyed school and by whether or not she had experienced sexual intercourse. However, further analysis revealed that the apparent influence of the extent to which the pupil enjoyed school was due to the correlation which existed between this variable, and the variable which indicated the extent to which a pupil expected that she would go onto some form of further education (r = 0.33, p < 0.01). The apparent relationship between experience of sexual intercourse and predicted reaction was due to the relationships which existed between this variable and both the variable which indicated the level of parental surveillance a pupil was under, and the variable which indicated extent to which a pupil expected that she would go onto some form of further education[9].

Table 64 *Regression on the state school pupils' predicted emotional reaction (n = 159)*
(High score = upset)

Variable	Univariate analysis		Multivariate analysis	
	Beta	P	Beta	P
Parental surveillance (per unit of score) (factor score, high score = high surveillance)	0.47	< 0.01	0.35	< 0.01
Expected college status (per unit of score) (1 = unlikely, 5 = likely to go)	0.34	< 0.01	0.22	0.03
Enjoyment of school (per unit of score) (factor score, high score = enjoys school)	0.22	0.05	0.04	0.65
Experience of sexual intercourse (1 = had intercourse, 0 = not had intercourse)	-0.72	< 0.01	-0.34	0.14

When exploring what factors influenced a pupil's prediction concerning which pregnancy outcome she would choose, the data were arranged so that only two options were considered: whether or not the pregnancy would be kept, and whether or not the pregnancy would be aborted. Hence, when focusing on whether or not the pregnancy would be kept, the pupils who had marked that they would keep the child or surrender their child for adoption were viewed as pupils who would keep the pregnancy. All other pupils were included in the category 'would not keep the pregnancy'. In contrast, when exploring what proportion of the pupils had marked that they would abort a teenage pregnancy, all answers indicating that this outcome would be chosen were noted and all other outcomes were included in the 'would not abort' category. Having organized the data in this way, it was apparent that a significantly greater proportion of the Redpath pupils than the Wellsprings and the Greenbank pupils had predicted that they would abort a teenage pregnancy (X^2 = 26.03, p < 0.01; X^2 = 15.98, p < 0.01). It was also apparent that significantly smaller proportion of the Redpath pupils than the Wellsprings pupils and the Greenbank pupils had predicted that they would keep a pregnancy (X^2 = 11.00, p <

0.01; $X^2 = 7.94$, p < 0.01). No significant differences were found between the

Wellsprings and the Greenbank pupils (table 65).

Table 65 *Pupils' prediction of whether they would keep or abort a pregnancy*
(percentages given in brackets)

	Redpath (n = 85)	Wellsprings (n = 74)	Greenbank (n = 85)
Would keep the pregnancy	25 (29.3)	41 (55.3)	43 (50.6)
Would abort the pregnancy	34 (40.0)	4 (5.3)	11 (12.8)

When using logistic regression to explore what factors influenced the pupils'

predicted outcomes, among the Redpath pupils the prediction to keep the pregnancy

was associated with the pupil's social class, how acceptable she considered abortion

to be, and with her predictions concerning how she would react emotionally (table

66)[10].

Table 66 *Logistic regression on Redpath pupils' predicted decision to keep a pregnancy*
(n = 86) (1 = keep, 0 = not keep)

Variable	Univariate analysis		Multivariate analysis	
	Odds Ratio	P	Odds Ratio	P
Social class (per unit score) (1 = high social class, 5 = low social class)	2.43	0.02	2.83	0.02
Views on abortion (per unit score) (factor score, high = disagree with abortion)	3.35	< 0.01	3.90	< 0.01
Predicted emotion (per unit score) (1 = happy, 5 = very upset)	0.60	< 0.01	0.52	< 0.01

The odds ratios for each of these relationships indicated that the more deprived the

pupil's social class background, the less she agreed with abortion, and the less she

predicted that she would be upset, the more likely the pregnancy would be kept.

Hence, whilst earlier (page 412) it was evident that a discussion group participant's

view of abortion could influence whether or not she predicted she would keep a

teenage pregnancy, the analysis of the questionnaire data showed a significant relationship between a pupil's view of this outcome and the decision to keep a teenage pregnancy.

A state school pupil's prediction that she would keep the pregnancy was also related to her views of abortion and her predicted emotion. In addition, once again it was evident that the more the pupil disagreed with abortion, and the less likely she was to predict that she would be upset, the more likely the pregnancy would be kept (table 67).

Table 67 *Logistic regression on state school pupils' predicted decision to keep a pregnancy*[11] *(n = 162) (1 = keep, 0 = not keep)*

Variable	Univariate analysis		Multivariate analysis	
	Odds Ratio	P	Odds Ratio	P
Views on abortion (per unit score) (factor score, high = disagree with abortion)	3.29	< 0.01	3.19	< 0.01
Predicted emotion (per unit score) (1 = happy, 5 = very upset)	0.60	< 0.01	0.61	< 0.01
Women's value of motherhood (per unit score) (1 = valued, high = not valued)	0.66	< 0.01	0.84	0.43
Teenage mother's ability to cope (per unit score) (1 = can cope, 5 = can't cope)	0.62	< 0.01	0.71	0.14

Predicted emotion and views of abortion were factors which also influenced the Redpath pupils' and the state school pupils' prediction to abort a teenage pregnancy. As would be expected, the odds ratios for these relationships indicated that, the more the pupil viewed abortion as acceptable, and the more upset she believed she would be, the more likely the outcome of abortion would be predicted (tables 68 and 69)[12]. A state school pupil's prediction to abort was also related to her view concerning a teenage mother's ability to cope with motherhood: the less the pupil

believed young mothers could cope, the more likely she was to predict that she would abort.

Table 68 *Logistic regression on Redpath pupils' predicted decision to abort a pregnancy*[13] *(n = 86) (1 = abort, 0 = not abort)*

Variable	Univariate analysis		Multivariate analysis	
	Odds Ratio	P	Odds Ratio	P
Views on abortion (per unit score) (factor score, high = disagree with abortion)	0.34	< 0.01	0.23	< 0.01
Predicted emotion (per unit score) (1 = happy, 5 = very upset)	2.44	< 0.01	2.01	0.01
Teenage mother's ability to cope (per unit score) (1 = can cope, 5 = can't cope)	1.67	0.03	1.99	0.06
Amount of spending money (per £1)	1.06	0.03	1.02	0.40

Table 69 *Logistic regression on state school pupils' predicted decision to abort a pregnancy*[14] *(n = 162) (1 = abort, 0 = not abort)*

Variable	Univariate analysis		Multivariate analysis	
	Odds Ratio	P	Odds Ratio	P
Views on abortion (per unit score) (factor score, high = disagree with abortion)	0.17	< 0.01	0.12	< 0.01
Predicted emotion (per unit score) (1 = happy, 5 = very upset)	2.70	< 0.01	2.24	0.02
Teenage mother's ability to cope (per unit score) (1 = can cope, 5 = can't cope)	1.83	0.03	1.81	0.04
Women's value of motherhood (per unit score) (1 = valued, high = not valued)	2.14	0.03	1.76	0.20

Four of the pupils who had completed a questionnaire had actually experienced a pregnancy. Two of these were Wellsprings pupils, one was a Redpath pupil and one a Greenbank pupil. Both of the Wellsprings pupils' pregnancies, and the Redpath pupil's pregnancy, had miscarried. The Greenbank pupil had decided to keep her pregnancy and was actually one of the women interviewed having become a young mother[15].

Using the categories provided in the questionnaire, the Redpath pupil had described

her feelings as 'mixed' but then wrote:

> 'I wish I had never become pregnant and I would have been more careful *if I could change things*. However, I did not have an abortion (although I was thinking of it) I lost it and actually feel like I lost something special.'

One Wellsprings pupil wrote 'shocked, devastated, scared', the other ticked the

'mixed feelings' category. The Greenbank pupil marked the 'mixed feelings'

(although originally had marked the 'upset' box) and wrote:

> 'My name is ..... and I have just had my baby boy on the 2.2.97 and I am 15. My baby was unplanned and I was very frightened of what would happen to me and my boyfriend where the law was concerned. My baby is now nine weeks old and I couldn't be happier. He is the best thing that has ever happened to my fiancee and I. John (my fiancee) and I have been together for over a year now and we are looking forward to a wonderful future together with our baby. I live with John in his mum's house and I am keeping up with my education, visiting my school for the practical parts of my courses. All I can say is my life hasn't ended as many people might think. It is just beginning and I couldn't be happier, so not all unplanned teenage pregnancies end up in tears. It can be a wonderful new beginning.'

Thus analysis of the questionnaire data had shown that the Redpath pupils were

significantly more likely than the other pupils to predict that, if they were to become

pregnant in the next month, they would be upset and would abort a pregnancy. This

is interesting considering the analysis of discussion group data had indicated that the

Redpath participants were more likely than the other participants to state that they

would abort a teenage pregnancy, and that early motherhood would have greatest

implications for the Redpath participants.

In addition to asking the discussion group participants what their views were in relation to early motherhood and teenage mothers, the participants were also asked what measures did they believe should be taken to help reduce the number of teenage pregnancies. The next section in this chapter describes these suggestions.

6.5) *Reducing the prevalence of teenage pregnancy*

A number of participants from each school discussed how they thought improving young women's access to contraception could reduce the prevalence of teenage pregnancy. Redpath and Greenbank participants suggested that one way to achieve this would be to place condom vending machines in the girls' toilets. As a few of the Redpath and Greenbank participants commented that they thought contraception could be embarrassing to buy, it appeared that this approach was suggested because it was viewed as a way in which young women could access contraception in private and without having to interact with others. Participants taking part in the second Greenbank discussion commented on how they thought longer clinic hours would help. As one of these participants mentioned that the clinic near her school was only open from two to three o'clock on a Friday, and therefore was difficult for pupils to use, this suggestion may have related to the participants own circumstances.

Participants taking part in the first Greenbank discussion made comments which implied that they would support a clinic specifically run for young people, as they voiced a concern in relation to patient confidentiality. This concern appeared to arise from the fact that their parents attended the same doctors and/or personally knew medical staff who worked there:

> 'I wouldnae go to my doctor.' (number of voices)
> 'I don't like my doctor.'
> 'I would be scared to go to.'
> 'My mum know all the doctors.'
> 'So does mine.'
> 'I am scared they would tell my mum anything.'
> 'My mum goes to the doctors all the time. She knows the nurses, she knows the staff at the desk, she knows all the doctors as well ken so I couldnae go in. I ken it would be confidential but like if anyone said anything.' (LH)

Some of these Greenbank participants also commented that they thought free condoms should not only be available from clinics but also from supermarkets and shops, and discussed how they thought young women should have more information on the contraceptive pill.

Interestingly, the comments made by the Wellsprings participants who thought the prevalence of teenage pregnancies could be reduced by improving women's access to contraception, did not appeared to feel that contraception needed to be free but perhaps cheaper in order to encourage young people to use protection:

> 'I think contraception should be free, ken what I mean.' (S)
> 'Is it not free at the clinic?' (KT)
> 'Aye but sometimes they didnae ken. They just think, "Oh, I am not giving it to them".' (PT)

'It might not be the good stuff if you know what I mean. The contraception might not be.' (S)

'A hundred percent.' (PT)

'Aye, the durex and all that, I mean they are not that good. I think it should be free, well no free but some of the prices they are asking for. All the ones which folk are wanting are all dear. Just for about 5 or something it's about 3 pounds or something, I think that is shocking.' (S)

'The folk that want to do it but they don't want to pay the money will just say, "Well I will leave it and it will be all right", and that's maybe the cause.' (GH) (1st Wellsprings discussion group)

Although the provision and content of school sex education programmes have improved (Allen 1987), there is still a tendency for school sex education programmes to focus primarily on the biological rather than the social aspects of sexual relations (Wight et al. 1998). The need for more sex education was mentioned during discussion groups held in each school, and comments made by some of the Redpath and Wellsprings participants suggested that they thought there was a need for sex education to focus more on the wider issues which surround sexual relations:

'We have sex education but its like.' (F)

'But its pathetic.' (L)

'Its like Jimmy went to, Jimmy did this and what would you do if you were Jimmy's girlfriend?' (F)

'But you can't say "Well I did this".'

'You just can't talk about it openly.' (A) (2nd Redpath discussion group)

'We never get anything here, AIDS and contraception that's it. We never get anything on relationships or anything, just basic stuff really' (F)

'Stuff you can read anyway.' (B)

'Aye' (group)

'(in) Magazines and that.' (H) (1st Wellsprings discussion group)

In addition to wanting a more flexible and open form of sex education, during the first Redpath discussion some of the participants also mentioned that they thought schools should employ counsellors who would be able to discussion personal matters with the pupils and give advice on, for example, contraception and clinic times. As it was suggested that this counsellor could also give out free condoms, this suggestion appeared to be based on both a need for information and a need for improved access to contraception.

At the beginning of this chapter (page 348) it was noted that during the state school discussions, participants had openly discussed individuals known to them who were either currently pregnant or young mothers. In light of this, it was interesting that some of the Greenbank participants suggested another way of reducing the prevalence of teenage pregnancy would be to increase young women's awareness of the implications of this role:

> 'What else (could be done to reduce the number of teenage pregnancies)?' (KT)
> 'They should get teenage mothers to come in and talk to us.' (P)
> 'Make us more aware.' (RH)
> 'And shock us.' (P)
> 'Make you realise how much responsibility it is?' (KT)
> 'Because we are sitting here saying how much responsibility it is but if one of us was pregnant it would hit us more. You just don't realise. You just don't know until you are in that situation.' (RH)
> 'They could tell how their life is affected now.' (B) (2nd Greenbank discussion group)

This suggestion was also made during a Redpath discussion.

Therefore, participants in each school made suggestions which appeared to relate to their own concerns and situations. Yet, the manner in which the Redpath participants had described young mothers as coming from relatively deprived backgrounds implied that they felt, irrespective of how much access a young woman had to information and contraception, unless social inequalities were reduced the prevalence of early motherhood would continue. This notion was also implied during the Redpath discussions since, as noted on page 356, some of the Redpath participants made comments which suggested that they felt, if the individual was already relatively poor, early motherhood may be viewed as acceptable.

The need to reduce social inequalities in order to reduce the prevalence of early motherhood has been made in the literature (Dash 1989). As most of the differences which have been noted during this and the previous chapter have occurred between the Redpath pupils and the state school pupils, and between the Redpath participants and the other participants, reducing social inequalities would appear to be a key way of reducing the prevalence of teenage pregnancy and early motherhood.

6.6) *Summary*

It was evident that a smaller proportion of the Redpath pupils than the Greenbank and the Wellsprings pupils knew someone who had kept a teenage pregnancy. This

finding implied that teenage pregnancy and early motherhood were less prevalent within the Redpath pupils' social network than within the other pupils' social networks. This difference could explain why the Redpath discussion group participants viewed early motherhood as a 'foreign' event, while it was evident that this role had salience for the state school participants and their families. This difference could also explain why the Redpath participants viewed early motherhood as an event which occurred only to poorer, less well educated women. Interestingly, none of the Wellsprings or Greenbank participants appeared to associate early motherhood with socio-economic deprivation.

Considering during the discussions which focused on the participants' views of young mothers, the Redpath participants' comments suggested that they viewed teenage pregnancies as planned events, it was interesting that they mentioned unintentional explanations when directly asked why they thought some women conceive in their teenage years. It is possible that the Redpath participants felt a teenage pregnancy may not be planned, but that motherhood is entered intentionally. Whilst this argument may appear rather incongruent, the availability of abortion and adoption means that a teenage pregnancy may not lead to early motherhood. Clearly, the avoidance of motherhood will depend both upon an unwillingness to enter early motherhood and an acceptance of one of these alternative pregnancy outcomes. During this chapter it was noted that most of the Redpath participants had stated that they would have an abortion if they became pregnant in the next month. Thus, these participants may have felt that young women choose to enter

early motherhood since they felt an alternative outcome to that of keeping the child could be taken. Although intentional explanations were also mentioned during the state school discussions, the state school participants' comments regarding young mothers, and the responses they gave when asked why they thought some women conceive in their teenage years, suggested that they viewed teenage pregnancies primarily as unplanned events.

The analysis of the questionnaire data showed that, in general, pupils in each school did not agree that teenagers become pregnant because they wanted a child or because contraception is hard to get, but did agree that teenagers became pregnant because they did not believe they would conceive. In general, pupils appeared unsure as to whether they thought contraceptive failure, a lack of contraceptive knowledge, and boyfriends refusing to use a condom were possible explanations. Differences were found when comparing the pupils' views concerning each of these possible explanations. The Redpath pupils were significantly less likely than the Wellsprings pupils and the Greenbank pupils to view contraceptive failure and wanting a child as possible reasons, and the Greenbank pupils were significantly less likely than the Wellsprings pupils to view wanting a child as a possible reason.

When documenting the discussion group participants' accounts of how they thought they would react if they became pregnant in the next month, it was evident that most of the participants predicted they would be shocked and upset. It was also evident that most of the participants predicted that those around them would also be upset.

However, it was apparent that the Redpath participants were more likely than the other participants to state that they would have an abortion. This may have been because the perceived opportunity costs which would be incurred by the Redpath participants through entering early motherhood would be greater than those anticipated by the state school participants. It may also have been because, in apparent contrast to most of the state school participants, most of the Redpath participants viewed abortion as an acceptable outcome.

Analysis of the questionnaire data showed that the Redpath pupils were significantly more likely than the Wellsprings and Greenbank pupils to predict that they would be upset if they became pregnant in the next month, and to predict that they would have an abortion. Such differences are interesting considering, in general, pupils in each of the schools were unwilling to consider early motherhood, and no significant difference had been found when comparing the Redpath pupils' and the Greenbank pupils' willingness to consider this role. Yet, a difference was found between the Redpath and the Wellsprings pupils on the basis of this factor, and it was evident that the Wellsprings pupils were more likely than the Redpath pupils to agree that teenage mothers can cope with motherhood. It was also evident that for pupils in each of the schools, their predicted outcomes were not only associated with how they would emotionally react to the news that they were pregnant but also to their views of abortion. Thus, there was some evidence to suggest that young women from relatively deprived backgrounds may view early motherhood in a more positive light than those from relatively affluent backgrounds, and it was clear that

the pupils' predictions were not simply related to how they viewed early motherhood but also how they viewed alternative pregnancy outcomes.

The discussion group participants' suggestions concerning how to reduce the number of teenage pregnancies included improving young women's access to contraceptive advice and supplies, broadening the scope of the sex education programmes currently delivered in schools, and increasing young women's awareness of the implications of early motherhood. In addition, comments made by some of Redpath participants implied that they felt reducing social inequalities would also help to reduce the number of teenage pregnancies.

In the next chapter, the young mothers' accounts of their pregnancy experiences are detailed. Whilst discussing these accounts, some of the data discussed in this chapter are reflected upon further.

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[1] When viewing the mean scores noted, 1 – 2.5 was taken as 'agree', 2.51 – 3.5 as 'unsure' and 3.51 – 5 as 'disagree'.

[2] The pupils' view of their own ability to obtain and use a condom was explored in relation to the pupils' social class and deprivation scores; sexual and contraceptive career; views of their school sex education; views of the experience of using a condom; levels of personal confidence and perceived level of personal control over current and future situations; perceived ability to access medical services; previous personal experience of using a condom; extent to which they felt comfortable talking to their partner about sex; the amount of spending money they had each week; and finally, the amount of parental surveillance they were under.

[3] The apparent influence of the amount of spending money a state school pupil had to spend each week was due to the correlation which existed between this variable and the variable which indicated whether or not the individual had experienced sexual intercourse ($r = 0.29$, $p = 0.01$).

[4] The pupils' perceptions of their own ability to access medical supplies and advice was explored in relation to the pupils' social class and deprivation scores; the amount of spending money they had each week; the extent to which the felt comfortable talking to relatives, friends and teachers about sex; their views concerning the teaching of contraception and where to access medical advice; their levels of personal confidence and perceived level of personal control over current and future

situations; the number of confidantes they had; and finally, whether or not they had experienced sexual intercourse.

[5] The apparent influence of how comfortable the individual felt talking to her mother was because of the correlation which existed between this variable and how comfortable the pupils felt talking to a best friend ($r = 0.26$, $p = 0.05$); and the apparent influence of the amount of spending money the individual had was because of the correlation which existed between this variable and the pupil's sexual behaviour ($r = 0.25$, $p = 0.05$).

[6] The apparent influence of experience of sexual intercourse was due to this variable's correlation with ease talking to boyfriend ($r = 0.32$, $p < 0.01$). The apparent influence of ease talking to boyfriend was due to the correlation which existed between this variable and how comfortable a state school pupil felt talking to her best friend about sex ($r = 0.27$, $p = 0.01$), and the apparent influence of the pupils' views of the teaching of how to access medical advice and the topic of contraception was due to the correlation which existed between these two variables ($r = 0.55$, $p = 0.01$).

[7] In Chapter Four (pages 189-190) it was explained that, due to organisational difficulties, both Wellsprings discussion groups consisted of pupils who had volunteered individually to take part rather than individuals who had volunteered along with their friends.

[8] The pupils' views were explored in relation to their social class and deprivation scores; the amount of spending money they had each week; their mother's current age; their levels of personal confidence and perceived level of personal control over current and future situations, the extent to which they socialised with friends and were under parental surveillance; their expectations concerning their relationship/employment/training and education status in four years time; the extent to which they enjoyed school and believed their teachers valued a girl's education; the age at which they started to menstruate; and finally, whether or not they had experienced sexual intercourse.

[9] The state school pupils who had experienced sexual intercourse were under significantly lower levels of parental surveillance than the state school pupils who had not experienced sexual intercourse ($\bar{x} = -0.47$ (s.d. = 0.88) versus $\bar{x} = 0.13$ (s.d. = 0.96), $p < 0.01$, factor score, high score = high surveillance). The state school pupils who had experienced sexual intercourse were significantly less likely than their peers to expect that they would be at university/college in four years time ($\bar{x} = 2.62$ (s.d = 1.22) versus $\bar{x} = 2.01$ (s.d. = 1.06), $p = 0.01$, scale: 1 = very likely, 5 = very unlikely).

[10] The pupils' predicted outcomes were explored in terms of their social class and deprivation scores; views of the value of motherhood, a teenage mother's ability to cope, the acceptability of abortion; their expectations concerning what they would be doing in four years time; their mother's current age; how they would emotionally feel if they were to become pregnant; their enjoyment of school and views of their teachers' attitudes toward them and a girl's education; the number of teenage mothers they knew; the amount of spending money they had each week; the pupils' levels of personal confidence and perceived level of personal control over current and future situations; and finally, whether or not they had experienced sexual intercourse .

[11] The apparent influence of the pupils' views concerning the extent to which women value motherhood was due to the correlation this variable had with the pupils' view of abortion ($r = -0.20$, $p = 0.05$), and the apparent influence of pupils' views concerning the extent to which teenage mothers can cope due to its correlation with predicted emotion ($r = 0.35$, $p < 0.01$).

[12] The same factors which had been considered when exploring the pupils' predictions to keep a pregnancy were considered when exploring the pupils' predictions to abort a pregnancy. The only difference was that, instead of considering how many teenage mothers the individual knew, the number of teenage pregnancies the individual knew which had been aborted was considered.

[13] The apparent influence of the pupils' view of a teenage mother's ability to cope this variable's correlation with the pupils' predicted emotions ($r = 0.45$, $p < 0.01$), and the apparent influence of the amount of spending money a Redpath pupil had was due to this variable's correlation with the individual's view of abortion ($r = -0.34$, $p = 0.01$).

[14] The apparent influence of the pupils' views concerning the extent to which all women want to become mothers was due to the correlation which existed between this view and the pupil's predicted emotion ($r = 0.20$, $p = 0.01$).

[15] This individual is the interviewee identified as YM, 1st preg., 15 in Chapter Seven.

The Pathway from Conception to Pregnancy Outcome

The aim of this chapter is to detail the data collected from the young mothers concerning their pregnancy careers, and to identify what factors appeared to have influenced the decisions they made concerning whether to keep or abort their pregnancy. As the interview data were viewed as providing another basis for reflecting upon the data collected from the participants and the pupils concerning their views of teenage pregnancy and early motherhood, in this chapter some of the points made in the last two chapters are commented upon.

It should be noted that the interviewees were not randomly selected and therefore cannot be viewed as being representative of other young mothers. Thus, when discussing the participants' comments and the pupils' answers alongside the young mothers' accounts, the aim is not to assess the extent to which the analyses of the discussion group data and the questionnaire data 'fit' with the analysis of the interview data. Rather the intention is to use the interview data as another framework from which to reflect upon the analyses of the other two data sets.

In total, eight young mothers were interviewed. Each interviewee had recently become pregnant, become a young mother or had an abortion. The interviewees were aged between 15 and 20. Five of them were contacted via the general practice

involved in the study and two were contacted via the antenatal clinic. Details of how potential interviewees were contacted are outlined in Chapter Four on page 197. The remaining interviewee was a Greenbank pupil who had just become a young mother and had written in her questionnaire that she would be willing to be interviewed. As both the general practice and antenatal clinic were located in areas which have been defined as socially and economically deprived[1], and since the Greenbank pupil interviewed lived in an area which had been assigned a deprivation score of 5, all of the interviewees were from relatively deprived areas. Only one of the interviewees was involved in paid employment. Five of the interviewees lived in council houses, two lived with relatives and one in property she and her partner had recently bought. All except one of the interviewees were living with their partners.

The length of the interviews varied from just under twenty minutes to almost two hours. All were taped with the interviewee's consent and, with one exception, all were conducted in the interviewee's own home. The exception took place in private room located in the antenatal clinic and this venue was chosen by the interviewee solely for convenience.

Whilst only eight young mothers were interviewed, five of them had experienced more than one pregnancy. In Chapter Four (page 238) it was explained that because earlier pregnancies had influenced the outcome of the current 'study' pregnancy, during the interviews earlier pregnancies were also discussed. This meant that, in

the end, the pathways of fourteen pregnancies were explored. In this chapter data provided on all fourteen pregnancies are discussed.

As the interview data were analysed thematically, this chapter has been organised thematically. The chapter has been structured so that the discussion moves from detailing the interviewees' accounts of the reasons for their pregnancies, to documenting their descriptions of how these pregnancies were confirmed and how they and others had reacted to the news. The discussion then focuses on the accounts given by those who had experienced an unplanned pregnancy, and describes what factors appeared to have influenced the decisions these interviewees had made concerning whether to keep or abort the pregnancy. The chapter ends with a concluding discussion that details the insights which have been gained throughout this chapter. So that an overall grasp of the interviewees' backgrounds can be gained before their accounts are detailed, the pregnancy career of each interviewee has been noted in table 70.

A number of points can be made in relation to table 70. First, at the time of interview all the interviewees were either young mothers or currently pregnant. Second, only one interviewee was interviewed as someone who had recently had an abortion but, in total, three of the pregnancies discussed had been aborted. Next, pregnancies occurring to the same interviewee did not necessarily end in the same outcome and the order of outcome varied. For example, two interviewees aborted a pregnancy but then kept a later one, whilst another interviewee kept her first

pregnancy but aborted her second. Finally, it is apparent that teenage mothers do

not form a homogenous group (Phoenix 1991) as the interviewees varied according

to age, current pregnancy status, number of previous pregnancies and past

pregnancy outcomes. Since in the preceding chapter (page 376), it was noted that

most of the state school participants had argued that there is not a 'stereotypical'

teenage mother, it would appear that the majority of the Greenbank participants and

the Wellsprings participants were aware of this situation.

Table 70 *The pregnancy career of each interviewee*

Interviewee code (i.e. current status, number of pregnancies experienced, age at time of interview)	Status at time of interview	Number of pregnancies	Outcome of pregnancy
YM/CP, 3rd preg., 19	young mother and currently pregnant	3	kept first, aborted second, keeping third
CP, 2nd preg., 19	currently pregnant	2	aborted first, keeping second
YM (1), 2nd preg., 19	young mother	2	kept first, aborted second
YM, 2nd preg., 19	young mother	2	miscarried first, kept second
YM/CP, 2nd preg., 17	young mother and currently pregnant	2	kept first and keeping second
YM, 1st preg., 19	Young mother	1	kept
YM, 1st preg., 15	Young mother	1	kept
CP, 1st preg., 18	Currently pregnant	1	keeping

7.1) *Reasons for the pregnancies described*

Two of the interviewees described their pregnancies as neither planned nor

unplanned but events which had 'just happened'. It has been noted (see for

example, Ineichen 1986, Luker 1996, Trussell 1988) that teenage pregnancies

cannot always be categorised as either 'planned' or 'unplanned' and this situation meant that the pregnancies described during this study were defined as 'planned', 'unplanned' or 'passively conceived'. During the last chapter, in section 6.2.1, the reasons the participants voiced when discussing their views concerning possible explanations for the occurrence of teenage pregnancy were detailed. As all of the reasons given could be categorised as either 'intentional' or 'unintentional' explanations, it would appear that the analysis of the participants' views presented a too simplistic view of this issue.

7.1.1) *Reasons for passively conceived pregnancies*

Having analysed the data, three of the pregnancies were categorised as having been passively conceived, i.e. neither consciously planned nor actively avoided. As two of these pregnancies had occurred to the same interviewee, only two of the interviewees had experienced such pregnancies. At the time of interview, both were currently pregnant and one was already a young mother.

As each interviewee mentioned that she had not been using contraception, it was apparent that all three pregnancies were the outcome of unprotected intercourse. In each case the reason for having unprotected intercourse appeared to be due to a lack of concern about the possible consequences of this behaviour:

'The first time you got pregnant was it planned?'
'No, not really it just happened.'
'Were you thinking about getting pregnant?'
'Well, I had always wanted weans. It just happened.' (YM/CP, 2nd preg.,
17)

'Was it planned?'
'Er, no not really but it didnae matter if I was pregnant because I wouldnae
get rid of it so'
'Why, were you thinking about having children?'
'Aye. It was sooner than I had expected but I am not really bothered.' (CP,
1st preg., 18)

This lack of concern appeared to relate to the inevitability of having a child, and

certainly such an apparent lack of concern is thought to be experienced by women

who view teenage pregnancy and early motherhood as events which simply bring

forward the inevitable (Blum and Resnick 1982). However, these accounts were

retrospective and therefore may have been influenced by the interviewees' current

situation (Smith 1994). In addition, this explanation does not reveal why early

motherhood did not appear to be viewed as problematic; nor does it reveal why

other young women with similar desires do not conceive in their teenage years.

Early motherhood may not have been viewed as problematic because each

interviewee, while not planning her pregnancy, wanted a child. One of the

interviewees described how she had cared for other people's children and explained

that this experience had led her to want her own. The other interviewee mentioned

that she had felt a need for some source of 'unconditional' love and believed having

a child would meet this need. This interviewee stated that this need stemmed from

her experience of being in foster care. Whilst this experience was not discussed in

detail, within the literature an association has been made between unsettled childhood experiences and teenage motherhood (Franklin 1988), and between certain emotional needs and the occurrence of teenage pregnancy (Breakwell 1993, Lawson 1993). Interestingly, as noted in Chapter Six, page 357, some of the Redpath participants had discussed how they thought women from 'unloved' backgrounds may enter motherhood in order to have someone to love and focus their attention on. Whilst none of the participants mentioned that another reason could be a desire to mother having cared for other people's children, this association has been made in the literature (Fischman 1977).

Although only one of the interviewees related her desire for motherhood to her experience of caring for others, the other interviewee also mentioned that she had cared for other people's children. Both interviewees made comments which suggested that this experience had led her to believe that she would be able to cope with motherhood:

> 'Do you feel too young to be a mum?'
> 'No. I have grown up a lot in the last couple of years because I had to look after my wee sisters so I have grown up a lot. I am 18 but I don't feel 18, I feel older.' (CP, 1st preg., 18)

> 'Did you think at the age of 15 you could cope (with motherhood)?'
> 'Well I had brought up weans all my life. I used to baby sit all the time. I used look after them all the time.'
> 'So basically you were looking after everybody else's?'
> 'Aye, I always took them out, baby sat. I done everything. I even brought up my wee sister an all.' (YM/CP, 2nd preg., 17)

During the interviews conducted with these interviewees, both made comments

which suggested that they had been emotionally and physically independent of their

families from a young age:

> 'I was in foster care when I was younger and I never had like the love and
> attention that I would normally get off my mum and dad.' (CP, 1st preg., 18)

> 'My mum (said that I should have an abortion) but I said she didnae ken
> what she was saying and that I could run away with Steven (her partner).'
> 'Run away with Steven?'
> 'Aye, I used to do it all the time anyway.'
> 'What run away?'
> 'Aye.' (YM/CP, 2nd preg., 17)

The idea of these interviewees being independent of their families was also implied

by the fact that both made comments which suggested that they were not too

concerned about how relatives would react to the pregnancy:

> 'Did you expect your mum to be mad when you got pregnant?'
> 'Aye, she had gone mad at my big sister and she was 18.'
> 'She was mad at your sister?'
> 'Aye but it didnae bother me.'
> 'Why?'
> 'It just didnae. I didn't care what anybody thought.' (YM/CP, 2nd preg., 17)[2]

> 'I was hoping that my family would be all right and would be happy for me
> but then if they werenae then it didn't really matter, it was just how I felt and
> how Neil (her partner) felt because its me and him who are going to have to
> bring it up. No one else so.' (CP, 1st preg., 18)

This finding is interesting considering in Chapter Six (pages 396-399) it was noted

that the Redpath, Greenbank and Wellsprings participants' descriptions of how they

thought their parents would react if they became pregnant in the next month, suggested that most thought their parents would be shocked and upset. In addition, in Chapter Six it was noted that most of the Redpath participants had stated that they would abort a teenage pregnancy, and it was suggested that some of them may have viewed this outcome as one which would mean parents would not need to be informed about the pregnancy.

Based on the last quote reproduced above, it is apparent that the relationship status of this interviewee had increased the extent to which she felt independent of her family. Actually, all three of the passively conceived pregnancies discussed had been conceived in relationships which were described by the interviewees as stable and, at the time of conception, had been established for over a year. Since relationship stability has been associated with teenage pregnancy and early motherhood (Luker 1996), this may have been an important factor. The importance of this interviewee's relationship status was also implied by a comment she made and which, to some extent, reflected the fact that a woman may conceive in order to please her partner (Adler and Tschann 1993, Stevens-Simon and Lowy 1995):

> 'He (her partner) said that if I got pregnant he would be happy and he was. He was happier than I was.' (CP, 1st preg., 18)

Apart from the relationships these interviewees had with their partners, these interviewees appeared to have little else to structure their lives. Both interviewees described how they had not enjoyed school and when asked if they had ever worked,

each commented that she had not. In addition, it appeared that neither had any intention of seeking employment, as during both interviews no comments were made which implied that the interviewee was looking for work or hoping to work in the future. Thus, it is possible that these pregnancies had not been avoided because for these interviewees, early motherhood would carry no immediate implications concerning educational success and employment prospects. Considering the apparent lack of structure in their lives, it is also possible that these pregnancies had not been avoided because these interviewees viewed motherhood as a role which could bring them a sense of purpose. Certainly, Adler and Tschann (1993) and Phoenix (1991) state that the fewer the opportunity costs which would be incurred by entering early motherhood, the more willing a young woman is to consider entering this role. In addition, Buchholz and Gol (1986) state that motherhood can be used as a way of creating some form of life structure.

In the preceding chapter, the notion of potential opportunity costs was discussed when detailing possible explanations for why the Redpath participants had been more likely than the state school participants to argue that they would have an abortion. As noted on page 417, it appeared that the perceived opportunity costs which would be incurred by the Redpath participants through entering early motherhood would be greater than those anticipated by the Greenbank and Wellsprings participants. Interestingly, the idea of a young woman using motherhood in order to create a role was one which had been mentioned during a Redpath discussion (page 359) and during a Wellsprings discussion (page 379).

There appeared to be one other factor which may have played a significant role in the occurrence of at least two of these pregnancies. This was a rather complicated view of contraception:

'Was this pregnancy planned?'
'No.'
'Did you use contraception at all?'
'No, I didnae use it.'
'Why?'
'I just didnae.'
'Why?'
'Because I dinnae believe in that stuff.'
'What you don't believe in contraception?'
'Nope because I keep myself clean.'
'What do you mean by clean?'
'I have only been with the one laddie and he has only ever been with me.'
(YM/CP, 2nd preg., 17)

This view was expressed only by the interviewee who had experienced two passively conceived pregnancies and suggests that, for this interviewee, the use of contraception was associated more with the prevention of STDs than with the prevention of pregnancy. This finding appears to contradict the literature which states that young women are motivated to use contraception more by a fear of becoming pregnant than by a fear of STDs (HEA 1992). However, this finding could be because this interviewee, when thinking about contraception, focused only on the use of condoms. This comment is based on the emphasis she placed on the extent to which her and her partner were 'clean' and on the way in which contraception was referred to as 'it' and, consequently, appeared to be viewed as an object.

Therefore, the interviewees who had passively conceived accounted for the occurrence of their pregnancies in various ways. While documenting these accounts it has been evident that a young woman may not be sufficiently motivated to either plan for motherhood or avoid it (Rhode and Lawson 1993). It has also been evident that the desire to avoid pregnancy may be linked to a woman's perceptions concerning the benefits of deferring or entering motherhood, and that such perceptions can be influenced by the individual's past and present situations, and her future expectations (Trussell 1988). This last point implies that a woman's view of motherhood is influenced by her view of this role, her current situation and perceptions of her future. Thus, this point could explain why Luker (1996) argues that when using the concepts of 'wantedness' and 'intendedness' to describe the extent to which a pregnancy is wanted or planned, consideration must be given to the other choices a young woman has available to her.

Within the above discussion concerning the occurrence of the passively conceived pregnancies there was an underlying theme of, what will be termed here, 'premature maturity'; a maturity which could be viewed as beyond the interviewees' chronological age and which had been demanded and created through their past and present experiences, and had encouraged them to believe that they would be able to cope with early motherhood. This theme was suggested in the interviewees' comments concerning their experiences of caring for others. Its presence suggests

that, although early motherhood may lead to a precocious maturity (McRobbie 1991), such maturity may also *precede* this role.

7.1.2) *Reasons for planned pregnancies*

Three out of the fourteen pregnancies described during the interviews were classified by the interviewees as planned; a proportion which reflects the fact that majority of teenage pregnancies are unplanned but a significant number are planned (Simms and Smith 1986)[3].

In the preceding chapter it was evident that analysis of the questionnaire data had shown that, overall, pupils from each school did not agree that teenage pregnancies were the result of women wanting a child (table 55, page 386). This finding suggests that, in general, pupils in each of the study schools felt most teenage pregnancies were unplanned events. The extent to which the participants viewed teenage pregnancies as planned or unplanned events was less clear as during the Redpath, Greenbank and Wellsprings discussions, both intentional and unintentional reasons for the occurrence of teenage pregnancy were mentioned. However, as noted on page 375, the overall impression given by the state school participants' comments implied that they thought most teenage pregnancies were accidents. In addition, whilst the Redpath participants had mentioned intentional reasons when describing their views of teenage mothers, it was evident that when

focusing on why they thought some young women conceive, unintentional explanations had been mentioned (page 378).

Two of the planned pregnancies described had occurred to interviewees who were 19 years old and one to an interviewee who was 15 years old. Two of these pregnancies were first pregnancies, one was a second pregnancy. At the time of the interview, all the interviewees describing a planned pregnancy were young mothers.

Each interviewee who had planned a pregnancy explained that she had wanted to become a mother and, at the time of planning, had felt in a suitable position to enter this role. All three pregnancies were conceived within relationships which, based on the interviewees' descriptions, were stable and long term and, in the case of the two older interviewees, whilst living with partners who had recently been employed. The younger interviewee was also living with her partner in the sense that both individuals were in residential care. In addition, whilst neither the interviewee nor her partner were working, this interviewee explained that, when planning her pregnancy, she thought she would receive income support if she became a mother. Thus, this interviewee made comments which suggested that she believed she would be financially secure if she had a child.

Each interviewee's partner was either the same age or slightly older than the interviewee. As each interviewee described how the pregnancy had been planned

with her partner, it was suggested that parenthood was desired both by the interviewee and by her partner.

In addition to the immediate context which surrounded the planning of these pregnancies, in the case of two of the planned pregnancies described it was evident that these pregnancies had been the result of a long term intention to enter early motherhood:

> 'I have always wanted to be young (when entering motherhood). I wouldn't like, like a lot of people leave it (motherhood) until the 30s, 40s but I always think you should be on the same kind of level as them (your children). When they become teenagers you don't want to be too old. Like put up with their noise and everything else. I have always wanted to be quite a young mother.' (YM, 2nd preg., 19)

> 'I had always wanted to have children young, before my career so it wouldn't interrupt my career. So when I started (working) I could do it all and didnae have to interrupt it half way through because of maternity leave and doing part time work for years. So when I do go into proper work I could do it full time.' (YM/CP, 3rd preg., 19)

The interviewees' comments suggest that this intention was based on a rationale which viewed early motherhood as beneficial to the mother. Other studies have shown that teenage mothers may believe early motherhood is beneficial (MacIntyre and Cunningham-Burley 1993) and that such a view may precede this role (Kiernan 1995).

The above quotes suggest a rationale for early motherhood which stems from an awareness of the negative implications of motherhood. This implies that the

benefits of early motherhood were viewed as being dependent upon the costs of motherhood and meant that, here, there was no evidence to support the theory that teenage pregnancies are the result of young women idolising motherhood (Cunningham 1984).

In the case of the other planned pregnancy described, while the interviewee had not commented that she felt early motherhood, in itself, was beneficial, it was clear that she had been considering motherhood for some time:

> 'It started when I was about 12 (the individual was 19 years old at the time of interview), I always thought I would really like a baby but I always thought I was too young so I kept just putting it at the back of my mind, hoping it would go away because I just wanted to think that it was just a passing phase and I would get over it. But as I got older the more I was wanting a child so it got harder as I got older but when I met Joe (her partner) it just felt right.' (YM, 1st preg., 19)

According to the interviewee experiencing this pregnancy, this consideration stemmed from some 'maternal' instinct which, until now, she had consciously repressed:

> 'So you think you just wanted to be a mum. You can't think of any specific reason?'
> 'Its just always been there. Whether it's a maternal instinct I don't know.' (YM, 1st preg., 19)

While there is no research evidence to support the existence of a maternal instinct (Hall Sternglanz and Nash 1988), this idea still has cultural salience and, subsequently, may still influence the thoughts and feelings women have about

motherhood. However, during the interview held with this young mother it did appear that the desire for motherhood may have stemmed from two *external* sources. First, this interviewee mentioned that she had relatives and friends who were teenage mothers. Such experience is felt to encourage early motherhood (Alexander and Guyer 1993), although Klerman et al. (1982) state that it is unclear whether this relationship exists because other young mothers act as role models or because such contact reduces the stigma attached to early motherhood. As the interviewee stated that observing others with their children had increased her desire for motherhood, and because it appeared that early motherhood was the norm within her social network since she mentioned both relatives and friends who were teenage mothers, here both theories appeared to be supported. Second, this interviewee stated she had not particularly enjoyed school and described how she had worked in a number of shops and found the work fairly uninteresting. Thus, it is possible that motherhood may be viewed as an attractive alternative to education and/or employment. It would also appear that there was evidence to support the argument that repetitive, low paying jobs may enhance the attractiveness of motherhood (Klerman 1993).

Although contact with young mothers can encourage early motherhood, in this study it was also apparent that such contact could also discourage motherhood:

> 'Because she (her mother) was a young mother, has she ever said (to you) "Don't have your kids young"?'
> 'She has never said anything. I think it is mainly just a subconscious thing that I have got (wanting to wait). She fosters kids now but she also does a

lot of courses and everything else, social work and stuff like that and I feel it is now that she is doing all her educational things and she has left it until after she has had kids. I think its just mainly self conscious I have. I thought I should wait.' (YM, 2nd preg., 19)

Whilst this interviewee's comments suggest that her personal knowledge of the implications of early motherhood had encouraged her to postpone motherhood, this interviewee also related her decision to wait to the fact that an earlier pregnancy had miscarried:

'So what made you think you were ready?'
'I don't know. I just felt there was something missing. It was two years after the miscarriage but I hadn't rushed into it because I feel a lot of folk after a miscarriage rush into another pregnancy...we (the interviewee and her partner) still talk about it (the miscarriage) now.' (YM, 2nd preg., 19)

This quote illustrates the impact an earlier pregnancy can have on the timing of a later pregnancy.

Although the sense of waiting was apparent during the interviews held with both of the interviewees who had planned their pregnancies at the age of 19, it was not apparent during the interview held with the young mother who had planned her pregnancy at the age of 15. Whilst this may be a reflection of age, this interviewee made a number of comments which suggested that she felt there was no reason to wait. During her interview she mentioned that, prior to conceiving, she knew of a centre in Edinburgh which enables teenage mothers to continue their education and was aware of the welfare benefits which may be claimed by young mothers. Thus, it did appear that, whilst planning her pregnancy, this interviewee believed early

motherhood would have no negative implications concerning her education and was financially feasible:

> 'Do you think that was something which made you think, well I could get pregnant?'
> 'Aye, because I knew I would get income support.'
> 'Do you think if that support wasn't there you wouldn't have got pregnant?'
> 'No, I wouldn't have.'
> 'So you knew about (centre's name) and you knew about income support?'
> 'Aye.' (YM/CP, 3rd preg., 19)

Although a number of researchers have stated that the availability of welfare is not related to the prevalence of teenage pregnancies (Jones et al. 1985, Phipps Yonas 1980), the above quote does suggest that such provisions may mean early motherhood is viewed as less problematic by some individuals (Phipps Yonas 1980). In Chapter Six it was evident that both the idea of women entering motherhood in order to receive benefits, and the idea of women entering this role in the knowledge that benefits which could reduce the financial implications of motherhood existed, were mentioned during the Redpath discussions (pages 356 and 359). Thus, it did appear that among the Redpath participants, there was a view that the provision of state benefits encouraged early motherhood, and a view such provisions meant that some women viewed this role as financially feasible. Although the state school participants made no reference to the idea of welfare provisions encouraging early motherhood, one of the Wellsprings participants had mentioned the possibility of a young woman being unable to keep a child because she was unable to cope with the financial aspects of motherhood (page 411).

Another factor which may have influenced this interviewee's decision to have a

child was the fact that, having been sexually abused, she had been in care since the

age of 12. Already noted is the relationship which exists between unstable home

life and teenage motherhood (Franklin 1988). Although the interviewee commented

that she did not believe either experience had influenced her decision to become a

mother, it did appear that the experience of care had influenced her perceptions of

what would be lost if motherhood was entered:

> 'So did you know that they would let you keep Alex (her son) in the home?'
> 'No, not in that home. I had to get moved.'
> 'But you were there for six months?'
> 'A year and a half.'
> 'But when you were pregnant?'
> 'I left when I was six months pregnant, just after I had sat my standard grades.'
> 'Did you like the home?'
> 'Yes, it was all right.'
> 'Were you glad to move home?'
> 'I wasnae really bothered about it I had moved about that much since I was 12, I had been with about 5 different carers. It didn't matter.' (YM/CP, 3rd preg., 19)

Hence, once again it was implied that opportunity costs were considered and that

the interviewee's current situation removed some of the reasons for delaying

motherhood. This interviewee's comments also suggest that her experience of care

had encouraged her to be independent of others emotionally, and to accept a

discontinuity of care which other women her age would perhaps not be expected to

deal with. Such comments gave the impression that this interviewee had a level of

independence which could be viewed as beyond her chronological age.

It was clear, therefore, that the planned pregnancies described within this study had occurred to women who, at the time of planning, were living in a context which they viewed as financially secure and emotionally supportive; who from a relatively early age had considered the prospect of becoming a mother; and who believed early motherhood was beneficial or at least acceptable. Hence, whilst some of the participants had talked of women intentionally conceiving in order to address some emotional need or create a role for themselves, and although during the above discussion it has been noted that there is literature to support both of these views, the accounts given by the interviewees who had planned a pregnancy revealed that teenage pregnancies may be conceived within situations deemed as 'ideal' by the women (Phoenix 1991). The extent to which these pregnancies had been planned also supports Dash's (1989) comment that teenage mothers are not simply passive victims of circumstances but may be actively planning and controlling their futures.

7.1.3) *Reasons for unplanned pregnancies*

Eight out of the fourteen pregnancies were described by the young mothers as unplanned. Four of these pregnancies were first pregnancies, three were second pregnancies and one was a third pregnancy. Six of these unplanned pregnancies had occurred to three women, i.e. three of the interviewees had experienced two

unplanned pregnancies. The two remaining pregnancies occurred to two different interviewees.

According to the interviewees, five of these pregnancies had been the result of contraception not being used consistently, and three the result of contraceptive failure. However, the interviewees gave various reasons to explain why contraception had not been used. In addition, in each of the cases where it had been argued that the pregnancy was the result of contraceptive failure, it did appear that such failure may actually have been due to a lack of contraceptive knowledge on behalf of the interviewee.

The reasons given by the interviewees for not using contraception consistently were: being drunk at the time; realising the risks of having unprotected intercourse but not being sufficiently concerned to use contraception; coming off the pill for no particular reason and not replacing it with another form of contraception; forgetting to renew the contraceptive injection; and simply being 'hopeless at those kind of things'. Thus, as had been the case when exploring the reasons given by the pupils for why they had not used contraception during intercourse, a lack of planning appeared to underlie much of this behaviour. The pupils' responses to the survey questions which had asked them to indicate why they had not used contraception during first intercourse and during last intercourse, were detailed in Chapter Five in tables 35 and 36 (page 315).

Unplanned intercourse has been associated with the relationship instability which tends to characterise teenage sexual relations, and is considered to be the main reason for teenagers not using contraception consistently (Sheeran et al. 1991). However, the majority of the unplanned pregnancies described during this study had been conceived within relationships which had been established for over a year. Hence, it was apparent that contraception may not be used within a stable relationship (Duncan et al. 1990) and, although the interviewees were not asked to describe their partner's view of contraception, there was no reason to believe that the interviewees' relationship experiences were a reason for their inconsistent use.

Poor use of contraception among teenagers has also been associated with the tendency for teenagers to underestimate the risks involved in having unprotected intercourse (Trussell 1988). Yet, four of these pregnancies followed earlier unplanned pregnancies and this must have increased the interviewees' awareness of the risks involved; particularly as experience of a previous pregnancy increases the motivation to use contraception (Chilman 1980).

As the interviews focused primarily on the interviewee's experiences between conception and pregnancy outcome, the interviewees' contraceptive history and experiences of using and accessing contraception were not directly explored. However, during one interview it did seem that the interviewee's low level of self confidence or self efficacy, factors which can prevent knowledge being translated

into action (Moore and Rosenthal 1993, Wight et al. 1998), may have been a reason

why contraception had not been used:

> 'Do you think the fact that you disagree with abortion would make you more
> determined to use contraception?'
> 'I suppose so.'
> 'Do you think it has?'
> 'No, not really.'
> 'Why?'
> 'I don't know I am just hopeless with those kind of things.'
> 'Do you think anything can be done to help young women use
> contraception?'
> 'No, it's everyone's own choice. If they are going to take it they are going to
> take it and if they are not, they are not.' (YM/CP, 3rd preg., 19)

This quote is interesting since it implies that this interviewee, whilst doubting her

own ability to use contraception, believes the use of contraception is dependent

upon the individual's level of ability and motivation. Hence, 'the individual' is seen

as both the cause and solution to inconsistent use. This finding indicates that whilst

participants mentioned a woman's ability to access contraception and negotiate

sexual encounters when discussing possible explanations for teenage pregnancies

(section 6.2.1), and whilst the work of various researchers has shown that such

factors can play a significant role in a young woman's use of contraception (see for

example, Chilman 1980, Davis and Weatherburn 1991, Holland et al. 1991b),

consideration must also be given to the confidence and skills an individual brings to

a situation when attempting to explain contraceptive behaviour. On noting this

point it is interesting to recall that personal confidence was not associated with the

pupils' self efficacy with condoms (tables 56 and 57, page 392), but was associated

with the state school pupils' view of their ability to access medical advice and

supplies (table 59, page 394). Hence, the issue of self confidence may not necessarily be confined to the direct use of contraception but also to related issues.

Earlier it was stated that three out of the eight unplanned pregnancies described were considered by the interviewees to be the result of contraceptive failure. Two of these pregnancies occurred to the same interviewee and, according to her, were the result of the contraceptive pill failing. However, on both occasions there was reason to believe that these pregnancies were actually the result of contraceptive misuse or lack of knowledge concerning this particular method:

> 'I think I missed one pill but I am no too sure but, no in fact I missed that pill after I was pregnant anyway...' (in relation to the second pregnancy).
> 'Did you not think about coming off the pill since it had failed you the first time?'
> 'No, because, actually the first time they couldnae work out exactly when I had conceived. I had had bronchitis and I was taking antibiotics. So the first time the doctor was saying "Oh it couldnae have been the pill, it must have been the antibiotics, they must have still been in your system".' (CP, 2nd preg., 19)

The remaining pregnancy which was described as result of contraceptive failure appeared to have occurred for a number of reasons. In addition, these reasons appeared to be linked.

First, comments made by the interviewee who had experienced this pregnancy suggested that she had not been emotionally ready to embark upon a physical relationship and, as a consequence of this, she was unprepared and intercourse unplanned:

'It was completely not planned. I didnae even know if I was ready (to have intercourse) yet, just one of those things. I knew I didnae love John (her partner) and that he didnae love me and I didnae think I was going to do that with him.' (YM, 1st preg., 15)

Second, the withdrawal method had been used. As this method is relatively ineffective (Peckham 1992), its use could present another reason for the occurrence of this pregnancy. Interestingly, the use of this method could relate to the 'unexpectedness' with which this interviewee embarked upon a sexual relationship. A young woman's acceptance of her own sexuality is an important influence on the use of contraception (Farber 1994) and the use of this method would have enabled the interviewee to place contraceptive responsibility primarily upon her partner. Hence, although earlier it was noted that contraception may not be used by women who appear to be sexually experienced and who are in a stable relationship (Duncan et al. 1990), within this study it was also apparent that the use of contraception can be hindered by sexual naiveté and relationship instability (Moore and Rosenthal 1993). However, the extent to which this interviewee was unprepared appeared not only to relate to her level of sexual experience, but also to the sex education she had received at school:

'.....it (sex education) doesnae sink into you. It doesn't make nae difference at all whether you are going to do it or no. You didnae think, "Oh, wait until I think about what they told us about it at school". It just doesnae happen like that. You learn stuff about AIDS and that and you do learn it, you know, like what everything is called and what happens and how his sperm gets in and how its fertilised and everything and it's good learning that stuff but it just doesnae make any difference, you know. The only thing it (the sex education) tells you is what everything is called and how everything happens.' (YM, 1st preg., 15)

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The emphasis which is placed on the biological aspects of intercourse could reflect the tendency for school sex education programmes to focus primarily on the biological rather than the social aspects of sexual relations (Wight et al. 1998). This emphasis could explain why this interviewee's comments show that there is a difference between the reality of having a relationship, and what is currently being taught in schools (Measor et al. 2000).

Finally, the interviewee suggested that this pregnancy was the result of an unstable childhood:

> 'Well my parents are no strict or nothing and they let me go my own way. Maybe that's probably how I ended up this way because they werenae that strict. They didnae have rules about boyfriends and that, they just let you go your own way.' (YM, 1ˢᵗ preg., 15)

The comments made by this interviewee suggest that a lack of parental supervision may increase a young woman's risk of becoming pregnant by failing to provide her with the guidance and stability needed to avoid situations in which she may be mentally or physically vulnerable.

Having described the ways in which the interviewees accounted for the occurrence of the passively conceived pregnancies, planned pregnancies and unplanned pregnancies, it is clear that the reason for a pregnancy can range from social and economic factors to individual factors and psychological variables (Adler and

Tschann 1993, Stafford 1987). Thus, whilst earlier it was commented that the analysis of the participants' views had presented too simplistic a view concerning possible reasons for teenage pregnancies, the analysis of the interview data does suggest that the participants were right to mention both personal and situational factors when discussing such reasons. This analysis would also appear to provide support for some of the suggestions voiced by the participants concerning how the current prevalence of teenage pregnancy could be reduced. These suggestions were outlined at the end of Chapter Six, in section 6.5.

Some of the Greenbank participants had commented that they thought young women should have more information on the contraceptive pill. As the experiences of the interviewee who had experienced two unplanned pregnancies whilst on the pill suggested that she might have benefited from a better understanding of this method, her experiences provide some support for this suggestion. In addition, the experiences of the interviewee who described how she felt about the sex education she had received, provides support for the comments made by some of the Redpath and Wellsprings participants, and which indicated that they felt there is a need broaden the scope of the sex education delivered in schools. However, there was little support for the suggestion which was made by during the Redpath and Greenbank discussions and which implied that this prevalence could also be reduced by increasing young women's awareness of the potential implications of early motherhood. This was because the majority of the interviewees appeared to appreciate the implications early motherhood would have on their situation and

thereby implied that women who enter early motherhood are aware of the potential implications of this role.

As none of the pregnancies appeared to have been the result of the interviewees having problems in accessing contraception, support was also lacking for the suggestion that the prevalence of teenage pregnancies could be reduce by increasing women's access to contraception. This may have been because, at the time of interview, most of the interviewees were in stable relationships and, based on their pregnancy careers, had been sexually active for a number of years. Although most young people are sexually active by the age of 19 (McIlwaine 1994), most teenage relationships are unstable (Sheeran et al. 1991). Hence, the lack of support for this suggestion may relate to the specific characteristics of the interviewees rather than to adequacy of the contraceptive services currently provided.

7.2) *Confirmation of a teenage pregnancy*

Nine of the pregnancies were officially confirmed by the interviewee's GP (although in three of these cases the pregnancy had already been personally confirmed using a home test), one was confirmed by a pharmacist and the remaining four pregnancies were confirmed at a family planning clinic.

Half the pregnancies described were not confirmed until approximately three months. Two of these pregnancies had been passively conceived, one was planned and the rest were unplanned. All except two of these pregnancies, both unplanned second pregnancies, were first pregnancies. Based on the accounts given by those whose second pregnancy had been confirmed late, it was evident that one of these pregnancies had been confirmed late because the interviewee had not realised that she was pregnant since her periods were irregular having just had a child. In the case of the other second pregnancy, it was evident that late confirmation was actually the result of pregnancy tests not indicating that the interviewee was pregnant:

> 'When did you first realise that you were pregnant (the second time)?'
> 'Well, it's quite weird because I thought I was pregnant for about 2 months before I was told I was pregnant but my test kept coming back negative but I knew I was pregnant but.'
> 'How did you know?'
> 'Well, I had been pregnant before but I just knew. I don't know I was just no me, and I knew for a fact that I was pregnant and then I had three pregnancy tests and all of them came up negative and so then I thought there was something wrong with me so I wanted to go in for a D&C or something because I thought there must be something wrong with my insides because I just didnae feel right, and then she (doctor/nurse) said we will do a formality pregnant test and that one turned out positive and I had been pregnant the whole time. So I thought I was pregnant really two weeks after I was pregnant but, like they (doctors/nurses) said to me "Oh you couldnae have been, you must only be six weeks like" but then they worked out I was sixteen weeks.' (CP, 2nd preg., 19)

The comments made by this interviewee imply that the experience of an earlier pregnancy had heightened her awareness of the possibility that she was pregnant again. Interestingly, comments made by one of the interviewees whose first

pregnancy had been confirmed late implied that the reason for this delay was

because she had not recognised the signs of being pregnant. Hence, the decision to

have a pregnancy test had been reliant upon someone else recognising the

interviewee's potential situation:

'I never really even thought I would be pregnant. I was working as a waitress and my overall just kept getting tighter and tighter on me and my cousin, she had just had a wee girl, said to me "You are getting really fat" and I goes "Aye, I have missed my periods" and she goes "Well you had better go and get a pregnancy test" and she went and done it for me.' (YM (1), 2nd preg., 19)

Teenagers often do not recognise the early symptoms of pregnancy (Hadley 1996)

and, as the above quote suggests, the extent to which the individual expects she may

be pregnant can influence when a pregnancy is confirmed (Hass 1974).

In the case of the unplanned pregnancies it was also evident that a delay in

confirmation could be a combination of not recognising the signs of pregnancy and

not accepting that such an event could have occurred:

'I started to be sick and everything and had really no idea, you know, and my periods had stopped for ages but I kept telling myself its stress, that there is something wrong with me and there is just too much stress but deep inside I knew that I had to be worried.' (YM, 1st preg., 15)

Interestingly, during the interview held with the interviewee who made this

comment, it was also apparent that a fear of the actual confirmation process can be

another reason for such a delay (Hudson and Ineichen 1991):

'I was embarrassed to go because you felt like they were looking down on you, you know.'

'Who?'

'The doctor and even when you were waiting to go in, in the reception, you felt that everyone was staring at you...you went in and you always felt that everywhere you went you felt that people knew what you had done, and were staring at me and putting me down but I knew that they didnae know yet, that's just what you felt. You knew that's what it was going to be like when they did find out (everyone staring). It was horrible.' (YM, 1st preg., 15)

As the above quote illustrates, it appeared that this interviewee felt socially and morally stigmatised even before her pregnancy had been confirmed. Both this feeling and her apparent fear of visiting the doctors could relate to the fact that, in seeking such help, a young woman reveals that she has been sexually active and, consequently, exposes herself to potential criticism (Hadley 1996). The notion of a young woman being judged in terms of what her pregnancy symbolises was a theme which was evident during the Redpath discussions. As noted in Chapter Six (page 406) some of the Redpath participants had described how they thought those around them would be embarrassed and disgusted by the news and, consequently, made comments which implied that they felt their pregnancy would be judged on a moral basis.

Thus, the descriptions some of the interviewees gave concerning their confirmation experiences highlighted a number of reasons which could explain why teenagers tend to present later than older women (Peckham 1992). The extent to which this situation influenced the outcome of the interviewees' pregnancies is unclear. Whilst

gestation age at confirmation was not mentioned by any of the interviewees as a factor which had influenced the outcome of their pregnancy, it is possible that those who had confirmed late had less time within which abortion remained a possible outcome. It is also possible that this timing had influenced how the practitioner confirming the pregnancy advised the young woman, as it was apparent that some of the interviewees who had presented late had not been asked whether they wished to abort the pregnancy.

7.3) *Reactions to the news of pregnancy*

7.3.1) *Reactions to planned pregnancies*

The descriptions given by the interviewees who had planned their pregnancies implied that they had been delighted to hear that they were pregnant. These interviewees used words such as 'excited', 'happy' and 'dazed' to describe how they had felt. However, despite such a positive welcome, it is interesting to note that one confirmation was met with mixed emotions:

> 'I was really glad but it was sort of mixed feelings even though I wanted to get pregnant...I was happy but at the same time really emotional.'
> 'Why?'
> 'I don't know why. I have never discovered why.'
> 'Could it be because you were excited or scared or a mixture?'
> 'I would say all of them.' (YM, 1st preg., 19)

This reaction could reflect the mixed views young women hold towards motherhood (Ineichen 1986). For this interviewee this reaction may also have related to her age, as she viewed her age as a factor which would influence how others would react to the news:

> 'My brother was the worse (to tell) (because) with me being the youngest and also when I was at school he used to protect me if anything went wrong and Joe (her partner) is his best pal. So, he's not happy about us. Well he wasn't happy about us when we first started going out but it seems to have worked out all right.' (YM, 1st preg., 19)

This adult/child theme was also apparent during the interviews held with the interviewees who had planned their pregnancies as they mentioned that, whilst they felt mature enough to enter motherhood, others still believed they were too young. This theme usually emerged in relation to how parents had reacted to the news.

Parents were described as being more likely than peers or partners to believe that the interviewee was too young to become a mother. Yet, when describing how their parents had reacted, the interviewees' comments implied that their parents' reaction had been one of acceptance and a lack of interference. This reaction may have been because the interviewees were living away from home, with their partners, and therefore were independent of their families. Comments made by one of the interviewees also implied that her pregnancy had been no particular surprise to her mother:

'My mum, she was half expecting it because she knew I always had wanted a baby so she was waiting basically.' (CP/YM, 3rd preg., 19)

The interviewees' descriptions of how their partners had reacted implied that their partners had been delighted by the news as they described their partners as being 'happy', 'really pleased' and 'really, really happy'.

7.3.2) *Reactions to passively conceived pregnancies*

Earlier in this chapter (page 449), it was noted that the interviewees who had passively conceived appeared to be unconcerned by the news of their pregnancy. To some extent, this reaction was also evident in the descriptions given by these interviewees concerning how they had initially reacted to the news:

> 'How did you feel?'
> 'I wasnae really worried. I wasnae upset. I was just happy that I was having a wean.'
> 'Why?'
> 'I just wanted a wean. That's just the way it went.' (YM/CP, 2nd preg., 17)

> 'It was sooner than I had expected but I am not really bothered.'
> 'So how did you feel?'
> 'I was happy because I had been for pregnancy tests before and they were all negative and I had built up my hopes ken, thinking it was positive, and they would turn around and say it was negative. So this time when they said it was positive I was over the moon.' (CP, 1st preg., 18)

The emotions described by the young mothers who had passively conceived appeared less intense and more simplistic than those which had been described by

the interviewees who had planned their pregnancy. Yet, their comments suggested that they welcomed the news; although in the last quote it is implied that this welcome was in response both to the thought of being pregnant and to the fact that, at last, a test result was positive. Considering this quote also shows that the interviewee had been for a number of tests, and thereby implies that she had been trying to conceive for some time, it is interesting that this interviewee had stated that her pregnancy was not planned (page 449).

As the interviewees who had passively conceived mentioned that their partners had also reacted positively to the pregnancy news, this welcome did not appear to be confined to the interviewee. However, based on their comments it appeared that their parents had not welcomed the news. Parents were described as being upset and, according to the interviewees, this was because they viewed the interviewee as too young to cope with motherhood. One of the interviewees also mentioned that she had been asked to leave home. Yet, comments made by one of the interviewees indicated that parents or guardians can gradually come to accommodate the news and eventually accept a pregnancy (Furstenberg et al. 1989):

> 'She (the interviewee's gran) wasnae really too happy at first because she thought I was too young and wouldnae be able to cope and everything but she is really good now and cannae wait.' (CP, 1st preg., 18)

7.3.3) *Reactions to unplanned pregnancies*

Most unplanned pregnancies are greeted with shock (Trussell 1988) and this emotion was the one which dominated the accounts given by those who had faced an unplanned pregnancy, concerning how they, their partners, and their family had reacted to the news. The interviewees linked these reactions to the fact that they felt, and were viewed, too young to be pregnant. This reaction was usually elicited irrespective of whether the pregnancy was a first or later pregnancy; although in the latter case it was evident that this reaction could be modified to a view that perceived the interviewee as too young to face yet another pregnancy:

> 'Can you remember how you felt at the time?'
> 'Shocked, absolutely shocked.'
> 'And other feelings?'
> 'Scared. I don't know, like with having a son already it was really hard.'
> 'Why?'
> 'Because I ken what it is like to have a child and...because I am only 19, I didnae want two kids.' (YM (1), 2nd preg., 19)

The accounts given by some of the interviewees also revealed that a young woman's reaction may stem from a fear of how others would react (Schofield 1994), as they mentioned that they were scared to tell parents about the news. One interviewee also mentioned that she was worried about informing others of the pregnancy because this news would indicate that she had been sexually active.

Comments made by one interviewees indicated that a fear of how others would react could also influenced how others were informed:

> 'I tried to give clues and everything because I didnae want to come straight out with it. Some of my pals were like "I hate school and everything and I wish I could leave the now" and I hadnae been at school for a wee while and they were "How have you no been at school?" and I was like "Oh' just one of them situations when you get into them you didnae have to go to school." So like they would know.' (YM, 1st preg., 15)

This process of informing others implies that this interviewee had controlled the extent to which others knew. However, it seemed that such control was not always possible:

> 'I would walk down the street and folk would just come up to me and folk would just go "(interviewee's name) are you pregnant?" Folk I didnae like and folk who didnae like me, you know.' (YM, 1st preg., 15)

In the preceding chapter, in section 6.4.1, while describing the Redpath participants' accounts of how they thought a teenage pregnancy would affect their situation, it was apparent that some of them felt that who was informed would predict the extent to which being pregnant would change their social status, network of friends and current situation. Thus, it would be reasonable to think that the fact such control is not always possible must add to the stress experienced by young pregnant women.

Yet, whilst most of the interviewees who had faced an unplanned described how they had been shocked by the news, it was evident that one of the interviewees had welcomed the news that she was pregnant, even though the pregnancy was

unplanned. In addition, another interviewee described how her initial feelings of shock were soon replaced by feelings of excitement as the possibility of motherhood was realised. The variation found within the interviewees' accounts could explain why, although all of these pregnancies were unplanned, some were kept while others were aborted. Yet, it was clear that how the interviewee had reacted was not a good indicator of whether the pregnancy would be kept or aborted, e.g. the pregnancy which appeared to have received the most negative reaction both from the interviewee and those around her was kept. Thus, although there is a relationship between how an individual feels towards her pregnancy and the outcome of this pregnancy (Phoenix 1991), here it was clear that the pathway from conception to pregnancy outcome must be viewed as a stepwise rather than a linear process (Furstenberg 1991).

In this thesis the need to view the pathway from conception to pregnancy outcome as a stepwise progress has already been implied. This is because although it was noted in Chapter Five (page 303) that participants from each school appeared to hold similar views towards motherhood and the context in which they wished to enter this role, in Chapter Six (page 408) when discussing how they would resolve a teenage pregnancy, differences were found between the Redpath participants and the state school participants. In addition, during the wider discussion given in section 6.4.1, it was apparent that these differences appeared to relate to variations between the participants concerning the extent to which they believed a pregnancy would be accepted within their social network, the extent to which they viewed abortion as

acceptable, and the extent to which they had educational and vocational ambitions; i.e. factors which one would expect to influence the outcome of a teenage pregnancy but would not necessarily explain why the individual had conceived. Interestingly, such factors appeared to differentiate the interviewees who kept an unplanned pregnancy from those who aborted theirs.

Due to the range of emotions which were expressed by the interviewees who faced an unplanned pregnancy, and due to the apparent complexity of the decision making process which followed the confirmation of these pregnancies, the accounts given by these interviewees concerning how they had reacted will be documented below, according to whether the pregnancy was kept or aborted.

7.3.3.1) *The decision to keep an unplanned pregnancy*

Four out of the eight unplanned pregnancies were kept. Two of these were first pregnancies, one was a second pregnancy and another a third. Both of the first pregnancies occurred to interviewees who, at the time, were under the age of 16 and not in a stable relationship. In both cases, it was evident that the decision to keep the pregnancy was based on the interviewee believing that she was sufficiently mature to cope with motherhood:

> 'So were you not scared that if you kept this child no one would give you support?'

'Nope.'

'Why?'

'Because I am a strong person and if they wouldnae have helped me then I would have managed to do it myself.' (YM (1), 2nd preg., 19)

'Even though I was that young I knew I could do it (be a mother) because I had had a really bad childhood, you know. Both parents are alcoholics and they used to have like violent streaks against one another, and I had to look after my brother and sister and I had to make their dinner and that and put them to bed, you know. So really I had already grow up, pass the stage of being a wean, coping and looking after folk.' (YM, 1st preg., 15)

Although the interviewee who described herself as a 'strong person' did not state why she held this view, this interviewee was someone who was an only child and whose parents had died when she was 10 years old. Hence, childhood experiences may explain this apparent confidence and it would seem that, once again and in both cases, there is evidence of the relationship between teenage pregnancy and unstable family background (Oz and Fine 1988, Stiffman et al. 1987).

In addition to childhood experiences and self image, a number of other factors appeared to have influenced the decision to keep these pregnancies. Although both interviewees were shocked by the news that they were pregnant, one interviewee described how this emotion slowly became infiltrated with feelings of excitement; a development which was linked to the fact that, at the time of conception, this interviewee had friends who were teenage mothers:

'I had seen them with it (their child) and it looked good; this wee doll and all. Ken that's what it was like. Like when you are so young and you have a child it is a novelty.' (YM (1), 2nd preg., 19)

The other interviewee for whom this was her first pregnancy had also experienced contact with young mothers. However, in this case it was clear that this contact had not encouraged the decision to enter early motherhood but rather had made this decision harder as it meant keeping the child would not only demand a role adjustment but also a modified self image:

> 'I always thought that it happened to folk that go around in the short skirts and the short tops and hang around with boys and slavers hanging out of their mouths and act as if they are dogs on heat. That's what they are like. I always thought that it would happen to them and I didnae think it would happen to folk like myself.' (YM, 1st preg., 15)

The contrast between the interviewees' views was clearly linked to a difference between them concerning the extent to which they had directly mixed with young mothers. Thus, the influence of knowing teenage mothers appeared to relate more to the quality than the quantity of this contact. This point may explain why no significant difference was found when comparing the Redpath and the Greenbank pupils' responses to the question which asked them how willing they were to consider early motherhood, even though a significantly greater proportion of the Greenbank pupils than the Redpath pupils had knowledge of women who had kept a teenage pregnancy. The pupils' responses to this question are detailed in Chapter Six, table 53, page 362. The number and proportion of pupils in each school who knew someone who had kept a teenage pregnancy are detailed at the beginning of Chapter Six, table 51, page 351.

The difference in the interviewees' views may also have related to their views of early motherhood. The interviewee who appeared to hold a negative view towards young mothers commented that she had enjoyed school and had career plans, but since becoming pregnant had left school and decided not to pursue her career ambitions. The other interviewee made no such comments. Thus, it is possible that the interviewee who had criticised other women, in contrast to the other interviewee, may have viewed early motherhood as role which stifled personal ambition. In addition, and again in apparent contrast to the other interviewee, this interviewee had looked after younger siblings and this experience may have encouraged her to view motherhood as a responsibility rather than a novelty. Although earlier it was noted that caring for others may encourage a desire for motherhood, MacIntyre and Cunningham-Burley (1993) state that this experience can increase the extent to which a teenager will realistically view motherhood and it was apparent that, while deciding whether or not to keep the pregnancy, this interviewee had carefully thought through the practicalities of being a mother:

> 'We (the interviewee and her best friend) had talked about it. Where would I stay, would I stay with John (her partner) or in my own home.....When would John see the wean if I stayed at my own house, who would help me if I needed it, would my Dad because he brought us up so he has experience of weans. We had just talked everything though.' (YM, 1st preg., 15)

The active, purposeful nature of the decision making process undertaken by this young mother appears to contradict Trussell's (1988) observation that many teenagers who face an unplanned pregnancy feel unable to alter their fate. In

addition, the depth of thinking reflected in this quote suggests that this interviewee was aware that motherhood has massive implications concerning a woman's lifestyle (Jackson and Faulker 1993).

The decision to keep this pregnancy was made with the aid of a friend. Based on the accounts of the interviewees who were faced with an unplanned pregnancy it appeared that, if the interviewee was living alone or with her parents, the decision to abort or keep the pregnancy was made with the assistance of a friend or a medical professional. However, if she was living with her partner, this decision was made between herself and her partner. Hence, these were decisions made by individual women, young couples or between friends. They were not decisions imposed upon the interviewees, nor did they involve family members. Thus, the tendency for teenagers to seek advice from girlfriends and partners, rather than parents, was evident (Rosen 1980).

Another reason why these pregnancies were kept was because the interviewees experiencing them believed that, if a woman is sexually active, she should be willing to accept the responsibilities associated with this behaviour. In one case, this view of responsibility was also applied to the individual's partner:

> 'And did you think about adoption?'
> 'No, no its mine you know. It was my wean and we have got ourselves into it and we had got to carry it through, you know.' (YM, 1st preg., 15)

The fact that the other interviewee did not apply this view to the child's father may have been because her relationship with this individual ended shortly after the pregnancy was confirmed. This situation was in contrast to the other young mother's, as this interviewee was still with the child's father at the time of interview.

As this view of responsibility was also a reason why abortion was rejected, it was apparent that the decision to keep a child may be one based on moral grounds rather than an actual desire for motherhood (Furstenberg 1991). Interestingly, in Chapter Six (page 412) it was noted that some of the participants who had commented that they would keep a teenage pregnancy, had linked this view to a rejection of abortion rather than an acceptance of motherhood. Yet, here, and in both cases, the interviewees involved commented that they viewed abortion as an acceptable outcome. Hence, what was occurring here was not a complete rejection of abortion but rather a feeling that abortion was not an appropriate outcome for this *particular* pregnancy. As one interviewee explained, this view related to how the interviewee's perceived her situation and her ability to cope:

> 'I think abortion is fine if you are in a really bad situation, I don't know, a really severe case where you have to get rid of it. But in my case I had support with John (her partner), we were going to stick together, you know.' (YM, 1st preg., 15)

Thus it was clear that a young woman's view of abortion may depend upon the context within which she becomes pregnant, and that the outcome of a pregnancy

can be influenced by a young woman's partner and the extent to which she feels supported emotionally (Rosen 1980, MacIntyre 1977).

It was apparent, therefore, that the decision to keep a first unplanned pregnancy was dependent primarily upon the interviewee's view of her ability to cope with motherhood. This view modified by the interviewee's image or knowledge of teenage motherhood, and by her current situation and perception of her own maturity. It was also evident that this decision could depend upon a willingness to curtail educational ambitions and career plans, or a view that, for this particular pregnancy, an abortion would not be justified.

In the case of the other two 'unplanned but kept' pregnancies, both pregnancies were pregnancies which followed the termination of an earlier pregnancy and, in each case, it was evident that this experience had influenced the decision to keep this more recent pregnancy:

> 'And what made you decide to keep it then?'
> 'I don't know. I had had a termination after my first son and it was just too stressful so I decided just to have the pregnancy.' (YM/CP, 3rd preg., 19)

> 'He (her partner) was over the moon because, especially because I think it was more because of the termination made it really exciting and that.'
> 'Why?'
> 'We were both, well we were the only ones who knew. We never had anyone else to talk to about it. I didn't even tell my best friend, my best friend still doesn't know to this day...So we had nobody to talk to about it apart from each other so it was quite bad for us at the time.' (CP, 2nd preg., 19)

The interviewee who is quoted first had experienced her abortion three years prior to her later pregnancy, and the other interviewee had experienced her abortion two years prior to her later pregnancy. Considering the length of these time periods, it did appear that the potential impact of an abortion experience on the outcome of a later pregnancy may last for some time. This point is interesting considering Sharpe (1987) states that teenagers usually cope well with abortion and that long term psychological stress is uncommon. However, the interviewees' accounts of their abortion experiences did reveal a number of factors which may have made the abortion experiences of these women particularly stressful.

First, both interviewees commented that neither family nor friends had been informed of the operation. This isolation removes the opportunity to receive support from others and such support can lead to more favourable post-abortion reactions (Klerman et al. 1982). Second, it appeared that, before having an abortion neither of the interviewees had believed that they would ever need such an operation. While one of the interviewees described how she had struggled to make this decision and stated that she 'didnae like having to do it', the other interviewee directly stated that she had never thought she would need such an operation. Although women who have strong views against abortion may actually have an abortion (Hadley 1996), Moore and Rosenthal (1993) have posed the question of whether this discrepancy between belief and action could engender an internal conflict which may lead to abortion being more distressing and long term. Third, the abortions were described as being performed late and in both cases it was stated

that this had added to the stress of the situation as, by this stage, the interviewee felt that a bond had formed between herself and the child. This finding shows that an individual's experience of abortion is influenced by the nature and meaning of her pregnancy (Adler 1979), and highlights one of the reasons why late abortions are felt to have greater physical and moral implications than those performed within the earlier stages of pregnancy (Luker 1996). Finally, in both cases it was apparent that the actual experience of having an abortion had been made traumatic both by the hospital environment and the attitude of the medical staff:

> '(the way) they actually do it in (hospital's name), babies are being born downstairs and there's a bunch of women, young lassies, all upstairs having a termination and its like..I could tell that half the staff didnae agree with what I was doing. I could get the vibes...'
> 'And you were on the same ward as women having babies?'
> 'No, there were, I think I was in ward 54 or 55 and they have babies in 53, right downstairs and you heard babies screaming and everything and if you looked out of your window, the way the building was built, when I looked out of my window just after having my abortion I actually saw a woman sitting breast feeding her child...'
> 'How did that make you feel?'
> 'Sad. It made me feel as if I wished I had never done it. I regretted it the minute like it was all over and done with. I regretted it completely.' (CP, 2nd preg., 19)

> 'What do you think could have helped you cope better with the abortion?'
> 'There isn't really a lot explained about it unless you are the one going for it. Like when I got to the hospital I didn't know what to expect; I didn't really ken what the operation involved or nothing. I was just like sent to a bed and told to wait there and that was it.' (YM/CP, 3rd preg., 19)

Yet, whilst this experience had clearly influenced the decision to keep these unplanned second pregnancies, in each case it was apparent that this decision had also been influenced by other factors.

In the case of one interviewee it was clear that the pregnancy had been kept because, whilst unplanned, this pregnancy was welcomed. Unplanned pregnancies may be viewed as welcomed events (Oz and Fine 1988) and there appear to be a number of explanations why this pregnancy was welcomed. It appeared that the pregnancy was viewed as initiating some form of healing process which would help the interviewee to resolve the regret she still felt in relation to her aborted pregnancy. This impression was given because, when describing how she and her partner had reacted to the news, she related some of their excitement to her previous pregnancy experience. During the interview, the interviewee also mentioned that she was planning to start a family within the year and therefore did not view early motherhood as problematic, and that she was currently engaged, living with her partner and hence was in a context which was secure emotionally. The interviewee also mentioned that she thought she would cope financially with motherhood as her partner was employed and because she would receive income support once she became a mother. Hence, it appeared that the decision to keep this pregnancy had been influenced by both the interviewee's past experiences and current situation, and all of the above points could explain why the decision to keep this unplanned pregnancy had been straightforward:

> 'And what advice did she (the doctor confirming the pregnancy) give you? Did she say are you going to keep it or have a termination?'
> 'She never even brought that subject up, she never even talked about that, she just said that I was pregnant and I was dead pleased. So she didnae really have to say much about it, because I was dead pleased anyway.' (CP, 2nd preg., 19)

The apparent simplicity of this decision highlights the fact that a positive response to a pregnancy will remove the need to embark upon a decision making process concerning the pregnancy's outcome since only one outcome, that of keeping the child, is considered (Bracken et al. 1978, MacIntyre 1977, Phoenix 1991).

In contrast, the description given by the other interviewee concerning how she had come to decide to keep the pregnancy suggested that she had found this decision very difficult. The interviewee mentioned that it had taken her about a month to make this decision, and it appeared that this decision had been difficult for a number of reasons. First, although the interviewee had commented that her experience of abortion had influenced her decision to keep the pregnancy, during the interview she had also mentioned that she viewed abortion as morally acceptable. Hence, it appeared that this outcome still remained a possibility. Second, the interview mentioned that at the time of making this decision she was on anti-depressants, had recently moved house and was a single mother. Thus, her comments suggested that she was trying to make a decision at a time when she was exhausted both mentally and physically. Third, it was apparent that whilst making this decision this interviewee had had little contact with her doctor, ex-partner, family or friends as she mentioned that she was living alone, hardly saw her parents or friends, and commented that she had only been to the doctors once during this time. In addition, when describing how her ex-partner and family had reacted to the news, the interviewee mentioned that both parties had commented that they thought the

pregnancy should be aborted. Pressure from others to abort can complicate the decision to keep a pregnancy (Bracken et al. 1978) and the existence of this pressure may have been the reason why contact with these individuals had been minimal. This lack of contact could explain why this interviewee had sought professional advice during this time. Certainly, it did appear that she had found this service beneficial because it gave her the opportunity to talk to someone about how she felt:

> 'So did the counselling help?'
> 'A little bit.'
> 'In what sense?'
> 'Just somebody to talk to because I couldn't talk to my mum and I couldn't talk to Simon (her ex-partner).'
> 'About what?'
> 'About being pregnant basically and how I felt.' (YM/CP, 3rd preg., 19)

The extent to which professional advice enabled the interviewee to make a decision was unclear, as whilst she indicated that she had appreciated the opportunity to talk, the interviewee also mentioned that the decision to keep the pregnancy had been made prior to her visit. What did appear to have helped this interviewee make a decision was the fact that she, herself, had stopped taking the anti-depressants and had decorated her new home as these events appeared to have given her the strength to believe that she could cope with two children:

> 'Did you think you would be able to cope by yourself with two kids?'
> 'Aye, I had decided to try anyway.'
> 'What made you think that you could cope?'
> 'Well, I was feeling a lot better because I wasn't on anti-depressants. I wasnae feeling crap. I had got my own house, got it all decorated and I just decided that was what I wanted to do.' (YM/CP, 3rd preg., 19)

During the above discussion concerning the decision to keep an unplanned pregnancy, it has been apparent that this decision can be based on the individual's own views concerning what the most appropriate outcome would be for her. Hence, although it has been apparent that the views of others can influence the outcome of a pregnancy (Cunningham 1984), it would seem that a young woman's views of herself and her immediate circumstances are the most influential factors in this decision.

In Chapter Six, in section 6.4.1, when detailing how the participants thought they would resolve a teenage pregnancy, to some extent this range of influences and hierarchy was also apparent. Whilst some of the participants made comments which implied that they thought their outcome decision could be influenced by the reactions of others, it appeared that their predictions were based primarily on their own views of early motherhood and abortion. This was because when discussing why they thought would keep or abort a teenage pregnancy, the participants tended to focus on their own views of abortion and early motherhood, and talk in terms of how they believed motherhood would change their lives.

7.3.3.2) The decision to abort an unplanned pregnancy

Three of the interviewees had unplanned pregnancies which were aborted. One of these was a first pregnancy, the remaining two were second pregnancies occurring to young mothers. As each interviewee commented that, at the time, she had felt there was no way she could have coped emotionally or financially if the pregnancy had been kept, in each case it appeared that the decision to abort had been one based on situation. In the two cases where the interviewee was already a young mother, the fact that she already had a child appeared to be one reason why she thought she would be unable to cope:

> 'And how long did it take you to decide to have a termination?'
> '5 minutes. I knew when I was going there (to the clinic) that if it was positive I was going to have a termination. I knew that I just didn't want it.'
> 'Why?'
> 'He (her son) was just tiny and I was just getting used to living on my own with him never mind having another one.' (YM/CP, 3rd preg., 19)

> 'I ken what it is like to have a child and like, I just couldnae go through it again.'
> 'Why?'
> 'Because I am only 19, I didnae want two kids.' (YM (1), 2nd preg., 19)

The comments made by both young mothers imply that the presence of another child aids the decision to abort since it creates a situation in which the thought of keeping the child is not viewed as a feasible option. However, Bracken et al. (1978) state that the decision to abort is harder if the individual is already a mother, and one of the interviewees did make this point:

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'It was harder (to decide) because I have got a child so like you do think you are going to miss out on something like but then, at the end of the day it will be me having to look after two children, no one else.' (YM (1), 2nd preg., 19)

Yet, while being a mother may have complicated this decision, the comment 'I ken what it is like to have a child' does imply that this experience enabled an informed decision to be made. Interestingly, it was evident that this decision could also be informed by the experiences of other young mothers:

'I ken what it would be like at 19 because I have lots of friends who are 19 and have got two kids and like they are really struggling and like....'
'Struggling in what sense?'
'They can't do anything like because if one (child) is crying the other one starts crying and like ones in a nappy and the other one is still in nappies. Ken, like lots of different things.' (YM (1), 2nd preg., 19)

This interviewee's view of caring for two children could explain why she also mentioned concern for the present child's well-being as a reason to abort:

'Like my wee boy is only two and like he can have a conversation with you for about 5 hours which is really, really good and its only because I have got the patience to sit down and speak to him. If I had two, I wouldnae get that time to spend with Tom (her son). Tom would get shoved aside.' (YM (1), 2nd preg., 19)

This quote illustrates how the decision to abort can be based on a consideration for the future (Blum and Resnick 1982). It also suggests that this interviewee felt that keeping the pregnancy may have limited her ability to mother, and this point could explain why she argued that, in her view, abortion had not only been the most

appropriate outcome for her child but also for her unborn child. To some extent the consideration this interviewee gave to both her immediate situation and her future reflects the views expressed by those participants who predicted that they would abort a teenage pregnancy. This is because, some of these participants had indicated that this outcome would be chosen because they would be unable to cope with motherhood and would find it difficult to abandon future plans and ambitions (see for example, page 416 and 420). Hence, like the young mother, these participants suggested that consideration for both the immediate and long term implications of keeping a child would influence the decision to abort.

The decision to abort these later pregnancies may also have been related to the fact that both of them had career aspirations[4]. Women who have various educational and career goals are more likely to seek an abortion than women with relatively few aspirations (Phipps Yonas 1980). Interestingly, in Chapter Five (page 298) it was noted that the Redpath participants had appeared more vocationally ambitious than the other participants, and in Chapter Six (page 408) it was noted that the Redpath participants were less likely than the Greenbank and Wellsprings participants to comment that they would keep the child.

Another factor which was not mentioned directly by the interviewees as a reason for their decision, but may also have influenced the outcome of their pregnancies, was their relationship status. While both were in relationships when they conceived, one of the interviewees mentioned that she had only been seeing her partner for four

months. In addition, the other interviewee, whilst having known her partner for two years, appeared to receive very little emotional and practical support from her partner as she mentioned that whilst they were still together, she was living alone. The length of a relationship does influence the likelihood of an abortion being sought (Bracken et al. 1978) and it is possible that both interviewees may have feared becoming a single mother, or at least the sole carer, for two children.

Earlier it was mentioned that the third pregnancy described and aborted was a first pregnancy. Hence, the interviewee experiencing this pregnancy was not a young mother. Interestingly, however, when describing why she had decided to have an abortion, in a similar way to the other interviewee who had commented that she thought abortion was the most appropriate for her unborn child (pages 497-498), it was apparent that the decision to abort could be based on the individual feeling that it would be unfair to keep the child (Blum and Resnick 1982):

> 'We (the interviewee and her partner) had nothing so we thought it would be cruel to go ahead with it and to have a baby at that stage. I was too young, I was only 17, we both were really, we didnae like having to do it. If we had had a house at the time, ken if I was in this position now (currently living with partner in their own home), even if I was 17 I would have done it but there was just no option to have the child.' (CP, 2nd preg., 19)

This quote shows that an abortion may also be sought because a young woman feels too young to become a mother (Fischman 1977, Goldsmith et al. 1972) or would be unable to cope financially (Fischman 1977). Thus, whilst some of the Redpath participants talked of having an abortion because they would be unable to cope

emotionally with motherhood (for example, page 420), and one of the Wellsprings participants had commented that early motherhood may not be entered because of financial constraints (page 411), in reality such factors may be significant influences.

The decision to abort this pregnancy appeared to relate to both personal and social factors. However, as the interviewee stated that this decision had also been influenced by the fact that both her and her partner were unemployed at the time, situational factors rather than personal views appear to have played a greater part in the decision to abort. This point is also implied by the emphasis given in the above quote to the interviewee's housing situation and by the fact that, while pregnant, she had tried to change her situation so that she felt able to keep the pregnancy:

> 'We (the interviewee and her partner) had been trying for a house for about a year before that (the pregnancy) but the house people just kept ignoring us and that. So we did try, ken. I even got doctors notes and took them to the housing to prove that I was pregnant but they just wouldnae give us a house anyway.' (CP, 2nd preg., 19)

The interviewee mentioned that it had taken her about two months to decide the outcome of this pregnancy and, due to her hesitation, two hospital visits before the pregnancy was actually terminated:

> 'It was quite a late abortion, that was what was difficult as well. It wasnae like really, really early weeks. It was early weeks when I found out but it wasnae really, really early weeks when I had it because (hesitates) I actually went for the termination and they says, "Right, come in" and it was in a different hospital,...and he says "Come in" and then I was like that, "Nope, I am not going to do it" and then about a month later I was like no, I have got

to do it because I just wasnae sensible thinking...So, it took me about two months (from) when I was pregnant to actually coming to the decision.' (CP, 2nd preg., 19)

It appeared that the decision to abort had also been made difficult by the fact that the interviewee had felt it was wrong to base this decision on social and economic factors rather than on personal feelings:

'It was more financial reasons than the actual baby. That's why it was quite a bad thing, to get a termination. That's why it was horrible to go though because it wasnae that I didnae want the baby; it was because I thought I couldnae have the wean.' (CP, 2nd preg., 19)

In addition, this interviewee mentioned that she had only discussed her decision with her partner. As earlier it was noted that keeping such news from relatives and friends removes the possibility of receiving support from others, this situation may have added to her difficulties.

Considering the account given by this interviewee revealed that she had found this decision difficult to make, and since women who decide to abort are more likely to seek professional advice than women who keep their pregnancies (Bracken et al. 1978), it is interesting that she did not seek professional support while making this decision. However, the other interviewee whose account suggested that she too had found this decision a difficult one to make, had sought medical advice in order to help her come to a decision.

Pre-abortion counselling can reduce the negative effects of having an abortion (Adler 1979) and it did appear that the interviewee counselled had benefited from this experience:

> 'I didn't know if I wanted to keep it, get an abortion, get it adopted and like it took me a few weeks to actually go to the doctors, like to decide what I wanted to do and it was whilst I was at the doctors we talked about everything and really it was then I decided what to do.'
> 'What did the doctor say?'
> 'When I actually went into the doctors that's when I did decide that I wanted one and she just went through all the options and how I would feel afterwards and like basically would I manage to cope afterwards with it.' (YM (1), 2nd preg., 19)

Having discussed the decision making processes which led either to the decision to abort or keep an unplanned pregnancy, the outcome of one unplanned pregnancy is still to be discussed. This is because this pregnancy miscarried and therefore removed the need to make a decision:

> 'When I miscarried I was 11 weeks pregnant.....but I started miscarrying at 8 weeks .....(but) only found out when I was 7 (that she was pregnant).'
> 'How did you feel?'
> 'I was really confused. I didn't know what to do and then when I started miscarrying at 8 weeks that made me even more confused just in case I didn't lose it then because my mind was starting to think "I am losing the baby?" and I think I was trying to come to terms with it. I think in a way if I hadn't lost it I don't know what I would have done because I would have been back at square one thinking, "What am I going to do?" again and by the end it might have been too late (to have an abortion).' (YM, 2nd preg., 19)

Throughout this quote there is a sense of time: the slowness with which the pregnancy miscarried; the experience of simultaneously feeling both relieved and distressed; and the need to make a decision concerning the pregnancy's outcome

within a certain time period if abortion was to remain a possible outcome. Hence, although so far time has been noted as an important factor in relation to a specific event, e.g. when a pregnancy is confirmed or an abortion performed, here it is apparent that time may be an important factor throughout the entire decision making process.

While detailing the accounts concerning the management of an unplanned pregnancy, it was apparent that whilst one interviewee had welcomed the news that she was pregnant, and therefore had immediately decided to keep the pregnancy, another interviewee had taken a month to come to such a decision. In a similar way, it was evident that whilst the comments of one interviewee implied it had taken her '5 minutes' to decide that she would have an abortion, the account given by another interviewee revealed that it had taken her about two months to make this decision. As this time range was apparent during the accounts which surrounded both the decision to abort and the decision to keep an unplanned pregnancy, there appeared to be no relationship between the time taken to decide and the eventual outcome of the pregnancy. This point implies that the decision to deliver may be just as difficult as the decision to abort. Thus, it appears to conflict with Olson's (1980) comment that the decision to abort is a much harder decision to make than the decision to keep a pregnancy. Interestingly, neither this point nor Olson's comment reflect the analysis of the discussion group data since this analysis had suggested that the decision to abort may be an easier decision than the decision to keep a pregnancy.

The analysis of the discussion group data had implied this because, as noted in section 6.4.1, it had been evident that the participants who predicted that they would abort a teenage pregnancy had done so because they viewed this outcome as acceptable, whilst it appeared that the participants who predicted that they would keep a pregnancy had defaulted to this option having viewed neither early motherhood nor abortion as particularly acceptable, but having rejected abortion on moral grounds. Interestingly, the idea of women defaulting to motherhood has been discussed in this chapter and raises the question of, to what extent do young women actually *choose* to enter motherhood? This question is also raised by the fact that, during this chapter, it has been highlighted that the outcome of a teenage pregnancy will depend not only upon an individual's beliefs but also the social and financial context in which she finds herself pregnant (Bracken et al. 1978, MacIntyre 1977).

Thus similarities were found between the decision making processes leading to the different outcomes, and it would appear that a woman's 'choice' could be restricted both by her views and situation. Yet, during the interviews held with the young mothers it was apparent that the decision to keep an unplanned pregnancy could be viewed as a positive and welcomed decision, whereas the decision to abort, whilst believed to be the right decision, was one which the individual would have wished to have avoided.

Considering the difficulty some of the young mothers experienced when deciding whether to abort or keep an unplanned pregnancy, it is interesting that none of them had decided to surrender their child for adoption. Yet, based on their comments it appeared that they viewed adoption as an outcome which, they personally, would not have been able to cope with:

> 'I did consider it but then the more I thought, if I see the baby then I knew I would want to keep it because *anyone* would. Like it would be so hard going through that and then giving it away.' (YM (1), 2ⁿᵈ preg., 19)

> 'I couldnae do it myself, go through all that and then give it up to somebody else, I couldnae do that.' (YM, 1ˢᵗ preg., 15)

> 'I couldnae adopt away my wean or that, but I don't really know about adoption, I don't know what I think about adoption.... even carrying my child this far, you know what I mean.'
> 'Why, do you feel close to the baby?'
> 'Yea, there is a bond already before she is even, I know its a wee girl, before she is even born there is a bond already so I could never image adoption, like handing over a tiny wee baby, let them take it away and that's it, "Cheerio". That's dead weird.' (CP, 2ⁿᵈ preg., 19)

> 'And what about adoption?'
> 'I don't know about adoption.'
> 'Why?'
> 'I don't know. I just don't know how anybody could do that.' (YM/CP, 3ʳᵈ preg., 19)

Thus, these interviewees viewed adoption as an outcome which would be emotionally difficult to cope with, and this view appeared to relate to the fact that this outcome requires the individual to carry her pregnancy to term and then to surrender her child. As noted in Chapter Six (page 422) comments made by some

of the participants had implied that this requirement was one reason why they viewed adoption as a difficult outcome. The decreasing popularity of adoption has been linked to young women's unwillingness to accept the idea of carrying a child for nine months and then surrendering the child for adoption (Klerman et al. 1982, Luker 1996). Hence, both the views of some of the young mothers and the views of some of the participants appear to be in keeping with the literature.

7.4) *Summary*

In this chapter insights have been gained concerning why some teenage women conceive, how a young woman and those around her may respond to the news of pregnancy, and what factors may influence the pathway from conception to pregnancy outcome.

At the beginning of this chapter it was noted that most of the interviewees had experienced more than one pregnancy, and that a few of them had aborted a pregnancy either before or after they had become young mothers. Thus, it was evident that some women may experience both an abortion and a delivery during their teenage years (Social Exclusion Unit 1999). This finding suggests that the implications of a teenage pregnancy not only vary between different women, but also according to the individual's situation at the time. Certainly, the implications of a teenage pregnancy are dependent both upon an individual's personal

characteristics and upon the social and economic context in which the pregnancy occurs (Stevens-Simon and Lowy 1995). In addition, when documenting the interviewees' accounts of how they had reacted to a teenage pregnancy, and when detailing what factors had influenced the decision to keep or abort a pregnancy, it did appear that both the interviewee's perception of herself and her situation had influenced these reactions and decisions.

When describing how the young mothers had accounted for the occurrence of their pregnancies, it was evident that the accounts given by those who had passively conceived or planned a pregnancy had not only indicated what factors had led to the occurrence of these pregnancies but had also given an insight into why some young women may wish to become mothers. This was because the explanations they gave were explanations for why they wanted to become mothers.

Based on the accounts given by those who had passively conceived, it appeared that these interviewees had not actively avoided becoming pregnant because they viewed motherhood as desirable and inevitable, and a role which they could cope with. Although the interviewees associated past experiences with their desire for motherhood, it was suggested that motherhood might also have been desired because these interviewees had little structure in their lives and had no particular academic or vocational ambitions. It was also noted that both interviewees were in stable relationships, and that relationship stability has been associated with teenage pregnancy and early motherhood (Luker 1996). Both interviewees made comments

which implied that, prior to entering motherhood, they had believed they were sufficiently mature to cope with motherhood. They also described how they had been relatively independent from their families from a young age and had been unconcerned about how relatives would react to the news that they were pregnant. This perceived maturity suggested that both interviewees had a level of maturity which could be viewed as beyond their chronological age, and the suggested independence from family gave the impression that they did not fear how others would react. Thus, it appeared that these pregnancies were not the result of one particular event or view but rather the result of these interviewees being in a situation where they felt there was no particular reason to plan a pregnancy or any particular reason to avoid motherhood.

Based on the accounts of those who had planned their pregnancies, these pregnancies had been planned because the interviewees wished to enter motherhood and felt that they were in a suitable context to do so. As each of these interviewees were in a stable relationship and, based on their accounts, in a situation which was financially secure, it did appear that they were in a position which could be viewed as 'ideal' for motherhood. Considering these pregnancies had been planned with the interviewees' partners, and these interviewees appeared to have been considering motherhood for sometime, it seemed that their relationship status and current situation were the main reasons for their decision. Yet their accounts revealed that teenage mothers may view early motherhood as beneficial (MacIntyre and Cunningham-Burley 1993), and there was evidence to support Alexander and

Guyer's (1993) observation that contact with young mothers may encourage early motherhood. There was also evidence to support the view that repetitive low paying jobs may enhance the attractiveness of motherhood (Klerman 1993), and that knowledge of services and benefits for young mothers may mean early motherhood is viewed as feasible. Thus, it appeared that the decision to plan a teenage pregnancy can relate to the individual's situation, the views she holds towards both motherhood and early motherhood, and to the social and economic context in which this event is planned.

Eight of the pregnancies described in this study were unplanned, and most of them appeared to be the result of contraception not being used consistently. A lack of planning appeared to underlie much of this behaviour. Explaining this situation was difficult as the interviewees' contraceptive experiences and careers were not explored. It was noted that a lack of self confidence or self efficacy can prevent knowledge being translated into action (Moore and Rosenthal 1993, Wight et al. 1998). However, this possible explanation was based on comments made by only one of the interviewees. Yet, her comments and the fact that most of these pregnancies had occurred within established relationships, suggest that in order to reduce the number of unplanned pregnancies, attention must be given to the nature of young people's relationships and to their ability and motivation to use contraception. The need to focus on young women's ability to use contraception was also suggested by the accounts given by those who commented that their pregnancy was the result of contraceptive failure. This was because the occurrence

of these pregnancies appeared to have been the result of a lack of knowledge either in terms of how to use a particular method or in terms of personal relationships.

Teenage women tend to present later than older women (Peckham 1992). This situation has been associated with young women not realising that they are pregnant, fearing disapproval or denying their situation (Social Exclusion Unit 1999). Each of these possible explanations was evident within the accounts given by the interviewees whose pregnancies had been confirmed late. Here, it was also evident that false negative pregnancy results can be another reason.

As would be expected, confirmation of a planned pregnancy or passively conceived pregnancy, was welcome by the interviewee and her partner. In contrast, the news of an unplanned pregnancy was usually greeted with negative emotions both by the interviewee and those around her. Such emotions were linked the interviewee viewing herself, and being viewed, as too young to be pregnant. There was also evidence of a young woman's reaction being linked to a fear of how others would react and from the realisation that the pregnancy would indicate that she had been sexually active (Schofield 1994). Yet, it was evident that the news of an unplanned pregnancy maybe welcomed (Oz and Fine 1988) and that a young woman's initial reaction may change.

Such variations within the accounts given by the interviewees who had experienced an unplanned pregnancy, provide some support for Furstenberg's (1991) view that

the pathway from conception to pregnancy outcome should be viewed as a stepwise rather than a linear process. The extent to which a pregnancy was planned could not be taken to indicate the extent to which it was welcomed, and the manner in which the interviewee had initially reacted to her pregnancy could not be taken to predict whether the pregnancy would be kept or aborted. The need to view this pathway as a stepwise process was also suggested by the young mothers' accounts as it was evident that the events which had led to these pregnancies being conceived, differed from those which then influenced the outcomes of these pregnancies.

During the discussions which focused on the decision to keep an unplanned pregnancy, it was evident that a pregnancy may be kept because the individual believes she would be able to cope. It was also evident that the outcome of abortion may be rejected on moral grounds (Furstenberg 1991). In addition, it was clear that an unplanned pregnancy may be welcomed and that, once pregnant, an individual may become attracted to the idea of becoming a mother. Based on the accounts of those who faced an unplanned pregnancy having been pregnant before and had an abortion, it was evident that an earlier negative experience of abortion can also influence the decision to keep an unplanned pregnancy.

Those who decided to abort a pregnancy appeared to have made this decision primarily because they felt, if the child was kept, they would not have been able to cope. Where the interviewee was already a young mother, this perception was linked to the fact that the interviewee already had a child. Where the interviewee

was not a young mother, this view appeared to be linked to the interviewee feeling that she did not have the physical or financial support she would need if the child was kept. Within these accounts, there was also a feeling that abortion was not only viewed as the most suitable outcome for the interviewee but also existing children and the unborn child. In addition, it was apparent that one of the interviewees who aborted a pregnancy had sought counselling whilst making this decision, and that this counselling may have influenced her decision. Furthermore, whilst none of the interviewees mentioned that their career aspirations or relationship status had influenced the decision to abort, it was argued that in some cases this decision may have been influenced by the extent to which the interviewee had career aspirations and by the length of her relationship.

Having described which factors appeared to have influenced the outcome of a teenage pregnancy, it has been apparent that in order to ensure all possible influences were taken into account, consideration needs to be given to the interviewee's past and current situation, and to her future expectations. For example, it was evident that an individual's childhood experiences, current relationship status and expectations concerning what emotional support she would receive from others, could all play an important role in influencing the decision to keep an unplanned pregnancy. It was also evident that issues which were mentioned as reasons why a pregnancy had been kept, were often issues which had been mentioned during the discussions concerning the decision to abort. What distinguished between these decisions was whether these factors were present or

absent. For instance, whilst those who had kept an unplanned pregnancy indicated that they had made this decision because they felt they would be able to cope, those who had aborted a pregnancy had made it clear that they felt they would not have been able to cope.

Interestingly, to some extent the data gathered from the pupils also implied an absent/present model. As noted in Chapter Six, section 6.4.2, when regressing on the pupils' predicted decision to keep a pregnancy, associations were found between this predicted decision and the pupils' views of abortion and their predictions concerning how they would react emotionally to becoming pregnant. Such factors were also significant when exploring which factors were associated with the pupils' predicted decision to abort a pregnancy. However, the direction of these associations differed between the two models. Thus, the results of the first analysis suggested that a pupil was more likely to predict that she would keep a pregnancy, the more she disagreed with abortion and predicted that she would not be upset. In contrast, results of the second regression undertaken implied that a pupil was more likely to predict that she would have an abortion, the more she agreed with abortion and predicted that she would be upset. Such a pattern of response was also suggested by the analysis of the discussion group data. The participants who commented that they thought they would have an abortion appeared to view this outcome as acceptable, whilst those who commented that they would keep the pregnancy appeared to view this outcome as immoral.

During the interviews held with the young mothers it was also evident that some of the interviewees had a level of independence and depth of maturity which could be viewed as 'unusual' for their age. All of the interviewees who had planned a pregnancy or passively conceived were, at the time of interview, living with their partners. In addition, each had indicated that prior to becoming pregnant, she had felt ready to become a mother. Thus, it seemed that within these interviewees' own 'time frames', motherhood may have been viewed as the next stage in the individual's life. Interestingly, those who had entered motherhood having kept an unplanned pregnancy talked in a way which suggested that they too had felt sufficiently mature to cope with this role. Such findings imply that, as Phoenix (1991) argues, an individual's chronological age is too simple a criteria on which to judge her ability to mother.

It is also interesting to note that the situations in which most of the interviewees entered motherhood appeared to reflect the ideals promoted by the current construction of motherhood as described in Chapter Two, i.e. these interviewees were in stable relationships, able to devote themselves to motherhood and provide for their children. Yet, as explained in Chapter Two, an individual's age cannot be dismissed in a society where age is used to indicate an individual's rights and social position. In addition, in this chapter when describing the accounts given by those who had kept an unplanned pregnancy, it was evident that a pregnancy under the age of 16 can effectively end a young woman's schooling experience and curtail her career prospects. However, acknowledging the experiences and situations of the

young mothers does raise the question on whose scale, and on which scale, has early

motherhood been judged: a scale based on the experiences of those women who

enter early motherhood; a scale based on the current construction of motherhood

which advocates marriage and security before motherhood; or a scale based on

young people's position in relation to various laws and institutions.

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[1] The residents of Edinburgh city often describe the areas in which the general practice and antenatal clinic are located as particularly deprived parts of the city. In addition, based on Carstairs and Morris's (1991) deprivation score, the area in which the general practice was located was assigned a deprivation score of 5, and the area in which the antenatal clinic was located was assigned a deprivation score of 7.

[2] This interviewee's sister had kept her child.

[3] When considering this point it should be noted that although women and men usually plan the number and timing of their children, most people appear to give very little serious consideration concerning whether or not to have children (Grewal and Urschel 1994).

[4] One of these interviewees was intending to go to college and other was currently working part time.

Chapter Eight

Summary and Conclusions

This chapter revisits the aims and objectives of the thesis, summarises relevant findings, and considers what conclusions can be made based on the findings discussed. The lessons learnt from using a mixed methods approach and what implications this thesis has for future research, are also discussed.

8.1) *The research*

The main aim of this thesis was to assess how young, never pregnant women from diverse social and economic backgrounds perceive teenage pregnancy and early motherhood, and to consider whether these perceptions could, at least in part, explain the relationship which exists between socio-economic background and teenage pregnancy outcome. This aim arose from a need to assess the validity of the hypothesis that some form of subcultural acceptance exists within relatively deprived communities towards early motherhood. This hypothesis has been put forward to explain the almost exclusive prevalence of this phenomenon among disadvantaged communities. It suggests that young women from relatively deprived backgrounds may be more accepting of early motherhood than young women from relatively affluent backgrounds, and may intentionally enter this role

in order to gain economic independence and adult status (Ineichen 1986). The thesis also aimed to explore the process embarked upon by young women following the confirmation of a teenage pregnancy. In order to achieve each of these aims, the following study objectives were set:

> to gain an insight into the lives and experiences of young women from diverse social and economic backgrounds through analysing data on their family backgrounds, educational experiences, expectations about the future, and sexual experience;
>
> to analyse and explore the views young women hold towards teenage pregnancy and early motherhood;
>
> and finally, to explore what factors and events may influence a young woman's decision to keep or abort a teenage pregnancy.

A mixed methods approach was adopted. Two hundred and forty eight S4 pupils (mean age = 15.6 years, age range = 14.9 to 16.9) completed a questionnaire which requested information on their lives and experiences, and the views they held towards teenage pregnancy and early motherhood. Six discussion groups were then held with selected subgroups of these pupils in order to explore in more detail the views they held towards teenage pregnancy and early motherhood. Both the survey and discussion groups were conducted in three schools which had been purposively selected in order to ensure that the final sample included young women from diverse social and economic backgrounds. In order to address the third objective, semi-structured interviews were conducted with eight women who were either currently pregnant, or had recently entered motherhood or had recently had an

abortion. Potential interviewees were contacted through four different medical settings located in the City of Edinburgh.

8.2) *The lives and experiences of the pupils – the first objective*

Most of the data gathered to address the first objective were discussed in Chapter Five. The findings which gave most insight into the lives and experiences of young women from diverse social and economic backgrounds were those concerning the pupils' home life, experiences at school, expectations about the future, and their sexual behaviour. Before discussing these findings it should be recalled that, on the basis of mean social class score and mean deprivation score, the Redpath pupils came from significantly more advantaged backgrounds than both the Wellsprings and the Greenbank pupils. It should also be recalled that although no significant difference was found between Wellsprings pupils and Greenbank pupils on the basis of mean social class score, it was evident that the Greenbank pupils lived in significantly less deprived areas than the Wellsprings pupils.

It was evident that the Redpath pupils differed significantly from the Wellsprings and the Greenbank pupils in terms of their housing tenure and who they lived with, but were similar in terms of the number of people they lived with and the number of siblings they had. No significant differences were found between the Wellsprings pupils and the Greenbank pupils on the basis of any of these factors. The

differences found could reflect the relatively affluent position of the Redpath pupils. It was evident that a greater proportion of Redpath pupils than either Wellsprings or Greenbank pupils lived in privately owned housing, and lived with both parents: both factors have been associated with higher socio-economic status (Dorling et al. 2000, Sweeting et al. 1998). The fact that family size did not differ significantly reflects Bury's (1984) observation that, in Britain, there is no relationship between family size and socio-economic background.

Interestingly, pupils from each school were similar in terms of the amount of spending money they had, and in terms of their perceived levels of personal confidence and control. This implied that, overall, the pupils from each school were similar in terms of their levels of independence and personal autonomy. Yet, it was evident that Wellsprings pupils experienced significantly lower levels of parental surveillance than both Greenbank and Redpath pupils. This difference suggested that Wellsprings pupils experienced greater levels of personal independence.

It was apparent that, on average, the Wellsprings pupils and Greenbank pupils were more sociable than the Redpath pupils, and had a greater proportion of friends who had left school, a greater proportion of friends who were male, and a smaller proportion of friends who were female. Thus, it was evident that young women from relatively deprived backgrounds may be more 'outgoing' than their relatively affluent peers, and experience greater levels of interaction with individuals who have 'moved on' from the school setting and with members of the opposite sex.

The idea of young women from relatively deprived backgrounds experiencing greater levels of interaction with members of the opposite sex was also implied by the fact that, compared to the Redpath pupils, a greater proportion of the Wellsprings pupils and the Greenbank pupils had experienced sexual intercourse. Differences were also found between Wellsprings pupils and Greenbank pupils: a greater proportion of the former than the latter had experienced sexual intercourse, and a greater proportion of the Wellsprings pupils' friends than the Greenbank pupils' friends were male. As the Wellsprings pupils came from more deprived areas than the Greenbank pupils, these differences were also in a direction which implied that those from the most deprived backgrounds would have greatest interaction with members of the opposite sex.

It was evident that, in general, pupils in each of the study schools had expectations regarding their future involvement in some form of further education, but that the Redpath pupils had the highest expectations in this regard. In addition it was apparent that, on average, the Wellsprings pupils and the Greenbank pupils were more likely than the Redpath pupils to expect that they would have a child in four years time, and to expect that they would be employed in four years time. Thus, it was apparent that young women from relatively affluent backgrounds may be educationally more ambitious than their less affluent peers, and may be less likely to expect that, in the near future, they would take on roles associated with 'adulthood'. However, no significant differences were found between the Redpath pupils versus the Wellsprings and the Greenbank pupils concerning the expectations

they held towards being in a steady relationship in four years time. Interestingly, a difference was found between the Greenbank pupils and the Wellsprings pupils, the former being significantly less likely than the latter to expect they would be in a steady relationship in four years time. The fact that there did not appear to be a clear relationship between the pupils' backgrounds and their expectations regarding future relationships might be because young women from all social backgrounds seek romance and personal relationships (McRobbie 1991).

The findings concerning the pupils' levels of sexual experience reflected the fact that young women from relatively affluent backgrounds are less likely than those from relatively deprived backgrounds to have experienced sexual intercourse (Holland 1993). A smaller proportion of Redpath pupils compared with both Wellsprings and Greenbank pupils had experienced sexual intercourse, and a smaller proportion of Greenbank pupils than Wellsprings pupils had experienced sexual intercourse. However, no significant differences were found between the pupils from each school concerning the number of sexual partners during the last year and in total, and what proportion of the sexually active pupils in each school had experienced intercourse on more than one occasion. In addition, no difference was found concerning the proportion of pupils in each school who had used contraception during first intercourse and during last intercourse. Thus, although there were differences between the pupils from each school in the proportions with experience of sexual intercourse, it appears that, in general, the sexual careers of those who were sexually experienced had been similar. In addition, there was no

evidence to support Morrison's (1985) observation that young women from relatively affluent backgrounds are more likely than those from relatively deprived backgrounds to use contraception.

Therefore, both differences and similarities were found between pupils attending each of the schools. In terms of providing an insight into the lives and experiences of young women from diverse social and economic backgrounds, the survey results indicate that young women from relatively affluent backgrounds may be more likely than their relatively deprived peers to have a stable home life, to form friendships with school peers and members of same sex, and to have greater educational ambitions. They also showed that young women from relatively affluent backgrounds may be less likely to have experienced sexual intercourse, and to expect that in the near future they would be involved in paid employment or have a child and thereby taken on roles associated with 'adulthood'. By contrast, the survey results indicate that young women from diverse social and economic backgrounds may be similar in terms of the levels of financial independence and personal autonomy, and once sexually active in terms of their sexual careers and use of contraception.

8.3) *The pupils' and participants' views of teenage pregnancy and early motherhood – the second objective*

The data gathered in order to address the second objective were discussed in Chapter Six. These data were collected using the questionnaire and holding discussion groups with selected subgroups of pupils.

The analysis of the questionnaire data indicated that, in general, pupils in each school did not agree that when teenagers become pregnant it is usually because they wanted a child, or because contraception is hard to get, but did agree that when teenagers become pregnant it is usually because they did not think they would conceive. In general, pupils in each school were unsure as to whether they thought contraceptive failure, boyfriends refusing to use a condom, and not knowing about contraception, were possible explanations. Therefore, it appears that, overall, pupils in each school realised that the majority of teenage pregnancies are unplanned (Social Exclusion Unit 1999). However, differences were found between the Redpath pupils versus the Wellsprings and the Greenbank pupils, and between the Wellsprings pupils and the Greenbank pupils, concerning the extent to which they agreed that wanting a child was a possible explanation. Differences were also found between the Redpath pupils versus the Wellsprings and the Greenbank pupils concerning the extent to which they agreed contraceptive failure was a possible explanation. The differences found between the Redpath pupils and the other pupils indicated that young women from relatively affluent backgrounds may be less likely

than their relatively deprived peers to view wanting a child as a possible explanation, and more likely to view contraceptive failure as a possible explanation. The difference between the Greenbank pupils and the Wellsprings pupils was also in a direction of those from the most deprived areas being most likely to view wanting a child as a possible explanation.

During the discussion groups, both intentional and unintentional explanations for teenage pregnancies were mentioned. The intentional explanations implied that the participants felt some young women may 'use' motherhood in order to improve their situation. The participants talked, for example, of women having children in order to receive more attention, qualify for state benefits, and/or to create role for themselves. By contrast, the unintentional explanations mentioned implied that the participants felt an unplanned teenage pregnancy may be the result of a young woman not appreciating her own vulnerability, or being placed in a situation where she was less able to ensure contraception was used, or used effectively. For example, the possibility of an unplanned pregnancy being the result of a young woman not realising the risks involved in having unprotected intercourse was mentioned during discussions held with Redpath participants and with Wellsprings participants, and the notion of young women being subject to male pressure to have unprotected intercourse was mentioned during at least one discussion group held in each of the schools.

The idea of young women using motherhood was mentioned in Chapter Two when consideration was given to the view that teenagers enter motherhood in order to access council housing and other welfare benefits. Yet, only the Redpath participants had mentioned this possible explanation. This may have been because only the Redpath participants discussed how they associated early motherhood with young women from disadvantaged backgrounds.

Whilst the Redpath participants viewed early motherhood as a foreign event, it was apparent that for both the Wellsprings and Greenbank participants early motherhood was an event with salience for them and their families. In addition, whilst the Redpath participants associated early motherhood with social deprivation, neither Wellsprings nor Greenbank participants made this distinction. The difference between the way in which the Redpath participants talked about early motherhood and the way in which the other participants discussed this role, suggested that early motherhood was more prevalent within state school participants' social networks. Certainly, the questionnaire data had shown that a smaller proportion of the Redpath pupils than the Wellsprings pupils and the Greenbank pupils knew someone who had kept a teenage pregnancy.

Despite the different ways in which the Redpath participants and the other participants talked about early motherhood and young mothers, participants in each of the schools viewed this role in a predominately negative light. During Redpath, Greenbank and Wellsprings discussions, participants talked of how they thought a

young mother would need to place the needs of her child before her own, how early motherhood would curtail a young woman's freedom and social life, and how the individual would need to mature emotionally. The manner in which participants talked about a young mother needing to mature implied that they viewed her as a child. Yet, such comments also implied that they felt she could not remain a child. Hence, there was a sense of a teenage mother being viewed as neither child nor adult. This situation would appear to relate to the fact that, as explained in Chapter Two, because childhood and adulthood have been socially constructed as two separate realms rather than as two strands which will emerge together, an individual cannot be viewed as both adult and child.

Analysis of the questionnaire data indicated that, on average, pupils in each school were unwilling to consider early motherhood, and were unsure of a young mother's ability to cope with parenthood. However, it was apparent that Redpath pupils were significantly less inclined than Wellsprings pupils to consider entering this role, and significantly less likely to agree that teenage mothers can cope. It was also evident that Redpath pupils were significantly more likely than Wellsprings pupils to agree that early motherhood has various negative implications. No such differences were found between Redpath and Greenbank pupils. These findings indicate that young women from different social and economic backgrounds may differ in relation to the extent to which they view early motherhood as acceptable and as having various negative implications, but that only when the views of those from extreme ends of the social and economic spectrum are considered, are such differences found.

However, it should be noted that the differences found were relative. As noted above, the pupils' answers indicated that, on average, they did not view early motherhood as a role which they would want to enter. Thus, the differences found reflected varying levels of acceptance rather than indicating that the Wellsprings pupils viewed early motherhood as desirable.

When analysing the pupils' answers concerning how they would emotionally react to and resolve a teenage pregnancy, differences were found between the Redpath pupils versus the Wellsprings pupils and the Greenbank pupils. In general, the Redpath pupils were significantly more likely than the Wellsprings and the Greenbank pupils to predict that they would be upset and would abort a teenage pregnancy. No such differences were found between Wellsprings and Greenbank pupils. Data gathered during the discussion groups illuminated a possible explanation for the differences found. While Redpath participants talked of how they thought a pregnancy would lead to them being morally judged and asked to leave school, and how early motherhood would ruin their career plans, the other participants did not mention the possibility of being morally judged or being asked to leave school, and talked in terms of early motherhood changing or postponing their career plans rather than ruining them. Such comments were not only used to illuminate the quantitative data but also to provide a possible explanation for why Redpath participants were more likely than the other participants to express the view that they would have an abortion.

Considering there was no significant difference between Redpath and Greenbank pupils in terms of how willing they were to consider early motherhood, and in their views concerning the implications of this role, it is interesting that significant differences were found when considering how they would react to and resolve a teenage pregnancy. However, regression analysis showed that a state school pupil's predicted emotional reactions were related to her expectations regarding future involvement in some form of further education, and to the level of parental surveillance she was under. In addition, the state school pupils' and the Redpath pupils' predicted outcomes were associated with both their predicted emotions and their views of abortion. Thus, it was apparent that a young woman's predicted reaction could be related to factors not directly associated with early motherhood, and that the manner in which a young woman predicts she would resolve a teenage pregnancy may be based on the views she holds towards early motherhood and towards alternative pregnancy outcomes.

The data discussed in this section were gathered in order to address the main aim of the thesis. Based on the discussion group data, the following conclusions can be drawn. Young women from diverse social and economic backgrounds may put forward both intentional and unintentional explanations for teenage pregnancy, and may view early motherhood in a predominately negative light. They may also vary in terms of whether or not they view early motherhood as part of their lives, and associate early motherhood with socio-economic background. In addition, they may provide different accounts concerning how they believe early motherhood

would affect their situation and how they would resolve a teenage pregnancy. In terms of considering whether the views young women hold towards teenage pregnancy and early motherhood may, at least in part, explain the relationship which exists between socio-economic background and teenage pregnancy outcome, there was little evidence to suggest that young women from relatively deprived backgrounds view early motherhood in a positive light. Rather, it would appear that young women from relatively deprived backgrounds anticipate fewer implications than their relatively affluent peers and consequently, if they became pregnant, would be more likely to continue along the pathway to early motherhood. Thus, there was no evidence to support the argument that this relationship exists because young women from relatively deprived backgrounds view early motherhood as one of the only available routes to economic independence and adult status (Ineichen 1986). However, there was some evidence to suggest that this relationship could be because the implications of early motherhood are less among relatively deprived groups than among relatively affluent groups.

The analysis of the questionnaire data showed that, overall, young women from diverse social and economic backgrounds may view early motherhood as a role which they would not wish to enter. However, it was apparent that, when comparing the views held by young women from extreme ends of the social and economic spectrum, differences which suggest that early motherhood is viewed as more acceptable among relatively deprived groups than affluent groups, may be found. It was also evident that young women from different backgrounds can vary

in terms of how they predict they would react to and resolve a teenage pregnancy. In terms of explaining the relationship which exists between socio-economic background and teenage pregnancy outcome, these data suggest that this relationship is not due to a desire for early motherhood existing among relatively deprived groups. Rather, they suggest that this relationship might be due to variations in how young women from different social and economic backgrounds view teenage pregnancy and early motherhood when considering these events in relation to themselves.

8.4) *What factors may influence the outcome of a teenage pregnancy – the third objective*

The data gathered from the young mothers were discussed in Chapter Seven. Through discussing the young mothers' accounts, insights were gained concerning what factors may influence the outcome of a teenage pregnancy.

When documenting the young mothers' accounts it was apparent that for the passively conceived pregnancies and the planned pregnancies, the pathway from conception to pregnancy outcome had been straightforward. This was because these pregnancies were welcomed and therefore only one outcome, that of keeping the pregnancy, had been considered. In contrast, with the exception of one interviewee, the young mothers who faced an unplanned pregnancy had not

welcomed the news that they were pregnant and, consequently, were faced with having to make a decision. As the factors which influenced the decision to abort or keep these pregnancies were not those which had led to their occurrence, it was apparent that the pathway from conception to pregnancy outcome needs to be considered as a stepwise rather than a linear process (Furstenberg 1991).

Based on the accounts of those who faced a decision, it was evident that an unplanned teenage pregnancy may be kept because the young woman believes she will be able to cope emotionally and/or financially if she has the child; because, once pregnant, a young woman may be attracted to the idea of becoming a mother; and/or because the outcome of abortion is rejected on moral grounds. It was also apparent that an earlier negative experience of abortion can influence this decision.

It was evident that a teenage pregnancy may be aborted because the young woman believes she would be unable to cope financially and/or emotionally if the child was kept; believes this outcome would be the most appropriate for any existing children and the unborn child; and/or predicts that she will be able to cope with the experience of having an abortion. None of the interviewees mentioned that their career aspirations or relationship status had influenced the decision to abort. However, when documenting the accounts of those who had experienced an abortion, it was argued that in some cases the decision to abort may have been influenced by the extent to which the interviewee had career aspirations and by the length of her relationship.

It was apparent, therefore, that a range of factors may influence the outcome of a teenage pregnancy, and that these factors may include a young woman's perceptions of herself and her situation, and the views she holds towards the different pregnancy outcomes.

When documenting the young mothers' accounts it was evident that a young woman may experience both an abortion and a delivery during her teenage years (Social Exclusion Unit 1999). This meant that some of the interviewees could not be classified as 'keepers' or 'aborters', and implied that the implications of a teenage pregnancy will not only vary between individual women but also according to an individual's situation at the time of conception. The fact that pregnancies occurring to the same individual may end in different outcomes provides support for Bracken et al.'s (1978) argument that whether a pregnancy is kept or aborted will depend more on the circumstances which surround the pregnancy than on any characteristic of the woman herself.

In this research there was no evidence to suggest that young women become mothers in order to receive state benefits, although it was clear that the provision of such benefits could influence the extent to which a young woman predicted she would be able to cope financially with motherhood. It was also evident that contact with young mothers could encourage a desire for early motherhood, and that the interviewees who had planned their pregnancies viewed early motherhood as

beneficial or at least acceptable. These findings imply that within relatively deprived communities some form of subcultural acceptance towards early motherhood may exist. Yet, it was evident that knowledge of teenage mothers could also lead to a negative view of early motherhood. It was also apparent that the interviewees who had planned their pregnancies had done so because they wanted to become mothers, were living with their partners, and felt financially and emotionally secure. Hence, their decision appeared to relate to their immediate situation rather than the wider social and cultural milieu in which they lived. In addition, it was evident that most of the pregnancies described had been unplanned, and that early motherhood may be entered because the outcome of abortion is rejected (Furstenberg 1991). Furthermore, as pregnancies occurring to the same individual could end in different outcomes, it was suggested that it was not so much the individual's views of motherhood or abortion which influenced the outcome of her pregnancy, but rather the individual's personal situation at the time. Thus, whilst the young mothers' accounts implied some form of subcultural acceptance may exist within relatively deprived communities, it did appear that it was the immediate circumstances which surrounded a pregnancy rather than the wider context that influenced the outcome.

This thesis has therefore has provided an insight into the lives and experiences of young women from diverse social and economic backgrounds, and has assessed the validity of the hypothesis that the prevalence of teenage motherhood is directly related to some form of subcultural acceptance. It has also explored the process

which young women go through having conceived in their teenage years. The data gathered from pupils, participants and young mothers provided evidence to both support and refute the subcultural acceptance hypothesis. However, the pupils' answers and the participants' comments provided little evidence of young women from relatively deprived backgrounds viewing early motherhood in a positive light. In addition, the interviewees' accounts revealed that a number of factors may influence the outcome of a teenage pregnancy. Therefore, whilst there is some evidence to support the subcultural acceptance hypothesis, it did appear that this acceptance is one which would maintain a young woman on the pathway to early motherhood rather than encouraging her to enter this role.

8.5) *Reflecting back and implications for future research*

When reflecting back in order to consider what could have been done differently in terms of the methods and techniques used, no major changes are obvious. As discussed in Chapter Four, the methods adopted appeared to achieve the purposes for which they had been employed, and the adoption of a mixed methods approach did ensure that the objectives of the study were addressed using the most appropriate techniques. Using both a questionnaire and discussion groups to collect data on young women's views of teenage pregnancy and early motherhood, also meant that different data sets could be used to complement one another and in turn, provide a broader base from which to address the main aim of the thesis than would

have been achieved if a single method approach had been employed. However, the employment of non-probability sampling techniques means that none of the women taking part in the study can be viewed as being representative of other young women from similar backgrounds or circumstances. Thus, caution must be exercised when inferring what this thesis has shown in relation to young women's views and experiences, and when generalising from the conclusions drawn to other groups of women. A similar study conducted on a larger scale and using random sampling techniques would help determine the external and internal validity of the findings. In addition, whilst the employment of both qualitative and quantitative methods was viewed as advantageous, using a mixed methods approach did raise a number of issues and this approach could have been adopted in a more effective manner.

In Chapter Three it was explained that the decision to employ a mixed methods approach was driven by the need to gather different forms and levels of data. It was also explained that the questionnaire, discussion group and interview guides were developed independently of one another. At the stage of developing the study design and the instruments, more careful consideration could have been given to how the various data sets would be used in relation to one another, and the content of both the questionnaire and the discussion group guide considered in light of one another. Often there was a feeling of dealing with three different studies rather than one study with various parts. If such considerations had been undertaken, this problem may have been avoided as a clearer understanding of how the data sets

could be related would have existed throughout the study rather than developing only at the stage of data analysis.

Developing the questionnaire and discussion group guide in light of one another would also have increased the extent to which the questionnaire data could provide background to the discussion group data, and the qualitative data used to illuminate some of the quantitative findings. For example, considering participants were asked to indicate how various individuals would react if they became pregnant, it would have been beneficial if the questionnaire had gathered information on how the pupils predicted their parents, friends etc. would react. The process of developing the questionnaire and discussion group guide alongside each other might also have led to a more focused study, as it would have encouraged further reflection as to why a particular question was being asked, and for what purpose in the total context of the thesis.

Considering how the various data sets would be related to one another might also have led to a clearer appreciation of what would be involved if a mixed methods approach was adopted, and to a greater understanding of what the advantages and disadvantages would be to using such an approach. The idea of using different data sets to complement and illuminate one another is an attractive one. However, as Temple (1994) argues, the extent to which findings can 'fit together' (p. 567) to provide a more complete picture is limited by the fact that each method collects different forms and levels of data. Thus, whilst, for example, both a questionnaire

and discussion group method were used to gather data on how young women predicted they would react to a teenage pregnancy, the questionnaire and discussion group data sets could not be viewed as interrelated but as simply providing alternative stances from which to consider such views. In addition, whilst the discussion group data could illuminate some of the quantitative findings, these data could not explain the statistical relationships found. Hence, the picture became broader but not necessarily clearer. Furthermore, the task of relating the various data sets, considering the meaning and level of each whilst doing so, and handling both quantitative and qualitative material considerably increased the work involved. Thus, the adoption of a mixed methods approach did raise a number of issues and there were limitations concerning how the different data sets could be used in relation to one another. However, overall, the advantages of using such an approach were viewed as outweighing the disadvantages. A mixed methods study did enable the objectives of the thesis to be addressed using the most appropriate methods, and collecting and analysing different data sets meant that the conclusions drawn were not based on a single approach and therefore confined to only one perspective.

In terms of the implications for future research, as noted above, a similar study conducted on a larger scale and using random sampling techniques would help determine the external and internal validity of the findings. As the young mothers' accounts indicated that a young woman's past experiences, current situation and perceptions of her future may influence the outcome of a teenage pregnancy, they

imply that researchers attempting to explain the outcome of a pregnancy, need to give consideration to each of these factors. The young mothers' accounts also implied that, as Bracken et al. (1978) argue, researchers attempting to predict which women will keep or abort a pregnancy will be less successful than those who focus on the characteristics and psychosocial context of pregnancies which are most likely to be kept or aborted. This was because there was evidence to suggest that whether a pregnancy is kept or aborted will depend more on the circumstances which surround the pregnancy than on any characteristic of the woman herself.

In terms of the implications for the use of a mixed methods approach, at the stage of study design researchers adopting this approach should carefully think through how the data sets will be related to one another. At this early stage they should also consider what the potential advantages and disadvantages to using both qualitative and quantitative methods would be. Both processes would help to ensure that the implications of a mixed methods study are understood prior to data collection, and would facilitate subsequent analysis and writing up. In addition, time spent at an early stage considering the implications of this approach would probably lead to a more focused study.

Appendices

THE TEENAGE TALKING QUESTIONNAIRE: YOUR ATTITUDES, BELIEFS AND BEHAVIOUR

Your answers will remain confidential and will <u>not be seen by</u>:

- anyone at school,

- or your family.

So, please be honest about how you feel and what you think.

By answering these questions you will help me find out more about young people.

There are no 'right' or 'wrong' answers - I just want to know what you think, and something about your experiences.

I am interested in your ideas and experiences <u>whatever</u> they are, so please answer these questions as fully and honestly as possible.

Please read the instructions carefully.

If you are not sure what a question means, please put up your hand and I will come and help you.

When the term "<u>teenager</u>" is used, this refers to an individual who is aged between 13 and 20 years old.

ABOUT YOURSELF

1. What is your date of birth? ✍ _____

2. What kind of house / flat do you live in?
   (*Please tick only one box*)

council housing	☐₁
other rented accommodation	☐₂
privately-owned housing (e.g being brought with a mortage)	☐₃
temporary accommodation	☐₄
care or foster home	☐₅
school boarding house	☐₆ → please go to question 5
don't know	☐₇

3. How many people (children and adults) including yourself live in your home? ✍ ____

4. How many bedrooms are there in your home? ✍ ____

5. Do you know your post code?

   yes ☐₁ → If `yes', please write in your post code ✍ _____
   no ☐₂

6. Which adults do you stay with?
    (Please tick **all that apply**)

    my mother $\square_1$

    my father $\square_2$

    my step-mother $\square_3$

    my step-father $\square_4$

    my grandmother $\square_5$

    my grandfather $\square_6$

    another woman who is not my mum $\square_7$

    another man who is not my dad $\square_8$

    school boarding house staff $\square_9$

7. Do you know your mother's age?

    yes $\square_1$ If 'yes', please write her age ✍ _____

    no $\square_2$

8. How many brothers and sisters do you have?
    (Please write in **how many are older** and **how many are younger**)

    I have ✍ _____ older brother(s) and ✍ _____ younger brother(s)

    I have ✍ _____ older sister(s) and ✍ _____ younger sister(s)

9. How much of your own money do you have on average to spend as you like each week?   ✍ £ _____

10. Please tell us if your mother / female guardian is:
(*Please tick **all that apply***)

in full time paid work ☐ 1

in part time paid work ☐ 2

self employed ☐ 3

a full time housewife ☐ 4

unemployed ☐ 5

a student ☐ 6

sick / disabled ☐ 7

retired ☐ 8

not sure ☐ 9

I don't have a mother / female guardian ☐ 10

11. If your mother / female guardian is in paid work what does she actually do?
(for example: ticket collector on a train)

✍ _____

If she is not in paid work, what was her last paid work?
(for example: ticket collector on a train)

✍ _____

12. Please tell us if your father / male guardian is:
    (*Please tick **all that apply***)

in full time paid work	☐ 1
in part time paid work	☐ 2
self employed	☐ 3
a full time househusband	☐ 4
unemployed	☐ 5
a student	☐ 6
sick / disabled	☐ 7
retired	☐ 8
not sure	☐ 9
I don't have a father / male guardian	☐ 10

13. If your father / male guardian is in paid work what does he actually do?
    (for example: ticket collector on a train)

    ✍ _____

    If he is not in paid work, what was his last paid work?
    (for example: ticket collector on a train)

    ✍ _____

14. Are you: (*Please tick **all that apply***)

Bangladeshi ☐₁

Black - African ☐₂

Black - Caribbean ☐₃

Chinese ☐₄

Indian ☐₅

Pakistani ☐₆

White ☐₇

Other ☐₈

15. What religion(s), if any, were you brought up with?
(*Please tick **all that apply***)

none ☐₁

Catholic ☐₂

Hindu ☐₃

Jewish ☐₄

Muslim ☐₅

Protestant (*e.g. Church of Scotland, Episcopalian*) ☐₆

Sikh ☐₇

Other (Please write religion) ☐₈

✍ _____

16. How religious do you think you are?
(*Please tick **only one** box*)

Very religious	Religious	Unsure	Not religious	Not at all religious
☐₁	☐₂	☐₃	☐₄	☐₅

17. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (*Please tick **one box per line***)

	strongly agree	agree	disagree	strongly disagree
I like myself	☐₁	☐₂	☐₃	☐₄
I am a failure	☐₁	☐₂	☐₃	☐₄
I am certain that luck plays a crucial role in life	☐₁	☐₂	☐₃	☐₄
I am totally responsible for my own behaviour	☐₁	☐₂	☐₃	☐₄
There is a direct connection between how hard I work and how well I do	☐₁	☐₂	☐₃	☐₄
A person's social background effects the opportunities they have in life	☐₁	☐₂	☐₃	☐₄

18. Think about your friends. *(Please tick **one box per line**)*

	none	a few	half	most	all
How many are female?	☐1	☐2	☐3	☐4	☐5
How many are male?	☐1	☐2	☐3	☐4	☐5
How many are at another school?	☐1	☐2	☐3	☐4	☐5
How many have left school?	☐1	☐2	☐3	☐4	☐5

19. How often do you spend time with friends outside school hours? *(Please tick **only one** box)*

every day including weekends ☐1

4-6 days a week ☐2

2-3 days a week ☐3

once a week or less ☐4

have no friends right now ☐5

20. Is it easy or difficult for you to make new friends? *(Please tick **only one** box)*

very easy ☐1

easy ☐2

difficult ☐3

very difficult ☐4

21. Do you have a **female** friend you can talk to about very private and personal things? (*Please tick **only one** box*)

yes ☐₁   no ☐₂

22. Do you have a **male** friend you can talk to about very private and personal things? (*Please tick **only one** box*)

yes ☐₁   no ☐₂

23. Out of all the people you know (friends or family), how many can you easily talk to about any problems you have?
(*Please tick **only one** box*)

none ☐₁   one ☐₂   more than one ☐₃

24. How much do you agree with the following statements about school? (*Please tick **one box per line***)

	Strongly agree	Agree	Unsure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
I like school	☐₁	☐₂	☐₃	☐₄	☐₅
When I get the chance I skip school	☐₁	☐₂	☐₃	☐₄	☐₅
Teachers in my school never trust us to organise things	☐₁	☐₂	☐₃	☐₄	☐₅
Teachers in my school treat pupils with respect	☐₁	☐₂	☐₃	☐₄	☐₅
Teachers in my school value getting good marks above all else	☐₁	☐₂	☐₃	☐₄	☐₅
Teachers in my school think a girl's education is just as important as a boy's education	☐₁	☐₂	☐₃	☐₄	☐₅

25. These questions are about the rules in your house about going out in the evening. (*Please tick **one box per line***)

	always	usually	sometimes	never
Do you have to ask permission to go out in the evening?	□₁	□₂	□₃	□₄
Do you have to be back by a certain time in the evening?	□₁	□₂	□₃	□₄
Does anybody stay up until you get home?	□₁	□₂	□₃	□₄
Do you have to tell anybody where you are going in the evening?	□₁	□₂	□₃	□₄

26. How likely is it that you will be doing the following in 4 years time? (*Please tick **one box per line***)

	very likely	likely	unsure	unlikely	very unlikely
be in a secure job?	□₁	□₂	□₃	□₄	□₅
be living with a boyfriend / husband?	□₁	□₂	□₃	□₄	□₅
be in a training scheme, eg. YTS scheme?	□₁	□₂	□₃	□₄	□₅
have a child / children?	□₁	□₂	□₃	□₄	□₅
be at a college or university?	□₁	□₂	□₃	□₄	□₅
be in a steady relationship with someone?	□₁	□₂	□₃	□₄	□₅

Below are some of the things people say about teenage pregnancies and early motherhood. I would like to know what your views are. Please say how much you agree or disagree with the following statements.

27. When teenagers become pregnant it is usually because :

(Please tick one box per line)	Strongly agree	Agree	Unsure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
they want a child	☐1	☐2	☐3	☐4	☐5
they had unprotected sex because they did not know about contraception	☐1	☐2	☐3	☐4	☐5
they had unprotected sex because contraception is hard to get	☐1	☐2	☐3	☐4	☐5
they had unprotected sex because they did not think they would become pregnant	☐1	☐2	☐3	☐4	☐5
the contraception they used did not work	☐1	☐2	☐3	☐4	☐5
their boyfriend refused to use a condom and nothing else was available	☐1	☐2	☐3	☐4	☐5

28. Early Motherhood (i.e. having a child/children whilst you are still a teenager):

(Please tick one box per line)	Strongly agree	Agree	Unsure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
is bad for your education	☐1	☐2	☐3	☐4	☐5
is bad for your social life	☐1	☐2	☐3	☐4	☐5
makes it more likely that you will need financial support, eg housing benefit, income support	☐1	☐2	☐3	☐4	☐5
makes it less likely that you will find a job	☐1	☐2	☐3	☐4	☐5
makes it less likely that you will get married	☐1	☐2	☐3	☐4	☐5

29. Think of yourself. Please say how much you agree or disagree with the following statements

(Please tick **one box per line**)	Strongly agree	Agree	Unsure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
I would consider having a child whilst I am still a teenager	☐₁	☐₂	☐₃	☐₄	☐₅
I would consider having a child outside of a stable relationship	☐₁	☐₂	☐₃	☐₄	☐₅

30. Think of your friends. Please say how much you agree or disagree with the following statements

(Please tick **one box per line**)	Strongly agree	Agree	Unsure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Some of my friends would consider having a child whilst they are still teenagers	☐₁	☐₂	☐₃	☐₄	☐₅
Some of my friends would consider having a child outside of a stable relationship	☐₁	☐₂	☐₃	☐₄	☐₅

31. Have you ever been pregnant?

yes ☐₁→ **If `yes'**, ☞ go to question 33

no ☐₂→ **If `no'**, ☞ go to question 32

For those who <u>HAVE NOT</u> been pregnant

32. **Imagine**: You were to become pregnant in the next month.

A. How would you feel ? *(Please tick **only one** box)*

happy ☐₁

mixed feelings ☐₂

upset ☐₃

very upset ☐₄

don't know ☐₅

B. What would you do ? *(Please tick **only one** box)*

have the child and keep it ☐₁

have the the child but surrender it for adoption ☐₂

seek an abortion ☐₃

don't know ☐₄

Now, ☞ please go to question 34

For those who <u>HAVE</u> been pregnant

33. How did you feel when you realised that you were pregnant :
    *(Please tick **only one** box)*

    happy   ☐₁
    mixed feelings   ☐₂
    upset   ☐₃
    very upset   ☐₄
    other   ☐₅   (please describe below how you felt)

    ✍ _____

    _____

    _____

B. What did you do ? *(Please tick **only one** box)*

    I had the child and kept it   ☐₁
    I had the child but surrendered it for adoption   ☐₂
    I had an abortion   ☐₃
    I had a miscarriage ☐₄

Now, ☞ please go to question 34

34. Do you know any young person who became pregnant when they were **under 16 years of age** ? *(Please tick **only one** box)*

no ☐₂ ➔**If no,** go to question 36

yes ☐₁ ➔**If yes,** are they: *(Please tick **all that apply**)*

friends ☐₁➔ **if ticked**, how many ✍ _____

neighbours ☐₂➔ **if ticked**, how many ✍ _____

relations, eg sisters ☐₃➔ **if ticked**, how many ✍ _____

others ☐₄➔ **if ticked**, how many ✍ _____

35. What was the outcome of this pregnancy/ these pregnancies?

The child was: *(Please tick **all that apply**)*

kept ☐₁➔ **if ticked**, how many had this outcome ✍ _____

adopted ☐₂➔ **if ticked**, how many had this outcome ✍ _____

aborted ☐₃➔ **if ticked**, how many had this outcome ✍ _____

miscarried ☐₄➔ **if ticked**, how many had this outcome ✍ _____

don't know ☐₅➔ **if ticked**, how many had this outcome ✍ _____

the child is still to be born ☐₅➔ **if ticked**, how many ✍ _____

36. How comfortable or uncomfortable are you when talking about sex with the following people?
(*Please tick **one box per line***)

	very comfortable	comfortable	in between	uncomfortable	very uncomfortable	never have / does not apply
mother	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6
father	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6
brother you get on best with	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6
sister you get on best with	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6
boyfriend	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6
best friend (girl)	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6
on your own with teacher you get on best with	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6

37. In your school sex education, how well do you think the following topics have been covered?
(*Please tick **one box per line***)

	very well	well	okay	not well	not well at all	don't remember it being discussed
Where to get medical advice about sex?	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6
How not to have sex when you don't want to?	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6
Contraception? (ways to avoid pregnancy when having sex)	☐ 1	☐ 2	☐ 3	☐ 4	☐ 5	☐ 6

RELATIONSHIPS AND BEHAVIOUR

Young people do sexual things at different ages.
Most of you will not have had sexual intercourse, but some might.
I would like to know a little about your own experiences.

In the questions below `sexual intercourse' means:
- a boy / man putting his penis into a girl / woman's vagina,
  - or `going the whole way'.

38. Have you experienced any of the following with another person? If `yes', please write down how old you were the **first** time. (*Please tick **one box per line***)

	no	yes	age 1st time
kissing using tongues	☐₂	☐₁	I was ✍_____years old
heavy petting (hand touching genitals / private parts)	☐₂	☐₁	I was ✍_____years old
oral sex (mouth touching genitals / private parts)	☐₂	☐₁	I was ✍_____years old
sexual intercourse	☐₂	☐₁	I was ✍_____years old

If you __HAVE__ had sexual intercourse, please go to question 40 ☞

If you __HAVE NOT__ had sexual intercourse, please go to question 39 ☞

39. When do you expect to **first** have sexual intercourse?

A. (*Please tick **only one** box*)

When 20 or older	☐₁
By the age of 20	☐₂
By the age of 18	☐₃
By the age of 17	☐₄
By the age of 16	☐₅
Don't know	☐₆

Again, when do you expect to **first** have sexual intercourse?

B. (*Please tick **only one** box*)

Not until I'm in love	☐₁
Not until we're going steady	☐₂
Not until we're engaged	☐₃
Not until we're married	☐₄
Simply when sexually attracted	☐₅
Don't know	☐₆

Now, ☞ please go to question 49

For those who __HAVE__ had sexual intercourse

Please answer the following questions about your **first** experience of sexual intercourse.

40. When you **first** had sexual intercourse, how old were you?

    ✍ _____

41. When you **first** had sexual intercourse how old was the other person?

    ✍ _____

42. When you **first** had sexual intercourse, did you or your partner use any form of contraception or do anything to protect yourselves?

    no   ☐₂   **If `no',** ☞ go to question 43

    yes   ☐₁   **If `yes',** please tick **all that apply,** then go to question 44

    penis pulled out before coming   ☐₁

    condom put on just before coming   ☐₂

    condom used throughout   ☐₃

    I was on the pill   ☐₄

    I used emergency contraception (the `morning after pill')   ☐₅

    other (please describe below)   ☐₆

    ✍ _____

    Don't know   ☐₇

43. I did not use any contraception because:
    (Please tick **all that apply** box):

    I did not mind if I became pregnant ☐₁

    I believed I would not get pregnant ☐₂

    I did not know how to get contraception ☐₃

    I had not planned to have sex ☐₄

    I felt guilty about having sex ☐₅

    my boyfriend did not want to use any type of ☐₆
    contraception

    other (please describe below) ☐₇

    ✍ _____

44. Have you had sexual intercourse more than once?

    no ☐₂ **If 'no',** ☞ go to question 49

    yes ☐₁ **If 'yes',** ☞ go to question 45

45. When you **last** had sexual intercourse, did you or your partner use any form of contraception or do anything to protect yourselves?

no ☐₂ **If 'no'**, ☞ go to question 46

yes ☐₁ **If 'yes'**, please tick **all that apply**,

then ☞ go to question 47

penis pulled out before coming	☐₁
condom put on just before coming	☐₂
condom used throughout	☐₃
I was on the pill	☐₄
I used emergency contraception (the 'morning after pill')	☐₅
other (please describe below)	☐₆
✍ _____	
Don't know	☐₇

46. I did not use any contraception the **last** time I had sex because: (*Please tick **only one** box*):

I did not mind if I became pregnant ☐₁

I believed I would not get pregnant ☐₂

I did not know how to get contraception ☐₃

I had not planned to have sex ☐₄

I felt guilty about having sex ☐₅

my boyfriend did not want to use any type of contraception ☐₆

other (please describe below) ☐₇

✍ _____

47. How many people have you had sexual intercourse with in the last year?

✍ _____

48. How many people have you had sexual intercourse with ever?

✍ _____

CONTRACEPTION, SEXUAL RELATIONSHIPS AND ATTITUDES.

49. How easy or difficult would it be for you to:

*(Please tick **one box per line**)*

	very easy	easy	unsure	difficult	very difficult
get a condom	☐1	☐2	☐3	☐4	☐5
use a condom properly	☐1	☐2	☐3	☐4	☐5
persuade a boyfriend to use a condom	☐1	☐2	☐3	☐4	☐5
make an appointment at a clinic or with a doctor to get some contraception	☐1	☐2	☐3	☐4	☐5
discuss contraception in a clinic or with a doctor	☐1	☐2	☐3	☐4	☐5
get to a clinic or to a doctor's surgery	☐1	☐2	☐3	☐4	☐5

50. Below are some things people say about relationships and sex. I would like to know what your views are. Please say how much you agree or disagree.

*(Please tick **one box per line**)*

	strongly agree	agree	unsure	disagree	strongly disagree
It is more acceptable for a teenage boy to have sex than it is for a teenage girl	☐1	☐2	☐3	☐4	☐5
Using a condom would be embarrassing	☐1	☐2	☐3	☐4	☐5
Using a condom would reduce sexual enjoyment	☐1	☐2	☐3	☐4	☐5

(*Please tick **one box per line***)

	strongly agree	agree	unsure	disagree	strongly disagree
It's much more grown up to have a boyfriend	☐₁	☐₂	☐₃	☐₄	☐₅
You have just as much fun when you don't have a boyfriend	☐₁	☐₂	☐₃	☐₄	☐₅
You can enjoy each other's bodies without sexual intercourse	☐₁	☐₂	☐₃	☐₄	☐₅
One of the things I fear most is becoming pregnant	☐₁	☐₂	☐₃	☐₄	☐₅
Sexual intercourse is the only way to be satisfied in a sexual relationship	☐₁	☐₂	☐₃	☐₄	☐₅
Every woman wants to become a mother	☐₁	☐₂	☐₃	☐₄	☐₅
The role of motherhood is valued by society	☐₁	☐₂	☐₃	☐₄	☐₅
There is nothing wrong with an abortion if the woman herself wants it, <u>even</u> if the father is against an abortion	☐₁	☐₂	☐₃	☐₄	☐₅
A school girl should be allowed to have an abortion in order to continue her career	☐₁	☐₂	☐₃	☐₄	☐₅
Teenage mothers can cope with being parents	☐₁	☐₂	☐₃	☐₄	☐₅

51. When you have sex with someone, **who** should take care that:

*(Please tick **one box per line**)*

	always me	usually me	both of us	usually him	always him
condoms are available?	$\Box_1$	$\Box_2$	$\Box_3$	$\Box_4$	$\Box_5$
a condom is used?	$\Box_1$	$\Box_2$	$\Box_3$	$\Box_4$	$\Box_5$

52. Do you know if:

*(Please tick **one box per line**)*	True	False	Don't know
a girl can get pregnant if it is the first time she has had sex?	$\Box_1$	$\Box_2$	$\Box_3$
a girl under 16 thinks she may be pregnant, doctors will inform her parents if she seeks advice?	$\Box_1$	$\Box_2$	$\Box_3$
a girl can get pregnant if she has sex standing up?	$\Box_1$	$\Box_2$	$\Box_3$
a girl can get pregnant if the man / boy withdraws before ejaculation / coming?	$\Box_1$	$\Box_2$	$\Box_3$

*(Please tick **one box per line**)*	the morning after	within two days (48 hours)	within three days (72 hours)	within a week (168 hours)	don't know
emergency contraception ('the morning after pill') has to be used...	$\Box_1$	$\Box_2$	$\Box_3$	$\Box_4$	$\Box_5$

53. How many 16 year old **girls** from your school do you think have had sexual intercourse? (*Please tick **only one** box*)

all of them	☐ 1
most of them	☐ 2
half of them	☐ 3
less than half	☐ 4
about quarter of them	☐ 5
very few of them	☐ 6
none of them	☐ 7

A FEW PERSONAL POINTS

54. At what age did you start to menstruate, ie start to have your periods? I was ✍ _____ years old

55. At present, how often do you smoke?
(*Please tick **only one** box*)

everyday	☐ 1
at least once a week but not everyday	☐ 2
less than once a week	☐ 3
I do not smoke	☐ 4

56. At present, how often do you drink alcohol?
(*Please tick **only one** box*)
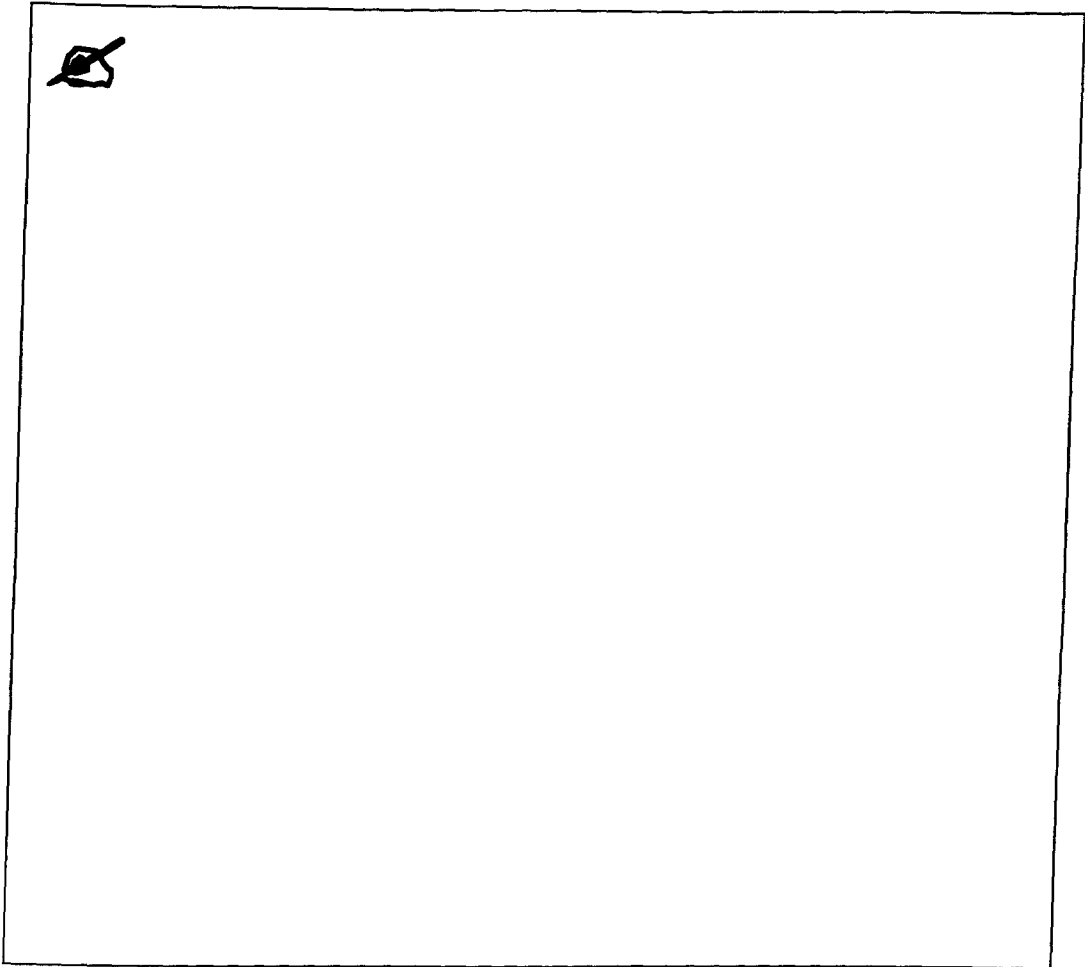
everyday	☐₁
every week	☐₂
every month	☐₃
less than every month	☐₄
never	☐₅

YOUR ANSWERS TO THIS QUESTIONNAIRE

57. The following question asks you about how honest and accurate your answers to this questionnaire have been.
(*Please tick **one box per line***)

	completely	very	fairly	not very
How **honest** have your answers been?	☐₁	☐₂	☐₃	☐₄
How **accurate** have your answers been?	☐₁	☐₂	☐₃	☐₄

If you have any comments you would like to make, please write them in the box below.

☺ **THANK YOU FOR FILLING IN THIS QUESTIONNAIRE** ☺

There is a game overleaf for those who have finished the questionnaire.

The names of 10 pop groups are hidden amongst the letters below. Circle the names and see how many you can find before we collect the questionnaires.

O	A	S	I	S	G	P	A	S	H
M	U	U	D	F	N	Q	I	C	C
C	A	E	Z	H	E	E	P	T	X
P	O	D	F	F	J	V	O	P	I
R	A	E	T	E	R	N	A	L	I
S	B	T	E	U	E	L	Y	W	D
P	L	E	Y	E	M	K	U	L	O
A	U	G	E	T	A	J	L	F	D
D	R	L	E	N	C	G	X	N	G
E	F	G	P	R	O	D	I	G	Y

Appendix 2
Discussion group guide

Introduction
        Welcome
        Purpose of the research
        Discussion of how the session will be recorded
        Issues of confidentiality and informed consent

Brainstorm
        "Shout any words, images or situations which you associate with motherhood"
                When do you imagine becoming a mother - what age, situation and type of
                relationship will you be in?
                What does being a mother entail/mean? (hard work, fun, responsibility)

        "Shout any words, images or situations which you associate with teenage
        motherhood"
                What type person becomes a teenage mother?
                Describe your idea of a typical teenage mum?

Task 1 Reactions to pregnancy sheet

Task 2 Personal situation
        Think of the things you currently enjoy doing.
                How would early motherhood affect your current situation?
                How would early motherhood affect your future?

        If you were to become a parent in the next year:
                What would the biggest change in your life be?
                What would you have to give up?
                What would you gain?

Reasons for teenage pregnancy
        Why do teenagers become pregnant?

Possible Outcomes
        What are the different options available to a pregnant teenager?
        What are your feelings towards these different outcomes?

Decision Making
        What factors do you think influence the outcome of a teenage pregnancy?

Solution
        What else could be done to reduce the number of unplanned pregnancies?
        (services, sex education, teenagers' attitudes and knowledge)

        What else could be done to help teenagers in general

Any other points you wish to raise?

Thank you for your time

Appendix 3
Reactions of Others

Best Friend

Parent/Guardian

You

Favourite Adult

Boyfriend

The person I would most fear telling would be: _____

The most supportive person would be: _____

The least supportive person would be: _____

Appendix 4
Information sheets for the young mothers

Arranged in the following order:
Sheet for currently pregnant
Sheet for recently given birth
Sheet for recently had an abortion

Ms Katrina Turner
PhD Student
TELEPHONE: (01786) 466307

UNIVERSITY OF STIRLING
APPLIED SOCIAL SCIENCE
STIRLING FK9 4LA
TELEPHONE: (01786) 467691

Decision Making

Young women who find themselves pregnant are faced with making the decision whether to continue with the pregnancy or to have an abortion.

Very little research has been done to find out how young women faced with this situation decide what to do. As you are currently pregnant, I am writing to you to ask whether you would be willing to talk to me.

I would like to know how you felt and how you decided what to do. Your views and thoughts are important as a lot of research has been done on teenage pregnancy but teenagers are rarely asked what they think. So, here is a chance for you to voice your views and provide information which could help other women, in the future, who have to face this situation.

If you agree to take part, I could talk to you:

- at home

- in the clinic

- over the telephone

- or somewhere you chose

If you are willing to talk to me, please write your name and a contact telephone number or address on the next sheet and return this to me in the prepaid envelope provided.

If you do not want to talk to me but are willing to write to me, please do so and return your letter in the prepaid envelope provided.

I realise this is a sensitive topic but everything you say or write will be confidential and I would greatly value your views.

If you wish to discuss the study further before replying, please feel free to contact me (Katrina Turner) on 01786 466308, or (staff contact) (clinic telephone number). For those of you who want to know more about my study, please read on.

During the interview, you will be asked what your experiences were from the time you learnt that you were pregnant to the time of the interview. The interview will last for as long as you wish it to and we will only discuss what you wish to mention. Furthermore, you can stop the interview at any time.

You do not have to take part in this study. However, I would greatly value your help as your views would provide an important insight into the influences which affect the decisions young women make.

If you are willing to talk to me, please write your name and a contact telephone number or address below:

Name: _____

Telephone Number:

_____

(Please indicate the best time to phone:☐ am   ☐ pm   ☐ evenings)

or

Address:

_____

_____

_____

Thank you for your time.

Katrina Turner
(University of Stirling)

Ms Katrina Turner
PhD Student
TELEPHONE: (01786) 466307

UNIVERSITY OF STIRLING
APPLIED SOCIAL SCIENCE
STIRLING FK9 4LA
TELEPHONE: (01786) 467691

Decision Making

Young women who find themselves pregnant are faced with making the decision whether to continue with the pregnancy or to have an abortion.

Very little research has been done to find out how young women faced with this situation decide what to do. As you are a young mother, I am writing to you to ask whether you would be willing to talk to me.

I would like to know how you felt and how you decided what to do. Your views and thoughts are important as a lot of research has been done on teenage pregnancy but teenagers are rarely asked what they think. So, here is a chance for you to voice your views and provide information which could help other women, in the future, who have to face this situation.

If you agree to take part, I could talk to you:

- at home

- in the clinic

- over the telephone

- or somewhere you chose

If you are willing to talk to me, please write your name and a contact telephone number or address on the next sheet and return this to me in the prepaid envelope provided.

If you do not want to talk to me but are willing to write to me, please do so and return your letter in the prepaid envelope provided.

I realise this is a sensitive topic but everything you say or write will be confidential and I would greatly value your views.

If you wish to discuss the study further before replying, please feel free to contact me (Katrina Turner) on 01786 466308, or (staff contact) (clinic telephone number). For those of you who want to know more about my study, please read on.

During the interview, you will be asked what your experiences were from the time you learnt that you were pregnant to the time of the interview. The interview will last for as long as you wish it to and we will only discuss what you wish to mention. Furthermore, you can stop the interview at any time.

You do not have to take part in this study. However, I would greatly value your help as your views would provide an important insight into the influences which affect the decisions young women make.

If you are willing to talk to me, please write your name and a contact telephone number or address below:

Name: _____

Telephone Number:

_____

(Please indicate the best time to phone:☐ am   ☐ pm   ☐ evenings)

or

Address:

_____

_____

_____

Thank you for your time.

Katrina Turner
(University of Stirling)

Ms Katrina Turner
PhD Student
TELEPHONE: (01786) 466307

Decision Making

Young women who find themselves pregnant are faced with making the decision whether to continue with the pregnancy or to have an abortion.

Very little research has been done to find out how young women faced with this situation decide what to do. As you have been pregnant, I am writing to you to ask whether you would be willing to talk to me.

I would like to know how you felt and how you decided what to do. Your views and thoughts are important as a lot of research has been done on teenage pregnancy but teenagers are rarely asked what they think. So, here is a chance for you to voice your views and provide information which could help other women, in the future, who have to face this situation.

If you agree to take part, I could talk to you:

- at home
- in the clinic
- over the telephone
- or somewhere you chose

If you are willing to talk to me, please write your name and a contact telephone number or address on the next sheet and return this to me in the prepaid envelope provided.

If you do not want to talk to me but are willing to write to me, please do so and return your letter in the prepaid envelope provided.

I realise this is a sensitive topic but everything you say or write will be confidential and I would greatly value your views.

If you wish to discuss the study further before replying, please feel free to contact me (Katrina Turner) on 01786 466308, or (staff contact) (clinic telephone number). For those of you who want to know more about my study, please read on.

During the interview, you will be asked what your experiences were from the time you learnt that you were pregnant to the time you had an abortion. The interview will last for as long as you wish it to and we will only discuss what you wish to mention. Furthermore, you can stop the interview at any time.

You do not have to take part in this study. However, I would greatly value your help as your views would provide an important insight into the influences which affect the decisions young women make.

If you are willing to talk to me, please write your name and a contact telephone number or address below:

Name: _____

Telephone Number:

_____

(Please indicate the best time to phone: ☐ am   ☐ pm   ☐ evenings)

or

Address:

_____

_____

_____

Thank you for your time.

Katrina Turner
(University of Stirling)

Appendix 5
Interview guides

Currently Pregnant

From the time you realised that you were pregnant to the time of this interview, what events, people and personal feelings influenced your decision ?

When did you realised that you were pregnant?
What made you think you were
Was it planned
Had you been using contraception

How was it confirmed
      who
      advice given
      own feelings

Next action
      what did you do next
      who did you tell (parents, boyfriend, friends, doctors)

During your pregnancy how have you felt
Have your feelings changed. If so, how
When did you decide what you would do.

How did parents/boyfriend/friends/doctors react
What advice did they give
Did their attitude and behaviour towards you change

What are your views on young mothers

What are your views on abortion

What are your views on adoption

Was there anyone who you believed influenced your decision
Was there any event which influenced your decision

Since becoming pregnant, how did your attitudes change towards early motherhood/abortion/adoption

If you had not got pregnant, what would you be doing

Participant and sheets

From the time you realised that you were pregnant to the time of this interview, what events, people and personal feelings influenced your decision to keep your pregnancy?

When did you realised that you were pregnant?
What made you think you were
Was it planned
Had you been using contraception

How was it confirmed
        by who and what advice was given
        own feelings

Next action   what did you do next
                who did you tell (parents, boyfriend, friends, doctors)

When you were pregnant how did you feel
Did your feelings change while you were pregnant. If so, how
When did you decide that you would keep the pregnancy

How did parents/boyfriend/friends/doctors react
What advice did they give
Did their attitude and behaviour towards you change

What are your views on young mothers

Did you ever consider having an abortion
What are your views on abortion

Did you ever consider surrendering your child for adoption
What are your views on adoption

Was there anyone who you believed influenced your decision
Was there any event which influenced your decision

While you were pregnant, how did your attitudes change towards being a young mother

How has being pregnant changed you feelings towards early motherhood/abortion/adoption

If you had not got pregnant, what would you be doing

Participation and Sheets

Experienced an abortion

From the time you realised that you were pregnant to the time of this interview, what events, people and personal feelings *influenced your decision?*

When did you realised that you were pregnant?
What made you think you were
Was it planned
Had you been using contraception

How was it confirmed
    by who and what advice was given
    own feelings

Next action
    what did you do next
    who did you tell (parents, boyfriend, friends, doctors)

When you were pregnant how did you feel
Did your feelings change while you were pregnant. If so, how
When did you decide what you would do

How did parents/boyfriend/friends/doctors react
What advice did they give
Did their attitude and behaviour towards you change

What are your views on abortion

Did you ever consider keeping the child
What are your views on young mothers

Did you ever consider surrendering your child for adoption
What are your views on adoption

Was there anyone who you believed influenced your decision
Was there any event which influenced your decision

While you were pregnant, how did your attitudes change towards being a young mother

How has being pregnant changed you feelings towards early motherhood/abortion/adoption

If you had become a mother, what would have changed

Participation and Sheets

Appendix 6
Letter sent to head teachers

UNIVERSITY OF STIRLING
APPLIED SOCIAL SCIENCE
STIRLING FK9 4LA
TELEPHONE: (01786) 467691
FACSIMILE: (01786) 467689

Ms Katrina Turner
PhD Student
TELEPHONE: (01786) 466308
E-MAIL: kmt2@stir.ac.uk

Home number: 01786 448056

(date)

Dear (head teacher),

I am a Ph.D. student at Stirling University and I am writing to you in reference to my thesis.

The aim of the thesis will be to explore young women's perceptions of early motherhood. This aim has arisen from an increasing concern with the number of teenage mothers and from the fact that there is a lack of understanding concerning how young women, themselves, view this issue.

The study will consist of four parts:

1)   An analysis of routinely collected statistics.

2)   A questionnaire completed by young women aged between 14 and 16 years old.

3)   A set of focus/discussion groups held with a selected number of questionnaire respondents.

4)   One to one interviews held with teenagers who have become pregnant and have either had the child or have had an abortion.

The study design is supported by both of my supervisors (Sue Scott from Stirling University and Gillian Raab from Napier University) and staff at the Dean Terrace well women clinic have agreed to give me access to teenage mothers and women who have had abortions.

The parts of the study I wish to draw your personal attention to are stages 2 and 3. In order to obtain a suitable sample, I need to distribute questionnaires to girls in S4. This is where the heart of the study is but also where I face the greatest hurdle - gaining access to young women. I realise it is quite a request to make but would you be willing to give me access to female S4 pupils?

Before you decided whether or not to participate, please let me reassure you of a number of things. Firstly, you do not have to make a decision now. I would be most willing to come, in person, and discuss the project with you. Secondly, the study will be conducted in a professional manner. Issues of confidentiality, informed participation and data handling, will all be acknowledged and taken into account. You will see the questionnaire before it is finalised and your comments will be taken into consideration. Finally, the questionnaire will be designed so that it takes no longer than half an hour to complete and will be distributed by me. Hence, teachers' workload and important teaching time will not be affected. However, if at any stage of parts 2 and 3, you, teachers or parents, wish to discuss the study, I will be more than willing to do so.

I really would be most grateful for your support. The number of teenage pregnancies, in Britain, is of growing concern. It is unlikely that the government's Health of the Nations target to halve the number of teenage pregnancies by the year 2000 will be reached and, whilst the provision of family planning clinics and school sex education have helped to reduce the extent of this problem, there is still much to be learnt; particularly from the young people, themselves.

Thank you for your consideration. I will telephone sometime in the next week in order to hear you comments and, if you are willing, to arrange a meeting.

Yours sincerely

Katrina Turner

Information sheet for S4 pupils

Teenage Talking

A lot of research has been done on motherhood and why some women become mothers at a young age. However, so far, this research has not actually asked young people themselves, what they think about early motherhood. Therefore, I am writing to ask whether you would be willing to take part in a study I am carrying out.

I would like to find out:

> What young women think about teenagers having children.
>
> The attitudes young women hold towards early motherhood and teenage pregnancy.
>
> What factors influence the attitudes young women hold.

The study is important because it will allow young women to talk about a topic which affects their age group. This is important because:

> There is no overall agreement on what is the best outcome for a teenage pregnancy, e.g. whether the pregnancy should be aborted or kept.
>
> So far, only the views of medical professions, social workers and older generations, have been heard.
>
> Health professionals who work with young people would benefit from understanding how young people feel about pregnancy and motherhood.

The research would involve a questionnaire about your home, lifestyle, attitudes to sex and teenage pregnancy, and your experience of relationships (if any). The questionnaire would be completed in school time and I will visit the school before the survey is done to ask any questions you may have.

The questionnaire will be STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

Only I will read it.

No information will be shown to teachers, parents or anyone else who knows you.

Your name will not be written on the questionnaire or any other research information.

For a few of you the research might also involve taking part in a discussion group. This group would involve a general discussion on the topics of teenage pregnancy and motherhood.

You do not have to part take in this study. If you do agree to take part you can pull out at any stage and you need not answer any individual questions if you don't want to.

You may feel that you do not know anything about early motherhood or teenage pregnancy and therefore, can not take part. However, this research is not a test. Whatever your views and experiences are, I would like to hear them.

Thank you for reading this sheet. I look forward to visiting the school and answering any questions you may have.

Appendix 8
Introductory talk

I am Ph.D. at Stirling University and for my research project I hope to explore how young women perceive the costs and benefits of early motherhood.

Hopefully, all of you will have already seen the information sheet which I gave to Mr/Mrs X. and which explains that my study consists of two parts:

> a questionnaire
>
> a set of discussion groups

It is the questionnaire stage I hope to undertake today.

The questionnaire

The questionnaire should only take about half an hour to complete and covers the following topics:

> your family background
>
> your lifestyle
>
> what you think of school and what ambitions you have
>
> what you think about contraception, sexual relationships and teenager mothers
>
> your experiences of relationships

When reading the questionnaire you will see that I have asked for your postcode and date of birth. I have asked for this information because postcode information can be used to calculate a score which reflects the social and economic characteristics of the areas in which you live, and because I want exact information concerning your age.

Confidentiality

the questionnaires will be strictly confidential

they will not have your name on them

only I will read them

No information will be shown to your teachers, parents or friends (before you start the questionnaire, I will ask X to leave the room - you will get an envelope to put the questionnaire in once you've finished)

Choice

I very much hope you will help me, but you can choose not to take part in the study if you wish.

When filling in the questionnaire you can choose not to answer specific questions. In fact, I would much rather you left a question out rather than wrote an inaccurate answer.

This is not a test. What is important is that you give correct, honest information.

Variation in experiences

A lot of research has been done with young people and one thing that is really clear is how very varied young people's experiences are. Even people of the same school have very different experiences and beliefs.

I do not have any expectations about what you will tell me. You are all individuals with different experiences and feelings. What I would really like is for you to be a HONEST as possible (or leave the question out).

Any questions?
Anyone not want to complete the questionnaire?

Appendix 9
Flyer given to each pupil

> **If you feel the need to talk to someone about any of the subjects covered in this questionnaire:**
>
> - Remember, your Guidance teacher is there to help you, she or he is always available.
>
> - In case you don't want to talk to a teacher, **Childline** is a *free* national helpline for young people. It provides a 24-hour counselling service every day for any young person with any problems or worries. All calls are confidential. The number is **0800 1111**.
>
> *You will not have to pay for your call and it will not appear on the phone bill.*

Appendix 10
Covering letter for absentees

UNIVERSITY OF STIRLING
APPLIED SOCIAL SCIENCE
STIRLING FK9 4LA
TELEPHONE: (01786) 467691
FACSIMILE: (01786) 467689

Ms Katrina Turner
PhD Student
TELEPHONE: (01786)
466307

Date

Dear

Teenage Talking Questionnaire

Unfortunately, you were absent the day I was carrying out my study. However, I have enclosed a questionnaire for you to complete if you wish.

I have also enclosed an information sheet which explains what the study is about and reassures you that everything you say will be completely confidential.

You do not have to take part in this study but I would be most grateful if you did. If you are willing, please place the completed questionnaire in the envelope provided and take it to the school office for posting.

Thank you for your time.

Katrina Turner
(PhD researcher)

Appendix 11
Letter for teachers concerning absentees

Dear

- These questionnaires are for completion by pupils who were absent when I administered the questionnaire.

- The questionnaires have labels attached to indicate which pupils they are for. When you give the questionnaires to the appropriate pupils, please ask the pupils to pull their name of the questionnaire and dispose of their label.

- Please find as private a place as possible for the pupils to complete the questionnaire, placing the pupils under exam conditions.

- Please ask the pupil to seal their questionnaire in the envelope provided

- Please ensure that each pupils takes their sealed envelope to the school office for posting.

Thank you for your help.

Yours sincerely

Katrina Turner

Appendix 12
Researcher's Perception Sheet (Questionnaire)

School Name_____Class_____Date_____

1 = Negative   5 = Positive

Pupils privacy for completing the questionnaire	1	2	3	4	5
Staff with staff relationships	1	2	3	4	5
Staff with pupils relationships	1	2	3	4	5
Pupil with pupil relationships	1	2	3	4	5
Appearance of the school	1	2	3	4	5
Behaviour of the pupils	1	2	3	4	5
Layout of the school	1	2	3	4	5

How many times I have visited the school_____

Queries raised by the pupils

✍_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Appendix 13
Researcher's Perception Sheet (Discussion group)

School Name_____Class_____Date_____

Number of pupils attending_____

1 = Negative   5 = Positive

Group's privacy	1	2	3	4	5
Group interaction	1	2	3	4	5
Pupil with pupil relationships	1	2	3	4	5
Behaviour of the pupils	1	2	3	4	5

How many times I have visited the school_____

Queries raised by the pupils

✍ _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Length of discussion _____

Appendix 14
Researcher's Perception Sheet (Interview)

Date of Interview

Contacted through

Interviewees Details

    Name

    Age

    Situation

Interview Situation

    Place of Interview

    Level of Privacy

    Interaction with Interviewee

Length of interview

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