POLICY DISCOURSE AND TEENAGE PREGNANCY:

THE MAKING OF MOTHERS

DISSERTATION

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DEDICATION

In memory of my father, William (Billie) Rogers Pillow, who knew how to tell a good story.

To Jeremy and Kimberlé who remind me of the importance of stories and,

To "Kathy", "Erica", "Shelley" and the other young women who gave of their time and selves so that this story could be told.
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Preface

This research is situated within my own interests in political theory, social policy and educational organizations as arenas for change. I am influenced by postmodern and feminist writers who provide far-reaching critiques of the ways we go about knowing what we know. I am particularly interested in issues of "difference"—across gender, race, ethnicity, sexuality and class—and how "difference" as a category may be assigned to reinforce normative practices.

This research grew unexpectedly out of a pilot study for a qualitative methodology course I was taking. I did my pilot research at a school which had a program for teenage mothers basically because I had access to the school. I knew little about teenage pregnancy except what I had been exposed to through the media. As I began spending time in the classroom and getting to know the girls with whom, as a parent, I had much in common, I found I had to question many of my own assumptions about adolescence, teen sexuality, and teenage pregnancy.

The girls I got to know were not the girls shown to me on the cover of Newsweek or Time magazine. As I began to collect data and skim the literature in this area I became aware that teen pregnancy is an issue ripe for feminist,
poststructuralist discussion and analysis. Teen pregnancy is an issue which is entangled, emotional, conflictual and physical.

When I first began collecting data, I assumed I would write a story with the girls "about" teenage pregnancy, highlighting "their" voices and their constructions of their lives as young women and mothers. However, I began to feel there were gaps in such a story--gaps which continued to place a focus of attention and responsibility on the teen mother herself without questioning the larger social construction of teenage pregnancy as a social, education and policy problem.

Beyond research papers, governmental reports and numerous books this research is situated in the physical and contextual lives of young women who are pregnant and/or parenting. However, this research does not place the focus of its gaze and inquiry only upon teen girls but also upon the discourse and assumptions of the field of policy studies.

Like everything else, in the human sciences policy studies is being critiqued for its modernist inscriptions, especially its dependency on regulatory and scientific discourses. This research, through a case analysis of teen pregnancy policy, asks what it would mean to "unthink" these modernist traditions? What rethinking would then be possible?
INTRODUCTION TO CHAPTER I

Chapter I begins with an overview of social policy theory which situates it as an area in need of critical "unthinking" in terms of its current knowledges and practices. Teen pregnancy is presented as an educational policy issue which is also mired in dilemmas of its current theories and practices. Questions are presented (under "Focus of Intent") which guide an "unthinking" of teen pregnancy as a policy issue.

Attention is then turned to the "tools" used in this research to encourage a dismantling based upon "unthinking." Postmodern, feminist and Foucauldian theories are presented as useful in this endeavor. Genealogical inquiry is presented and discussed as a means to promote "unthinking." Special consideration is given to the question of dismantling "the subject" in this research. A short consideration of what is means to do "embodied theory and analysis" follows. Chapter I then concludes with an overview of the remaining chapters.
CHAPTER I

BEGINNINGS OF UNTHINKINGS:
POLICY DISCOURSE & TEENAGE PREGNANCY

Just east of the central African great jungle belt lies an open Savanna believed to have been the home of the first human beings—hunters and gatherers set apart from the great apes in part by their ability to walk upright, which enabled them to fashion tools. Now, studies being carried on propose that the first implements crafted by these people were not designed by men to hunt animals, as had been long assumed, but by women, to gather plants for eating.

--from "New Anthropological Finds: The Swords Started Out as Ploughshares", MS 1979

The master’s tools will never dismantle the master’s house. They may allow us temporarily to beat him at his own game, but they will never enable us to bring about genuine change.

--Audre Lorde "Sister Outsider" 1984, 112

Why Dismantling?
Policy Theory and Teen Pregnancy in the Master’s House

Policy Theory

Policies identify dilemmas of our society and attempt to remedy them. While policies often are produced with well-meaning intent, institutionalized policies often have many shortcomings and may even serve to debilitate the exact condition they wished to advocate (Elmore, 1983; McLaughlin, 1990). How does this happen and why? Policy researchers have recently focused on the differing discourses operating between
policy theory and actual policy development and policy development and actual implementation. Increasingly, the dependency of policy upon rational, scientific models of explanation has been put under suspicion (Carlson, 1993). Part of the larger crisis of modernity, recent attention has been paid to the consequences of the attachment of policy theory to scientific models for developing and implementing policy. These consequences problematize the following four commonly held assumptions of policy theory.

1. An acceptance of the policy problem (i.e., "at risk" students) as "natural" ignoring the impact that the policy process has on the construction of the problem itself (Carlson, 1993; Nathanson, 1991; Scheurich, 1994). In this way, policy theory has claimed that the policy process exists outside the political arena (Carlson, 1993).

2. An assumption that policy theory is "guided by a technical-rational assessment of what works to raise educational productivity or standards" (Carlson, 1993, 149). Policy theory thus assumes that decision makers with authority are capable of making rational decisions to develop policies which are in the best interests of society. Inclusive within this assumption of policy theory is acceptance of a characterization of the individual as someone who can be liberated. Policies are often thought of as "tools of liberation" which free individuals from oppressive power through an equalizing of power relations. In this way
individuals can be understood to have the capacity to exist outside of social constraints.

3. An acceptance, creation and legitimation of some "norm" of behavior from which policies regulate adherence and transformation of individuals who are viewed as not meeting this norm. While policies may aspire to "liberatory" functions they often do so through a categorizing of "others" against an assumed norm. This categorization often leads to policies which create and influence what we come to know as normative and legitimate versus deviant behavior. In this way, policies are viewed as operating under a "deviancy model"—naming and targeting "deviant" behavior of "others" as part of the policy process. Valerie Walkerdine (1990) cites the impact of this practice in understanding the way in which actual social practices may be discursively regulated by the production of "truths", "knowledges" about children...These produce the possibility of certain behaviors and then read them back as "true", creating a normalizing vision of the "natural child." (56)

The fourth and final problematic assumption of policy theory is:

4. An accepted lack of "agency" in political theory. Explanations of policy theory concentrate upon the values, judgments and decision-making process of individuals at the macro-level, leaving unexplored and unexplained the values,
judgments and decision-making process of individuals at the micro-level. This absence of attention at the micro-level includes both those who implement policies and those who are the recipients of policies. Stephen Ball (1990) particularly has focused his work on the absence of "agency" in policy theory. Ball's writings promote the following questions: Why have the agents (the targets, the recipients) of educational policy seemingly been left out of policy-making and policy analysis? What does this absence mean for how macro-policy formation is played out in context specific lives? What is the relationship between policy at the macro-development level and the micro-implementation level--what Hoyle (1982) refers to as the "dark side of organizational life" (87)?

Based upon the above four characteristics of policy theory it can be said that policy has traditionally been described and understood as operating under essentially regulative and scientific discourses¹. These discourses create forms of knowledge which achieve a normative and legitimate status and which are then used to structure problems and interventions (Hewitt, 1991).

¹"Discourse", which may be understood as being concerned with content, is also described by Foucault, feminist and other theorists as practices which constitute the social and the subject, creating "discursive fields" of influence which are related to the production of power-knowledge. See Henriques, et. al. (1984) for a thorough reading of "discourse", "subjectivity" and "power-knowledge."
Current critiques of policy theory situate the problematics of its theories and practices within the dependency of policy theory upon regulative and scientific discourses, that is, within the dilemmas of modernity apparent in current political theory (Ball, 1990; Carlson, 1993, Griffith, 1992; Scheurich, 1994). Educational policy is caught in the dilemmas of modernity by creating theories which discount the politics of policy-making and producing polemical definitions which simultaneously construct and ignore those for whom policy is constructed.

**Teen Pregnancy**

A case analysis of teen pregnancy policy is utilized in this research to explore policy development and implementation. Teenage pregnancy is increasingly targeted as a policy, and specifically an educational policy issue. It has been called a "national scandal", an indication of "a failure of American society" (NCHS 1991). Teen pregnancy is described as tragic without qualification and Constance Nathanson (1991) characterizes the efforts to address the problems of teen pregnancy as a "minor industry in the U.S." (145). The accepted pervasiveness of teenage pregnancy as a public problem has fueled pre-existing moral concerns surrounding issues of contraception, abortion, single parenting and female sexuality (Foucault, 1974/1990; MacIntyre & Cunningham-Burley, 1993; Nathanson, 1991).
Teen pregnancy is identified as a costly burden—both economically and in terms of human suffering—for the individual and society. Conventional analysis generally associates teenage pregnancy with a variety of adverse consequences. Research exploring attributes, characteristics and causal factors in teen pregnancy are highly similar in their findings. While philosophical, political and scholarly interests may vary, there is a high rate of correspondence concerning who the pregnant teenager is and what her^2 individual, family and social characteristics are.

Teen pregnancy literature can be viewed as operating through the same four problematic assumptions as policy theory. These include:

1. Teen pregnancy as a policy issue and as a topic of literature is exists outside the political arena. However, several recent works have situated teenage pregnancy as a policy issue which encompasses and confronts the values of traditional social and educational policy with the dilemmas of sexuality and gender (Nathanson, 1991; Lawson & Rhode, 1993). Lawson and Rhode (1993) explain the "sense of crisis" surrounding teen pregnancy in America as "less the rate of births to teenage women than the socioeconomic context in which those births occur and the cultural ideology they

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^2I use her purposely as the majority of teen pregnancy literature is targeted upon identifying who the teen mother is, why she became pregnant and what kind of parent she will be.
challenge" (3). These author's thus describe teen pregnancy as a policy issue which is controversial and political.

2. Teen pregnancy literature and implementation programs are based upon rational assessments of who teen parents are and what types of intervention programs will be most effective. Teenage pregnancy is typically approached by identifying the problem of teenage pregnancy; identifying characteristics of teenage parents--"at risk" characteristics; and identifying and evaluating prevention strategies. Louise Flick (1984) developed the method below to use in understanding the factors influencing a teenage girl to become a mother. This methodology and her five categories of factors are commonly used and followed in ongoing and current literature pertaining to teenage pregnancy.

These characteristics and behaviors are then often used to identify teens who may be "at risk" and provide a focus for programmatic intervention. The five factors include:

* demographics (race, income, education, urban/rural location);
* family (family size, relationship with family members);
* individual (educational and occupational aspirations, sense of the future);
* peer group; and
* couple (relationship with the boyfriend and interpersonal communication skills)

Nathanson (1991) aligns such characterizations of teen pregnancy with a discourse of medical illness which subjects teen pregnancy to diagnosis and treatment. Current attempts to find monocausal links to teen pregnancy have been overly
simplistic. Sally Macintyre and Sarah Cunningham-Burley (1993) cite one of their favorite conclusions of teen pregnancy research: "Probably one of the most immediate causes of adolescent births is intercourse itself" (63). Such research ignores the complexity of teen pregnancy within a larger societal framework (including issues of gender, race and class), allowing contributing factors to be distorted or denied (Sidel, 1990; Stewart, 1981). Additionally, several researchers have claimed that the problems directly associated with teenage pregnancy are overstated and may be better situated within a larger scope of unavailability of pre- and post-natal care, inadequate child-care options and economic deprivation (Pearce, 1993; Phoenix, 1993; Rhode, 1993). In sum, teen pregnancy literature relies upon rational, scientific assessments to produce causal taxonomies.

3. Teen pregnancy policy supports the acceptance, creation and legitimation of some "norm" of behavior from which teens who are pregnant and/or parenting are situated as deviant. Research articles building from Flick's categories present a listing of problems associating teen pregnancy with "deviant" behavior including: illegitimacy, school delinquency, higher drop-out rates, poverty (placing undue burden on welfare system)³, single parent homes, increased

³There has been an entrenched and increasing sentiment that AFDC acts as an inducement for recipients—particularly young, single mothers to become pregnant in order to "get more money from the system". This has been refuted by numerous internal studies as well as a study
health and psychological problems for mother and child, and
greater developmental and education-related problems for the
child of teen mother (Rhode & Lawson, 1993, 5).

Furthermore, teenage pregnancy is often discussed and
analyzed through distinct binaries. These binaries--
"good/bad", "minority/white", "irresponsible/responsible",
"immoral/moral"--are then used to develop policies and
programs to remedy the problems associated with teenage
pregnancy. How does a reliance upon binaries and
characterization of teen pregnancy as "deviant" affect policy
development? To date intervention and prevention programs
aimed at teenage pregnancy have served a small percentage of
adolescents, rarely address contraceptive use, and on the
whole are described as ineffectual in altering behavior
(Nathanson, 1991). The fourth and final problematic
assumption of teen pregnancy literature is:

4. An accepted lack of "agency" in teen pregnancy
literature which renders the adolescent parent as the "target"
of intervention. Teen pregnancy research repeatedly assumes
that pregnant teens have made "poor life decisions" and are
"incapable" of making "appropriate decisions" about their
futures (Lees, 1987). Additionally, while teen pregnancy
research seems mired in normative and binary assumptions about

of 36 developed countries with more generous welfare
benefits than the U.S. which found that even with
increased support the other countries reported lower
teenage pregnancy rates (Foster, 1986).
race and class, teen pregnancy research is noticeably absent regarding critical discussions of the effects of gender, race, sexuality and class on teen pregnancy. Only recently have works addressing the intersection of gender, race and class in young women's lives become available (Cussick, 1989; Weiler, 1988; Wolpe, 1988). The topic of teenage pregnancy, specifically, has not been addressed by critical feminist discourses. Such discourses would address the role of patriarchy, sex role stereotyping, economic opportunities, an engendered social construction of pregnancy, and female sexuality in relation to teenage pregnancy.

Hence, teen pregnancy research and policy interventions can be understood as entrenched in positivist/reformist assumptions which reflect our paradoxical attitudes and practices concerning female sexuality. Teen sexuality and pregnancy for young girls cannot be examined separately from the "double bind" they often find themselves in, "good girl", "bad girl" expectations and delimitations. It has been argued that many current policies and practices surrounding sex education and teen pregnancy programs fail to critically examine or acknowledge the current and historical power relations prevalent in the construction of female/male identities and sexuality (McRobbie, 1991; Weiler, 1988).

Presenting itself as a complicated policy issue, teen pregnancy is entrenched in emotion laden values of adolescence, sexuality, and moral and religious views of
abortion and contraceptive use. Discussions of teen sexuality and pregnancy remain stymied in modernist values and stigmatizing dualisms. Is teen pregnancy a moral or religious problem, a social problem, or a problem of too early sexual activity? It is the central argument of this work that the way teenage sexuality and pregnancy is defined plays a vital role in what types of policies and programs are designed to address it.

From Re-thinking to Un-thinking/Focus of Intent

A meta-critique of policy theory and teen pregnancy literature as caught in the dilemmas of modernist discourses and practices provides the underlying task and impetus for this work. Teen pregnancy literature, research and discourse is caught in the same dilemmas of the scientific, rational discourses of public policy theory. In their current "disembodied" states, both fields face limits in their attempts at characterization and transformation.

This research looks at the entrenchment of discourses of rationality and morality in educational policy and teenage pregnancy research and asks what the consequences of these discourses are for policy and program implementation. To do this, this research utilizes theorists who problematize modernity to explore the relationship between individuals and policy, micro-implementation and macro-development, through a policy analysis of a statewide program serving pregnant and parenting teenagers in high schools in Ohio.
Educational policy surrounding the issue of teenage pregnancy was chosen because of its timeliness as a topic of social concern and because its position offers a unique opportunity to engage in policy analysis which is, for me, political, personal, and embodied in issues of gender, race, sexuality and class. The purpose of this research is not to discount the very real difficulties posed by teenage pregnancy for the teen parent, child and society. Nor is the purpose of this research to present and evaluate statistical data related to teen pregnancy in traditional case study fashion.¹

This research instead attempts to examine the social construction of teen pregnancy as a policy issue and ask what impact this construction has had on policy development and implementation. Additionally this research considers the use of feminist and postmodern theories to offer a means to discuss the issues surrounding teenage sexuality and pregnancy in a way which tracks the work of operative binaries and explicates how the role of sexism and gender identity may structure the "problem" of teen sexuality and pregnancy.

¹Statistical data relating to teen pregnancy will be presented throughout the following chapters only in relation to discussions of the larger social construction of teen pregnancy as a policy issue. However, for the reader who desires, comprehensive demographics and statistics relating to teenage pregnancy in the United States are presented in Appendix A. These statistics while not necessary to the reading of this research may prove fruitful in providing background and context to the remaining chapters.
Foucault's theories provide tools for considering the larger social construction of teenage pregnancy and sexuality, questioning for whom and by whom the issue of teenage pregnancy is being named, classified and regulated. Implicit to this research is an exploration of power relations played out through policies—in this case a policy regulating teenage pregnancy and parenting.

Studies of power tend to privilege either the organization or the individual leading to determinist accounts or individual self-actualization. This lends itself to a view of "undesirable practices in organizations as abuse, which can be remedied by good interpersonal relations and a new ethic" (Hollway, 1984, 56). It is not the intent of this research to identify "new ethics", but rather, as Foucault (1977) argues, to uncover strategies of power as they are camouflaged in the assumptive discourses and practices of political theory.

While this research in its theory, methodology and analysis acknowledges that the entrenchment of discourses and practices in policy theory related to teen pregnancy "already belong to the organization of knowledge in the service of the master" (Godvich 1994, 21), its goal is not to engage in inquiry which is simply resistant or develops an inverted hierarchy of knowing.

Many postmodern and feminist writers point to the dilemmas of doing such resistant dismantling (Trinh, 1989 & 1991). Trinh Minh-Ha (1991) reminds us that "'breaking rules'
still refers to rules" (59). Trinh (1989) describes "the master" as "omnipresent even in his absent being" and speaks to the difficulties of writing which proposes to expose "some of the premises of oppression and hegemony" as often becoming accepted "into our discourse the very moment we apply ourselves to denouncing them" (49). Additionally, as Godvich states, such resistance "is the ultimate ruse of the system: it seeks nothing so much as an opposition, for it can then absorb it within itself" (21). Thus, in this research, I turn repeatedly to the body and theories of the body to interrupt normative practices, resist hierarchical arguments and explore uncontrollable paths. I term this approach "embodied theory and analysis", which is attached not so much to a re-thinking but rather an un-thinking in its dismantling.

In order to develop theories and analyses of educational policy and programs which are "embodied"¹, I will rely upon the interaction of feminist, Foucault, and postmodern theories to work through, against, and around reviewed literature, existing data and current analysis. The goal in doing so is not one of neat agreement, creative argument or tidy taxonomy,

¹I am pulling here from Foucault, feminist and sociological discussions of the body. I would characterize this approach to be one which seeks to historicize and identify constructions of gender, race, class and identity, countering polemic dualisms and unmasking liberatory discourse. For further clarification see the discussion of "embodied theory and analysis" at the end of this chapter. For a more comprehensive discussion of this subject see Chapter II "Toward an Embodiment of Educational Policy".
but to evoke the "dark side" of policy theory through a case study of teenage pregnancy as a policy issue.

Drawing upon Foucault's methodology\(^6\), particular attention will be paid to situating current educational policy discourses and characterizations of teen sexuality, pregnancy and parenting within a historical, contextual understanding. Foucault, feminist and postmodern theories provide linkages and juxtapositions for questions which drive this study.

These questions are presented not so much as answerable research questions but as representations of the thinking and logic used to drive the conceptualization of this study. While the questions are displayed in a linear fashion, perhaps from "least answerable" to "most answerable", they should be understood as connected—emotive, generating, rhizomatic—and interacting with one another (specifically, the last question may be linked back to the first question).

- What has been "embodied" in the crisis of teenage pregnancy?
- What role does gender play in the defining of teenage pregnancy?
- Why do young American women continue to have such high rates of unintended pregnancies?
- What makes early childbearing problematic? For whom? And under what circumstances?
- What do these questions reveal in terms of policy implications?

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\(^{I am referring to genealogy here. A discussion of genealogy and its usefulness to "embodied theory and analysis" follows in this chapter.}\)
What role has policy played in constructing the responses to these questions or in constructing the problem itself?

Through examination of the above questions teen pregnancy as an educational policy issue will be analyzed, situated and discussed in a way that is "embodied", historical and contextual. Specifically, I will examine how regulatory discourses construct policy alternatives and the role policy analysis plays in this construction. The analysis will further explore how these constructions and discourses are experienced--taken up, resisted or ignored--in teen pregnancy classrooms by the teachers and students. This analysis occurs within an effort to question and critique the "natural" emergence of teen pregnancy as a social problem in an attempt to identify, position and unthink the ways we usually think about social problems--in this case teen pregnancy.

Tools for Dismantling

This research is situated within the intricacies and interactions of postmodern, feminist and Foucauldian theories which in varying ways call for a dismantling of the master's house. A brief introduction of the key concepts used in this research are presented. The following discussions of these concepts and theories are here to help identify and situate how I am using and being influenced by these concepts in this research. Hopefully, they will allow the reader to more actively interact and engage with the text.
Postmodernism

Postmodernism offers a discourse of plurality, difference and multinarratives. Giroux (1991, 17) states: "the value of postmodernism lies in its role as a shifting signifier that both reflects and contributes to the unstable cultural and structural relationships that increasingly characterize the advanced industrial countries of the West." Postmodernism: ...pulls the rug out from under itself, displaying an acute self-consciousness about the work's constructed nature. It takes pleasure in the play of surfaces, and derides the search for depth as mere nostalgia....It (postmodernism) self-consciously splices genres, attitudes, styles. It relishes the blurring of juxtaposition of forms (fiction-non-fiction), stances (straight-ironic), moods (violent-comic), cultural levels (high-low). (Postmodernism, Utne Reader, 1989, 52)

Particularly useful in consideration of policy discourse is postmodernism's questioning of reason (Giroux, 1991; Fraser & Nicholson, 1988). Postmodernism rejects a notion of reason that is objective and universal. Reason can only be understood when placed in a broader historical, political and social struggle over the relationship between language and power.
This calls into question the dominant and liberal commitment to Enlightenment values. Peller (1987) writes:

Indeed the whole way that we conceive of liberal progress (overcoming prejudice in the name of the truth, seeing through the distortions of ideology to get at reality, surmounting ignorance and superstition with the acquisition of knowledge) is called into question. (Postmodernism) suggests that what has been presented in our social-political and our intellectual traditions as knowledge, truth, objectivity, and reason are actually merely the effects of a particular form of social power, the victory of a particular way of representing the world that then presents itself as beyond mere interpretation, as truth itself. (30)

Postmodernism presents a challenge to the cultural politics of modernism at several different levels. Emily Hicks (1988) explains that modernism frames culture within rigid boundaries. These boundaries are formed in the language of universals and oppositions that both privilege and exclude around the categories of race, ethnicity, class and gender.

Giroux (1991) centers postmodern challenges to modernist cultural politics on three issues. First, postmodernism has broadened discussions regarding the relationship between culture and power. Second,
postmodernism raises a "new set of questions" about how
culture is inscribed in the production and reproduction of
post-colonial forms of subjugation. This provides not only
examinations of intersections of race, class and gender but
also new ways of reading and reclaiming history (Trinh,
1989; Spivak, 1987). Third, postmodernism breaks down the
distinction between high and low culture, rejecting
"official" centers for knowledge as the only production of
knowledge.

Feminism and Postmodernism

The relationship between feminism and postmodernism has
been characterized by debate and controversy. The desire
to establish a correspondence between feminism and
postmodernism has been described by Gayatri Spivak (1990) as
"worth no more than the satisfaction of coherence" (34). I
have sought in my own readings and in my research not to
find a "coherence" between these two bodies of thought and
practice but to use varying theories of feminism,
postmodernism and womanist writings to inform, challenge and
conflict with one another, aiding in understandings of
privilege, positions, representations, and assumptive
understandings.

For explication of this controversy and further
discussion of this relationship refer to Linda Nicholson
beautifully transgresses and blurs the lines between
feminism, postmodernism and womanist theories in her
discussions of "representation, gender and cultural
politics".
Feminism also offers strategies for unthinking the way we normally think. The relationship between feminism and postmodernism has been widely discussed, thus, for the scope of this research at this point, only two points will be highlighted. First, recent feminist work on gender and education, influenced by postmodern and Foucauldian theories, have extended their discussions beyond gender as a site for individualized equal opportunity to viewing gender as constructed, fluid and situated within a larger social context (Butler, 1990; Walkerdine, 1990; Weiler, 1988; Wolpe, 1989).

Thus postmodernism has informed and influenced feminist theories to critique more closely issues of identity, essentialism, and binary constructs and provided a broader social context for critique. Second, feminist theory has criticized and extended a number of assumptions central to postmodernism. Primarily, feminist theory’s rejection of a postmodern emphasis on erasing human agency by decentering the subject (Giroux, 1991) has effectively linked power not only to discourse but also to material practices and struggles.

While many volumes explore this relationship in feminism, Judith Butler and Joan Scott’s (1992) edited volume provides a comprehensive reading in this area. Additionally, many works explore the possibilities of feminist methodologies and practices in the social sciences including Harding (1987), Lather (1991), and Reinhartz (1992).
Thus, feminist theory provides the "political" which is often viewed as missing in postmodern theories. This is the second point. Feminism linked with postmodernism provides a "grounded politics" which acknowledges the interrelationship between human agents and social structures. Postmodernism seeks an undoing which feminism politicizes.

Foucault and Genealogy

The works of Michel Foucault (1979, 1984) offer important insight into the effects of "dismantling" or "unthinking". Foucault situates the production and reproduction of power and knowledge, and resulting practices, within a social construct. Foucault pays implicit attention to details, thus unmasking and questioning what traditionally may seem innate or natural, displaying the "power of the norm".

This research is influenced by Foucault's method of genealogy. Genealogy as a mode of inquiry has been most associated with Foucault (1990, 1979) and Nietzsche (Schacht, 1994). Volumes of theoretical chapters and books

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Foucault is known for very specific forms of analysis of which genealogy is one. Genealogy was chosen for this research instead of its close cousin "archaeology" due to its "wider scope" and its focus on "the mutual relations between systems of truth and modalities of power" (Davidson, 1986, 224). Genealogy as inquiry is also intimately linked to "a history of the body" which is useful for this research—although this research does not pretend to meet the historical rigor of Foucault's analyses.
have been devoted to this topic and thus the following
"definition" of genealogy will of necessity be simply stated
in terms of its relevance for and usage in this research.

Conway (1994) characterizes "the goal of Nietzsche's
critical philosophy as the elimination of the surplus
suffering engendered by Western morality" (320).
Nietzsche's genealogy is based upon an "alternative critical
vocabulary" including "symptomatology" (Conway, 1994, 321).
Genealogical symptomatology includes an attempt to identify
and "sort out" meanings, ways of knowing, and "determine how
a single constellation of meaning gained ascendancy and
authority" (Conway, 1994, 324).

Genealogy require enormous attention to detail working
to "seek not a meaning, but a precaution" (Foucault,
1977/1984, 183). Genealogy avoids absolutes, or conclusions
and is driven by a commitment to "a process of disruptive
inscription" (Shapiro, 1992, 1). Genealogy is further
linked to studying the inscription and linkages of power,
knowledge and discourse.

Foucault (1977) points out that Nietzschean genealogy is
concerned with "tracing a descent". Foucault (1977) further
states "the search for descent [Herkunft] is not the
erecting of foundations: on the contrary, it disturbs what
was thought unified; it shows the heterogeneity of what was
imagined consistent with itself" (147). Conway (1994),
through this line of thought, describes genealogy as
"parsitically inhabit(ing) the dominant interpretation", as
"preying upon the normal" (324-25).

Shapiro (1992) characterizes genealogy as disclosing
"the operation of power in places in which familiar, social,
administrative and political discourses tend to disguise or
naturalize it" (1). Genealogy thus occurs in places where
this type of analysis is rarely done--questioning norms,
rationality and "official" discourses while continually
resisting putting forth any other form of rationality.

Gutting (1989) describes genealogy as the analysis of
"the development of bodies of knowledge out of systems of
power" (6). Foucault (1977/1984) calls this attempt to
identify, locate and analyze discourses and practices of
knowledge and power "the genealogy of the modern subject"
(7). Foucault thus brings notions of subjects, agency and
bodies into genealogy as inquiry, stating that his goal "has
not been to analyze the phenomena of power" but, instead, to
"create a history" of how "human beings are made subjects"
(Foucault, 1982/1984, 7).

Genealogy in this way is "anchored in the multiplicity"
of "'micropractices', the social practices that constitute
everyday life in modern societies" (Fraser, 1989, 18).
Genealogy is concerned with tracing the effects of power and
knowledge through the "incommensurable networks of social
practices involving the mutual interrelationship of
constraint and discourse" (Fraser, 1989, 20).
Genealogy acknowledges the "politics of everyday life" by demonstrating that "power is everywhere and in everyone" (Fraser, 1989, 26). Genealogy includes an analysis of power at all levels and provides not "so much a new theory of power as a new approach to the problems of power in modern societies" (Davidson, 1986, 225).

Genealogy is useful in this research due to its "meticulous" inquiry and emphasis on "disruption". Genealogical inquiry destabilizes normative assumptions of educational policy theory and analysis and forms a method of identifying the functions and purposes of such assumptions. Genealogical inquiry further requires an identification of the functions of these assumptions (forms of power, knowledge and discourse) at both the macro- and micro-level, without placing one or the other in a position of higher authority or legitimacy.

Genealogy is conducive as a framework through which postmodern, feminist and Foucauldian theories can interact, inform and disrupt each other. For example, Foucault's analyses of power have been criticized for a lack of attention to how issues of gender, race or class interact with disciplinary techniques of the body, perpetuating a "gender blindness" predominant in social theory (McNay, 1992). Fraser (1990) feels this absence in Foucault's writings tend to suggest "incorrectly, that policy discourses emanate unidirectionally from specialized,
governmental or quasi-governmental institutions" (174). Fraser finds Foucault lacking in consideration of social movements' roles in "politicizing needs" and the conflicts, resistances and interpretations which arise from such movements.

Thus, feminist theories further Foucault's analyses by questioning and explicating what gender has to do with the construction and reproduction of social norms. Feminism explores constructions of gender, race, sexuality and class (as well as other "difference" categories) in relation to current and normative differences in power relations, knowledges and practices, rewriting histories and imploding current practices with personal, political and fluid constructions of self. Furthermore, postmodern theories of identity combined with feminist and Foucauldian theory disrupt the existence of dualisms prevalent in the formation of a norm and problematizes notions of subjectivity.

**Dismantling the Subject?**

What happens to the subject, to individual agency in the fluid world of postmodernism? This question has led to several volumes of debate encountering issues of gender, race, and power (Anzaldúa, 1990). A question of agency is vital to a study of policy analysis which purposes to effect change and develop programs for subjects.

In policy literature, discourse, theorizing and analysis, the use of "agent" is used to name those who are
involved in policy development (Kogan, 1975). Agency as it appears in contemporary moral, political and legal philosophy is a property of "persons" and is derived from the seventeenth-century liberal tradition (O'Neill, 1989). This notion of "agency" assumes a unitary, rational subject.

This use of "agency" or "subjectivity" has been much critiqued both in postmodernist and feminist literature. The use of the term "agency" in this document reflects the insights of those critiques and relies upon a conception of "agency" as developed by Judith Butler.

Butler questions reliance upon a universal subject or static agency asking: what power relations exist and seek to exist in the claiming of a universal subject? "Universal" as a category has been highly exposed for its ethnocentric biases (Butler, 1992; Trinh, 1991). Butler (1992) suggests not doing away with the category of the universal, but to attempt to "relieve the category of its foundationalist weight in order to render it as a site of permanent political contest" (8). Thus, Butler seeks to avoid any comprehensive universality by forming a universality that is "left permanently open, permanently contested, permanently contingent" (8).

Butler (1992) suggests that agency belongs to a way of thinking about "persons as instrumental actors who confront an external political field" (13). Thus, politics and power already exist at the level at which the subject and agency
are rendered and made possible. The condition of being a subject is dynamic and multiple--always positioned in relation to particular discourses and practices (Henriques, et.al., 1984). Butler (1992) states that "agency is always and only a political prerogative" (13). Butler (1992) also cites the importance of consideration of the fact that subjects are often constituted through exclusion--by class, race, gender, sexual identity--"through the creation of a domain of deauthorized subjects, presubjects, figures of abjection, populations erased from view" (13). It becomes crucial to ask who qualifies as a "who?" What systematic structures of disempowerment make it possible for some subjects to invoke an "I" while some subjects are regulated to a position of "other?" As is demonstrated in policy literature, and further critiqued by Foucault, one way domination works is through the regulation and production of subjects.

Butler (1992) argues that deconstructing the subject, the allowance of a variety of subjects, is not the end of the subject but, on the contrary, serves to "release the term into a future of multiple significations, to emancipate it from the maternal or racialist ontologies to which it has been restricted, and to give it play as a site where unanticipated meaning might come to bear" (16).

Butler (1992) argues that when the referent becomes unfixed it "enables an enhanced sense of agency." McNay
(1992) furthers this description writing that the "relationship between structure and agency must be grasped as dynamic, not static; existing structures are reproduced by human agents who modify and change these structures to differing degrees as they are shaped by them" (60). This understanding of "agency" corresponds to and increases interaction with postmodernist, Foucauldian and feminist discussion of "the body." The use of "agency" in this research follows the line of questioning established by Judith Butler and therefore should not be interpreted as the static and unified "agent" or "agency" assumed within traditional political theory.

**Embodied Theory and Analysis**

Educational policy and teenage pregnancy literature and policy interventions have been presented as arenas which remain "disembodied"—unreflexive about their assumptions, disclusive of subjects, and removed from bodies in the sense of ignoring critical considerations of gender, race, sexuality and class issues while at the same time objectifying and subjecting bodies to simplistic discussions of gender, race, sexuality and class. Feminist, Foucault and postmodern theories of the body are presented as tools which are useful in an attempt to embody theory and analysis.

For this research "embodied theory and analysis" includes an attempt to engage in inquiry, questioning and
analysis which is reflexive and informed by bodies and characterizations of bodies. Primary consideration will be given to the complicated practices of objectification and subjectification of bodies involved in teenage pregnancy policy development, implementation and analysis at both the macro- and micro- levels.

Embodyed Theory

Foucault and feminist theorists understand and situate the body (and the gendered body) as crucial to understanding the dilemmas of modernity. Feminist, Foucauldian, and postmodern discussions of the body interrupt and disrupt political theory’s adherence to rational decision-making, modernist claims, and often unconscious and unquestioned acceptance of a norm. To address issues related the relationship between the individual and policy (micro-implementation and macro-development), it will be necessary to reach beyond imposed, reductive accounts of identity, agency and subjectivity characterized by dualisms of mind/body and individual/society.

Foucault’s work aligns with feminist theory’s attention to the body as a site of inscription and resistance. Feminist theory first focused this attention upon the body as gendered but more recently has begun situating work within larger social contexts, considering the multiple ways female bodies are politicized—from sexuality, mothering, beauty practices, heterosexual norms, medical practices,
female illnesses such as anorexia and bulimia, to exploring the gender-power politics at play in legal, medical and social policy practices (Bordo 1989, 1990, 1993).

Genealogical inquiry is closely related to "embodied theory and analysis". Genealogy's emphasis on the discursive formation and influence of power and knowledge on "micropractices" requires an attention to agency and to bodies. Foucault (Rabinow, 1984) identifies power's regulatory discourses as being played out through and in bodies. Bodies carry their own histories. Foucault (1984) describes how regulatory discourses can lead to "dividing practices and scientific classification."

Bodies/subjects in this way can be "victims" of objectification. Foucault characterizes this in the usage of his term "docile bodies." However, Foucault also identifies a form of "subjectification"--the way a person turns her- or himself into a subject--as "biopower." "Biopower" operates through regulatory discourses in ways which are invisible yet effectual at shaping bodies and practices through self-surveillance. Genealogy aims to identify the "disciplinary" discourses and practices which manipulate and control bodies.

**Embodied Analysis**

Due to my interest in exploring and situating the discourses surrounding the issue of teenage pregnancy as a social and educational policy problem, it was necessary to
develop inquiry based upon multiple strategies and sites\textsuperscript{10}. Thus, in addition to identification of social discourses constructing teen pregnancy, this research also incorporates a case analysis of a policy program for teen parents in the state of Ohio.

The case analysis allows for the possibility for theorizing policy and policy making (Ball, 1990). Howell & Brown (1983) assert that the "...carefully constructed case study can be just as fruitful in explaining the policy-making process--and sometimes more so--than the statistically-based survey" (14).

Case studies have typically focused on the process of policy formation at the macro-level. Case studies, as the policy analysts' tool, do not tend to question the existence of the policy problem or program itself, rather they begin with an acceptance of a problem as "natural" and thus serve to further legitimate the problem by presenting an analysis of its continuing existence. Case studies establish and in turn are established by regulatory practices and in this way further the social construction of policy problems.

I wish to be "more adventurous" (Ball, 1990) and develop a case study which examines the regulatory functions of policy development, implementation and analysis by turning the gaze of macro-theory on itself. This approach

\textsuperscript{10}This inquiry and strategies are further elaborated in Chapter III.
requires reflection and an unthinking of the assumptions of policy theory and lends itself to asking what functions are served by social problem construction and traditional case analysis.

In order to further explicate what the effects of those functions are, this case analysis will look at the effects of regulatory discourses in and on the bodies of teachers and teen parents at the micro/classroom level. The intent of this analysis is not to analyze the "outcomes", "progress" or "worth" of the program studied as in typical policy analysis, but to track the workings of regulatory discourses in the naming of teenage pregnancy as an educational policy issue and to further analyze the impact and function of these discourses in policy development and implementation. An embodied analysis further identifies silences and absences and questions their functions.

This analysis of the social construction of teen pregnancy as a policy issue can best be understood as gathered, constructed and presented as an interconnected network whose boundaries are fluid and not contained even within the artificial limits placed upon them here. Thus research "data", theoretical background and analysis cannot be easily separated. For example, Chapter II provides an overview of discourses in educational policy theory and teenage pregnancy literature which provides "data" necessary
to understand and historically situate the role of modernist discourse in the construction of policy problems.

When does an embodied analysis end? Is this question antithetical to the very desires of doing "embodied analysis"? If I had to name an ending or stopping point for this research it occurred when I no longer found information that impacted or altered previous information. However, I found this process of analysis and tangling of information and bodies to be on-going throughout analysis and writing.

I have found my own voices and priorities to change throughout the following text as I satisfy myself, academic requirements, a notion of producing something "useful", and a conscious effort to "tell the stories" that the girls I talked with came to want to be told. Thus, this research has been based on a methodology that is on-going, additive and disruptive.

OVERVIEW OF CHAPTERS

Chapter II presents a literature review relating to modernist traditions in educational and social policy theory demonstrating how such traditions have created political and embodied "absences" in this field. Attention then turns to literature pertaining to "the body" as a site/target for reform of social policy. In an attempt to "embody" educational policy, historical and culturally specific discussions of the body are explored through feminist, Foucauldian, and postmodernist readings of the body.
Teenage pregnancy (and thus teen sexual activity) as a policy issue is then examined in terms of how teen pregnancy comes to be defined as a policy problem. A feminist response to the absences in this literature is presented related to sexism in sex education programs, "gendered" pregnancies, and fluctuating identities. Chapter II concludes with a discussion of "policies, bodies and feminisms" exploring how a combination of "embodied policy evaluation and discourse" may curtail current absences in policy theory particularly in the area of teenage pregnancy policy.

Chapter III describes the background to the study discussing the influences of theoretical and methodological perspectives. The research design including setting, participants and types and methods of data analysis are then described. This chapter concludes with a discussion of the issue of validity and what it means for this inquiry. Representation is discussed as a validity issue and as a factor in data analysis and write up.

Chapters IV and V represent the data analysis chapters. Chapters IV and V present analysis which attempts to think about how we come to know what we think we know about teen pregnancy. Chapter IV examines this phenomenon at the social/macro-level while Chapter V examines how what we think we know about teen pregnancy is played out in classrooms and teen girls lives. Chapter IV begins with an
analysis of the larger social construction of teen pregnancy—the stories told through statistics and demographic representations and the stories told by the teen pregnancy program itself. For example the program’s goals, curriculum and evaluation measures are presented as speaking a discourse about the program and about the teen parents it serves.

These stories are described as "official stories" which are traditionally not subjected to critical investigation. A retelling of these stories reveals their absences and silences. Chapter IV further situates these stories within the larger social context by considering the impact of media and popular culture on these discourses.

Chapter V continues analysis by presenting the "classroom stories" of program implementation and teen pregnancy. These stories contain the personal stories of the program teachers and teen girls who are pregnant and/or parenting. Specifically Chapter V considers how these stories take up, work with or counter the discourses of "official stories." Additionally a consideration of physical classroom environments and classroom placement within schools—the architecture—is discussed in terms of implementation and shaping of teen girls' bodies.

It is important to note that the boundaries created between Chapter IV and V are artificial and were developed for purposes of organization and intelligibility. The
chapters attempt to present a "picture" of the social construction of teen pregnancy from a macro- social level to the micro- classroom level. The physical separation of this analysis across chapters is not implying a set hierarchical arrangement between macro- and micro- influences.

The chapters, particularly Chapter V, attempt to demonstrate the interrelatedness and fluidity of these boundaries through consideration of how a combination of discourses--"official", classroom and personal--impact the "lived experiences" of young girls who are pregnant. Additionally the concepts of "regulatory control", "surveillance" and "bio-power" are developed as themes of analysis across both chapters with an attempt to identify interaction of these themes between macro- and micro levels.

Lastly, Chapter VI considers the implications of this research for educational policy theory. Specifically the dilemmas posed through modernist discourses and interpretations of "crisis" talk and "needs" talk for policy theory is addressed. Additionally, the need for multiple forms of inquiry in the arena of policy implementation and evaluation is emphasized.
CHAPTER II

EMBODIED READINGS OF POLICY AND TEENAGE PREGNANCY LITERATURE: DEFINITIONS, CONTEXTS, ABSENCES AND FEMINISMS

Chapter II presents an analysis and identification of policy discourse as situated in modernist traditions which creates "disembodied" spaces. Postmodern, Foucauldian and feminist discussions of the body are presented in an attempt to move policy analysis to an "embodied" space. Teenage pregnancy is approached as a case study of policy discourse by reviewing how current absences and practices of gender affect teen pregnancy as a policy issue.

Postmodern, Foucault and feminist bodies of research are used to interrupt and fragment the "crisis" discourses surrounding teenage pregnancy and sexuality, revealing their embedded practices. This effort questions and explicates how the political making of teen pregnancy as a "crisis" and "gendered" issue impacts policy development and program intervention.

Educational Policy Theory

What is educational policy? Scholars of educational policy typically begin their writings by pointing out that there is no theory to explain educational policy (Ball, 1990; Marshall, Mitchell & Wirt 1989). Theory specific to
educational policy has remained, until recently, an area under-represented in the arena of social policy, receiving little attention from political scientists or students of public administration (Howell & Brown, 1983). Ball (1990) cites the almost total absence of references to educational policy in the literature of social policy in the post-war era. Educational policy seemed a "conceptual oddness" (Ashford, 1981), a "precocious" arena for young theorists (Ahier, 1983).

The 1980s saw a proliferation of research pertaining to educational policy and theory. Why the concern and interest in educational policy now? It may be that the arena of educational policy is ready for the scholarly attention that it has not yet received. Wildavsky (1980) suggests that economic difficulties, political tensions, the threat of real or imagined crises and the challenges and criticisms facing public education have focused policy-makers, at all levels, on the choices, dilemmas and possibilities of educational policy.

Education has traditionally been viewed as the site where the hopes, dreams and promises of the past can be turned into a better future, incorporating educational ideals of excellence, equity and equality. Education has been a termed a "socially volatile" activity perhaps because it incorporates so much at once: a "hope that man [sic] may change himself so as to be happier, more productive, and a
good neighbor: and the hope that social arrangements can incorporate both the best of the past and the promise of the future" (Kogan, 1975, 26).

To begin understanding educational policy, literature pertaining to social policy must first be considered. Stone (1988) points out, however, that the study of public policy itself has remained devoid of theory, relying instead on descriptive models of policy formation. Traditional models of social policy were influenced by early research on group dynamics and studies of the sociology of power and thus, emphasized structure, inputs, outputs and roles (Kimbrough, 1964). These influences formed a traditional rational assessment of the public policy process.

**Modernist Traditions**

While the arena of social and educational policy may be described as "devoid of theory", there is an abundance of research relating to the production and organization of public policy. The purpose of this literature review is not to systematically present that literature but to demonstrate how this body of literature is linked in a larger social context to liberal-humanist values and what the acceptance and assumptions of modernist traditions has meant in terms of the production of understandings and theory in social policy.

Studies have repeatedly linked the social and educational policy process to democratic decision-making
necessary in delineating limited resources and aligning issues of equality (Ahier, 1983). Given an assumption of limited resources, social policies play a coordinating role in forming our lives by organizing knowledge, norms, social practice and by regulating the quality of life for certain groups of individuals (Hewitt, 1991). Mainstream social policy assumes that: social policy acts in the pursuit of societal objectives; the actions that social policy intends promote welfare; through interventions of social policy, a social problem can be solved, eliminated or dealt with (Hewitt, 1991).

Yet, while one would expect decisions of social policy, which pertain to the distribution of resources according to a determined need, to be embedded in debates of conflicting values, there has been a continued separation of policy and politics--making much work on education and social policy not fully compatible with what policymakers themselves describe as the process of policy development and implementation (Ahier, 1983).

Social policy has been defined as operating in an essentially regulative, rational fashion. Policy theorists have attempted to separate policy--defined as objective, rational, and operating in the pursuit of well being for society--from politics--which are viewed as dirty, messy, emotional and passionate. Thus, traditional social policy discussions reject political involvement in policy in favor
of a rational analysis of policy formation and analysis (Scheurich, 1994; Stone, 1988).

Here we find a tradition of modernism in educational theory and practice implicit in social and educational policy. The foundations of the tenets of policy can be found in modernism's claims, its "affirmation of a centered if not unified subject, its faith in the power of the highly rational, conscious mind, its belief in the unequivocal ability of human beings to shape the future in the interest of a better world" (Giroux, 1991, 9).

Social policy took on the Western modernist mission by developing "discourses of emancipation". Gayatri Spivak (1990) describes the modernist discourses of emancipation as "The rationalist narratives of the knowing subject, full of a certain sort of benevolence towards others, wanting to welcome those others into his own--and I use the pronoun advisedly--into his own understanding of the world, so that they too can be liberated and begin to inhabit a world that is the best of all possible worlds" (19).

The unchallenged adherence of social policy to rational discussions of policy development forms accepted organizing practices and categories. Knight, Smith and Sachs (1980) characterize this as follows:

Policies attempt to represent the world in factual terms so that certain kinds of practices flow 'naturally' from them. They appropriate scientific
methodologies and social science theory in order to create a reality that is rational, objective, seamless, and which taps into the sensibilities of national popular consciousness. (53)

Implicit in policy is the belief that policymakers can rationally make decisions for others that will act in their and society's best interest. Policy can be viewed as a vehicle for achieving the political project of modernism, creating a project of possibility out of a number of Enlightenment ideals. "...the political project of modernism is rooted in the capacity of individuals to be moved by human suffering so as to remove its causes, to give meaning to the principals of equality, liberty, and justice..." (Giroux, 1991, 11).

The concepts and principals of equity, liberty, justice and efficiency dominate current models of policy discourse and decision-making while at the same time maintaining the separateness of policy from politics. These four principals, often attributed to be policy "goals", may be invoked as justification for action or inaction, and act as justification for evaluation. Their general acceptance and understanding of their meanings are assumed to be common sense in the policy literature (Stone, 1988). Kogan (1975) states:

A basic value is one which requires no further defense than that it is held to be right by those who believe
it. The concepts of equality or freedom or defense of society or the sanctity of the family may be held as basic values. Basic values may have several defenses in terms of, for example, evidence that they lead to good or otherwise desirable consequences, but these are not necessary for their statement or support. (53)

Green (1990) asserts that while we may doubt that the ideals of excellence, equity and equality can be achieved at once, "it cannot be doubted that we must try" (318). Public policy has been characterized as the arena through which these ideals may be attained and Green (1990) states that researcher emphasis should be centered on "determining the extent to which policy can rightfully impinge on practice and which of these ideals should have priority in the formation of policy" (318).

Policy then is value laden--both producing and being influenced by changes in social values and social needs. "Policies are the operational statements of values-- 'statements of prescriptive intent', 'the authoritative allocation of values', 'programmatic utterances'" (Kogan, 1975, 55). While these values have influenced changes in thinking and have justified changes in policy issues related to organization, access, curriculum, classroom procedures (i.e. testing) and involved social scientists, popular theorists and educators (Kogan, 1975), they have been assumed as given and natural and therefore, removed from
politics.

The pervasiveness of these assumed non-political values is partially achieved through rational taxonomies of policy formation. Policy formation has been conceptualized as operating in an orderly sequence of stages: an issue is placed on an agenda; defined; alternative solutions proposed, analyzed, legitimized, selected and refined; a solution is implemented, challenged and revised with perhaps a follow-up evaluation of the policy scheduled.

Policy analysis has also followed rationalistic explanations of policy development. Policy and policy analysis define each other. When reforms are seen as experiments, policy is considered a form of causal argument, and analysts look to experimental methods for guidance. When policy is viewed as a social good, analysts turn to economics for help (Kelly & Maynard-Moody, 1993). Thus, positivist methods have traditionally dominated the field of policy analysis leading to an acceptance of an economic model of society driven by cost-benefit analyses.

Objectivity and determinate rules have remained entrenched in policy discourse leading to unquestioned unacceptance of "rational models" of policy making (Ball, 1987; Marshall, Mitchell & Wirt, 1989; & Stone, 1988). The most common way to define a policy problem is to measure its outcomes (Stone, 1988). Case studies dominate the policy analysis literature and policy analysis is a burgeoning
field.

The analyst's claim to knowledge is based on "value-neutral observation of facts" that can then be used by decision makers as they formulate and implement policies (Kelly & Maynard-Moody, 1993). The more scientific or objective the analyst (and the written analysis), the more credible the "findings" (Jennings, 1987). It has been assumed that when scientific principles are applied to the arena of politics, we can find rational solutions for our problems.

Science provides a neutral ground upon which people of all creeds and colors might unite, on which all political contradictions might be overcome. Science is to provide a balance between opposing interests, a source of unity amidst diversity, order amidst chaos. (Proctor, 1991, 8)

Green (1990) terms this the "grand impartiality" of public policy and sees it as "required by the very nature of public policy" (322).

Policy analysis in this vein typically identifies and hopes to produce causal explanations of outcomes or descriptions of policy development. Emphasis is centered on providing a model for understanding how policy-making works or for identifying, through rational, positivistic methods, the factors which are influential or causal for a particular
policy issue. These models may then be used to further classify policy issues and interventions.

The field of policy analysis is thus typified by classification and differentiation, labeling and packaging. This classification process means that policies are often aimed at the prevention of "specific evils" rather than an advancement of specific benefits. Green (1990) states that "the utility of policy for the advancement of the common good is best discovered not in the effort to maximize every good for everyone—-even everyone in general. It will be found, rather, in the effort to minimize harm" (322).

Such a system, it is argued, allows for rational decision making to take place. Causal analysis is assumed and cost benefit analysis is accepted as an appropriate measure of analysis (McNay & Ozga, 1985; Stone, 1988). Walker (1981) defined the task of policy analysis as the evaluation of "...the distributional impact of existing policies and proposals and rationales underlying them" (265).

Educational policy has followed in the tradition of social policy research developing an "orthodox model" of the policy formation process (Kogan, 1975). This model consists of consideration and discussion of: the multiple objectives of education; an analysis and description of the main educational interest groups and a "preliminary classification of them into legitimimized and non-legitimimized
groups" (22); a study of the role of state and national government political activity and how it affects and is affected by education decisions; and, a consideration of how the above accounts interact together through a case study of an area of interest (Kogan, 1975).

Until recently, the study of educational policy has been monopolized by a tradition of "administration and management" studies (Hargreaves, 1983; Scheurich, 1994). These studies document the process of decision-making in policy highlighting influences exerted by a plurality of interest groups at the national, state and local levels. This tradition has often been aligned with pluralism—highlighting "an almost limitless diversity of influences" upon the decision-making process (Hargreaves, 1983; McNay & Ozga, 1985). "Pluralists assume that power and influence is widely dispersed, albeit unevenly and it is this assumption which provides their base-line for discussion and analysis of educational policy" (Hargreaves 1983, 25).

Central to these assumptions is the idea that policy development is the result of bargaining, negotiations, competition and cooperation among various interest and pressure groups. This has led to an abundance of elaborate case studies and taxonomies of pressure groups, modes of political influence, and policy players. However, while taxonomies are useful to description, they have left educational policy without any integrating theory of how
policies are developed and why. McNay and Ozga (1985) claim that the tendency for case studies of educational policy-making "has been to support or modify the pluralist framework rather than challenge it" (1). Glennester and Hoyle (1976, 196) state, "these studies are often useful at the level of description but lack explanatory power."

Thus, to this point social and educational policy have been understood and theorized through a rationalist perspective focusing on institutional decision-making and economic outcomes entrenched in modernist discourse and practices. Research and theory have focused on formal decision-making utilizing group theory. Policy making has also been aligned with the institution of government. Government is seen as holding the "actual power" and policy is determined by the interaction between "official power-holders" and "unofficial interest groups".

Policy decisions are described in theory as being established in the formal meetings of legislative groups, boards and agencies (Kimbrough, 1964). However, these theories do not explain policy-making as many practitioners understand it. The theories do not acknowledge the complex informal decision-making and power relations inherent in policy development (Kimbrough, 1964).

Even when confronted with the dilemmas of decision-making within a political arena, researchers have continued to look to science as providing "neutral ground" and allow
"value-neutral" observation of "facts". Thomas Green (1990) describes the products of this type of policy formation as always dealing with "what is good in general, on the whole, for the most part" (319).

Mainstream policy studies have overlooked social policy's role in constructing the objectives of society, in its normative role. Marilyn Friedman (1990) characterizes political theory as operating under an "abstract individualism" where individuals are "abstracted from their social contexts" disregarding "the role of social relationships and human community in constituting the very identity and nature of individual human beings" (143). Individuals are thus posited as "rationally self-interested utility maximizers" (Friedman 1990, 143).

Policy sets up itself as a moral agent giving advice and means to a benefactor (an objectified subject). This process was and is rationalized as operating with rational impartiality, based upon scientific reason. However, during the social movement of the 1960s and insights of critical and Marxist theories, many began to question the rationality of reason. "Reason" began to be placed within its "...unavoidable entanglement in history and tradition, society and power, practice and interest, body and desire" (Habermas, 1984).
Political Absences

Several theoretical influences questioning our understanding of social structure have played a role in our current understanding of schools within a social context and will inform further discussions of educational policy. Post-positivist critiques of positivist claims to know an objective reality include the idea that there is no objective truth "out there" waiting to be discovered. Post-positivism also situates "reality" as historically and socially constructed. Post-positivist critique has had a major impact on inquiry and research. In recent years, researchers throughout the social sciences have discussed the limits of positivistic inquiry, pointing to its incompatibility with the interpretive and symbolic world in which we live (Guba & Lincoln, 1987; Lindblom, 1990; Weis, 1988).

The adherence of social and educational policy to rational explanations of policy intentions, development and outcomes has attempted to avoid dealing with "messy" politics. This adherence creates "political absences" in policy research, theory and practice. Attempts to rationalize educational policy decisions beyond the political ignore the deep-rooted belief, attitudes and values connected to many educational issues (Lawton, 1992).

The rise of critical theory helped to identify schools as political sites. Indeed, theorists have proposed that
the very structure of school organizations contain implicit political agendas (Ball, 1987; Marshall, 1989). Marxist and Foucauldian theory are helpful in attempts to situate and understand educational policy in larger social contexts. These writings also help to identify and deconstruct the implicit "needs" of public policy. Both will be discussed briefly here, with Foucault's writings presented in more detail in a future discussion of the body and social policy.

**Marxism**

Marxism has a rich and complex history beyond the scope of this discussion. However, it is important to understand the role Marxist theory played in focusing attention on human suffering as the effects of a capitalist mode of production. Marxist theory situated discussions of social problems away from the individual to the arena of social structures. Henriques, et. al. (1984) state that "a number of ambiguities inscribed in the humanism--anti-humanism debate find their source in this theoretical conjuncture" (94).11

Marxist theory has played an important role in discussions of the polemic relationship between individual and society. While Marxist theory may best be understood as developing a critique of the notion of the individual as an agent of change, Henriques, et. al., (1984) characterize

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11Henriques, et. al., (1984) provide a detailed discussion of Marxism and subjectivity in their "Introduction to Section 2".
later Marxist theory as furthering attempts to develop theories which privilege neither the subject nor the structure.

With its concentration upon social structure, Marxist influences place social policy within economic, ideological, and social contexts which constitute its needs and services. Marxist theory encourages questioning of how state policy arises from the "specific problems of an economic and class structure based on the private utilization of capital and free wage-labour, and questioning what functions does this policy perform with regard to this structure" (Offe 1985, 87).

Many Marxist theorists would characterize social policy as the state's means of effecting the "lasting transformation of non-wage-labourers into wage-labourers" (Offee, 1985, 88). The state's relationship to the educational system has been identified to be both a site of domination and a site of resistance (Hargreaves, 1983; Giroux, 1991).

While Marxist theory is helpful in situating policy in a broader social context, it does not help with understanding issues of agency and resistance. Hargreaves (1983) points to difficulties in Marxist theory of explaining how and to what extent societal structures impact practices: "...current Marxist analyses of educational policy really tell us only that schooling and the state are
somehow and to varying degrees both dependent on and independent from the capitalist economy" (27).

Marxist theory has also been critiqued for its lack of attention to issues of difference. Ahier (1983) states that under Marxist theory, issues of representation and the decision-making which surrounds it "just collapse into a belief that, because of the nature of socialism, every individual in such a society expresses the needs of all the others" (7). Ahier points out that Marxism seems to assume some future, utopian social society versus the current system of stratification. Marxism has also been critiqued as an extension of patriarchal power (Henriques, et. al., 1984)--with men as property holders and women as victims.

Marxism's relatively unproblematized view of language is an additional problem (Lather, 1991). Marxism remains, however, important as an impetus to further understanding of policy and policy's relationship to economic and institutionalized structures.

Foucault

Foucault theorizes against Marxist analysis of the role of societal structures on individuals by questioning the constitution of these structures and roles themselves. Foucault launches a strong critique of liberal post-enlightenment notions that enlightenment can be obtained through the use of reason and pursuit of the rational (Ball, 1990). Foucault's explorations into power relations and how
they are preserved in forms of practices and knowledge help to elaborate the regulatory and normalizing role of social policy. Thus, what is constituted as a problem or a crisis can be critically examined. Hewitt (1991) writes: "...the notion of power, discipline and bio-politic's role in constructing social policy as practice and discourse help bring into clearer focus the conception, subjects and efficacy of social policy" (253).

Foucault's (1977/1984) focus on power and its regulatory effect through discourse help to situate policy socially, politically and historically. Social policy can be viewed as one of the main apparatuses for harnessing and circulating power. Power constitutes the subject and social policy constructs targets upon which power is inscribed. A social body is thus formed representing the collective embodiment of targets of power. Policy "...produces domains of objects and rituals of truth" (Foucault, 1974/1984, 194).

"Discourse" is a central concept in Foucault's framework of analysis. Discourse includes not just what is said and thought but is inclusive of who can speak, when and with what authority. Discourses then come to embody meaning and social relationships and are "practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak...Discourses are not about objects; they do not identify objects, they constitute them and in the practice of doing so conceal their own invention" (Foucault, 1974,
49). These "discursive practices" produce and re-produce subject positions.

Discourse creates meanings from social and institutional practices, embedded in power relations. These discourses and practices serve to form and legitimate what Foucault terms "power-knowledge" (Foucault, 1981). Discourses and practices, developed by the exercise of power, lead to the formation of knowledge which is deemed to be true and legitimates further practices of power. Foucault situates power as "productive". That is power operates through institutional and cultural practices which produce individuals. "It increases the power of individuals at the same time as it renders them more docile (for instance, basic training in the military)" (Sawicki, 1991, 22).

Foucault privileges the subject as a site of knowledge and subjectification. However, in doing so, Foucault has been critiqued for placing too great a focus upon "subjected and practiced bodies...‘docile bodies’," not explaining how subjects resist and act against repressive structures (Ball, 1990).¹² Henriques, et. al., (1984) describe power as not simply one-sided, even when speaking of cases of dominance

¹²Many feminist writers have discussed this critique of Foucault's work. Recent attention has been given to Foucault's later writings which more fully identify issues of agency and resistance. See Diamond & Quinby (1988), Fraser (1989), and Sawicki (1991) for further discussions of this critique.
or oppression. They characterize power as always being exercised in relation to resistance, although "resistance", as they describe it, does not imply an equal, successful or even "fundamentally subversive" effort (115). Such an approach would not allow an essentialization of power or resistance, opening a link between diverse and contradictory social structures and multiple and contradictory subject positions.

While Foucault may be characterized as under emphasizing the role of resistance in power relations, his theories provide insight into the political absences prevalent in educational policy literature. Pulling from Foucault's theories, educational sites and educational policy can be viewed as generators of historically specific, contextual discourse through which processes of classification and division are achieved. These "dividing practices"--techniques, practices and theories of organization, curriculum, creation of special needs populations--lead to the development of what Foucault calls "truth games".

Truth games come to be accepted as sophisticated knowledge leading to further pursuits of classification, control and containment (Ball, 1990). Foucault's theories correspond to the formation of knowledge and practices in policy research, theories and practices. Foucault's history points to the modes through which we are made subjects and
addresses the absences in political theory by unmasking apparent neutralities in social organization and policies.

**Current Trends in Educational Policy**

Educational policy, like general social policy, has also attempted to place itself above politics, guided by a technical-rational assessment of what works for education (Carlson, 1993). However, recent challenges have been made to place and understand educational policy within a social political context. These challenges include attempts to move beyond a behavioral, rational understanding of policy to "an analysis of policy as a textual discourse shaping knowledge and action" (Griffith, 1992, 415).

Policy has been currently defined as "after the fact interpretations" (Lynn, 1987), stories (Doron, 1986; Stone, 1988 & 1989), and arguments (Dunn, 1982). Carlson (1993) details how state education policy can be understood as a discourse involved in the "construction of power and knowledge in school sites" (150). Thus educational policy can be seen as serving interests of a political condition and produced by a dominant coalition coming together around a common set of organizing principles. Easton (1953, 130) wrote that a policy "...consists of a web of decisions and actions that allocate values."

Policy can be viewed as an authoritative allocation of values--"operational statements of values"--with prescriptive intent (Ball, 1990). Kogan (1975) attests to
the fact that educational policy and values are situated historically within the "moods and circumstances" of their periods. Marshall, Mitchell, & Wirt (1989) attempt to outline and analyze this process by highlighting the role of values—such as equity, efficiency, security and liberty—in educational policy making and analysis.

Marshall, Mitchell & Wirt discuss what they call a "cultural paradigm" in educational policy. The cultural paradigm allows researchers to analyze how policymakers views, values and meaning-making drive the policy system. They specify that their book is aimed at exploring the ways "societal values in policies are aimed at reshaping our schools" (4). They discuss policies as products of a state policy culture used by political leaders to structure and control the physical and social environment of schools. Through such an analysis the authors also propose that to "some extent" outcomes can be predicted.

However, while the authors claim that an analysis of policies as cultural artifacts is very different from traditional political or economic interest theories, their outcome desires and claims remain quite similar to more traditional analyses. Their concentration upon values and how they are manifested in policy, while progressive in exposing and situating policy assumptions, still leaves educational policy analysis aimed at predicting outcomes and patterns of behavior. Additionally, through all the
discussion of values, Marshall, Mitchell & Wirt ignore the role (and values) of the agents of educational policy, thus continuing to inscribe binary relationships and language between macro- and micro- levels of policy analysis.

An example of this is a table by the authors of players, "policy influentials", to consider in policy analysis in which the agents are not included. Policy analysis and thus policy development remain disembodied from those for whom the policy is designed. Marshall, Mitchell & Wirt's research typifies the treatment of agency in policy research and theory.

"Agency" is incorporated in policy theory through description and analysis of interest group representation. Attention remains focused on the relationships between interest groups--who makes decisions, who influences who and to what extent. Interest groups are further broken down into "legitimized" or "non-legitimized" groups or arranged within a sphere demonstrating the range and influence/power among interest groups.

Marshall, Mitchell & Wirt add to an extensive body of work on the generation of policy; macro-based theoretical analyses concentrating on the policymakers focus and the political process of policy formation. This has led to a proliferation of theoretical taxonomies attempting to provide explanations of policy formation. Additionally, a growing body of research has focused on implementation of
policy. Ethnographies have emerged in this arena discussing policy intentions and issues of empowerment. Research in this vein has focused upon description and attempt at causal evaluations. This linear separation of generation and implementation of policy has served to reinforce managerial perspectives of policy, leaving the two to be seen "...as distinctive and separate moments" (Alford & Friedland, 1988).

Scheurich (1994) characterizes the "new postpositivist orientation" in policy studies as deviating "little from the traditional" (6). Scheurich situates both traditional and postpositivist policy analyses as accepting or presuming "a commitment to the larger liberal worldview in which they exist" (6). Scheurich describes Kelly and Maynard-Moody's (1993) work which purports to offer a postpositivistic approach to policy studies as "accepting the same empirically given status of social problems that the conventional approach accepts" (5). Thus, Scheurich finds that "there is no effort within this newer orientation to questions or critique the 'natural' emergence of social problems" (5).

Nancy Fraser (1991) presents an interesting way in which to view the values which are embedded in policy decisions and the defining of social problems through a discussion of "needs-talk". Fraser points out that in welfare-state societies, talk about people's needs is an
important component of political discourse. Fraser views "needs-talk" as "institutionalized as a major vocabulary of political discourse" through which "political conflict is played out and through which inequalities are symbolically elaborated and challenged" (1991, 159). Foucault (1979) also concisely stated this: "Need is also a political instrument, meticulously prepared, calculated and used" (26).

Fraser moves beyond other discussions of values and needs in politics, such as Marshall, Mitchell & Wirt's (1989) characterization of a "cultural paradigm", to consider the "politics of need interpretation". Fraser suggests that she is "shifting the focus of inquiry" by bringing "into relief the contested character of needs-talk in welfare-state societies". Fraser claims that a focus on "discourses about needs" will allow a shift in "our angle of vision" bringing into view the "contextual and contested character of needs claims" (160). She conceptualizes many theories as avoiding the "murky depths" of the embedded and ramified relations of needs statements (values) thus deflecting attention from a number of important political questions.

Fraser posits four issues which political theories tend to unquestionably assume. First, they take the "interpretation of people's needs as simply given and unproblematic". Second, they assume it is unproblematic who
interprets the needs and in what interests, thus occluding "the fact that who gets to establish authoritative, thick definitions of people's needs is itself a political state" (162). Third, they assume that our political system and methods (discourses) for interpreting people's needs are adequate and fair, thus ignoring the politics and differing power of dominant, subordinate and oppositional interest groups. Fourth, such theories fail to question where "authoritative need interpretations" are developed and what the social relations are among the decision-makers and interpreters.

Fraser explains that by virtue of policy's reliance upon scientific management models and valorizing of "expert needs discourses", it leads to a "depoliticizing" of issues and individuals. Thus, policies "construe persons simultaneously as rational utility-maximizers and as causally conditioned, predictable, and manipulable objects, thereby screening out those dimensions of agency which involve the construction and deconstruction of social meaning" (175). Fraser also cites this as the reason why policies typically are aimed at "reforming", with goals of normalizing, often leading to a notion of "deviancy" which then becomes stigmatizing for the targets (agents) of the policy itself.

Fraser attempts to remedy these "blindspots" through the development of a more "politically critical, discourse-
oriented alternative" (162). She develops a model of inquiry which situates the "validation", "interpretation", and "satisfaction" of political needs talk historically and culturally identifying "modes of subjection". In this way, Fraser moves her model of political inquiry from a taxonomy concerned with predictive intent to a discourse inquiry which allows deeper, situated consideration of the "politics" inherent in decision-making.

For example, Fraser's inquiry allows consideration of multiple discourses (expert, oppositional, and what Fraser terms "reprivatization") and importantly, moves beyond consideration of discourse, to situating the politicization and use of each of these discourses in decision-making. Thus, Fraser's inquiry resists tendencies to assume the naturalness or validity of a certain discourse or the desire to somehow place discourses within a taxonomy with predictive intent.

Fraser's work points to lack of situated inquiry in political theory. Although, recent policy research has acknowledged the "politics" inherent in policy decision-making and attempts have been made to situate policy within a larger framework (for example Marshall, Mitchell & Wirt, 1989), these attempts have remained entrenched in positivist modes of inquiry (Elmore, 1983). While such inquiries have been useful and important to the field of social policy by identifying players and attempting to understand how players
interact to inform the decision-making process, they are limited in their usefulness in exploring the relationship between views "from below" and views "from above". "Rationalistic" views of policy-makers often differ from the views of practitioner and conflict directly with content of educational setting and practices (Elmore, 1983).

Policy researchers have recently pointed to the dilemmas of implementation and change through social policy as the troubled relationship between macro- and micro-level concerns (Elmore, 1983; Fullan, 1991; McLaughlin, 1990 & 1991). Richard Elmore (1983) asserts that the field of policy implementation and research "requires a substantial rethinking of legislative and administrative control" (342). Elmore states that the "traditional devices" which policy-makers have relied upon to control policy implementation and outcomes (i.e., more specific guidelines, tighter regulations, centralized authority, and accountability requirements) have probably had an "effect opposite of that intended" (342) pointing to the limits of "hierarchical control (379). Elmore finds such procedural controls to only increase complexity rather than increasing control.

Fraser's work moves the field of policy theory into a consideration of discourses (and politicization of these discourses) at all levels. Typically policy research has centered on attempts to understand what is going on "up there"--focusing on the attitudes and actions of legitimiz
decision-makers. There has been a lack of consideration and politicization of "agency" in policy research.

"Expert" discourses are linked to social-science, legal, administrative, and therapeutic discourses, circulated in public and closely connected with institutions of knowledge production. Fraser (1991) states that as a result of its role, "expert" discourses lead to the policy "need" being:

decontextualized and recontextualized: on the one hand, it is represented in abstraction from its class, race, and gender specificity and from whatever oppositional meanings it may have acquired in the course of its politicization; on the other hand, it is cast in terms which tacitly presuppose such entrenched, specific background institutions...and their gender-based separation. (174)

Thus, the following discussion presents the lack of consideration of "agency" in policy studies as a "disembodied space", reviews recent attempts in policy theory to characterize "agency", and considers the impact of attention to "agency" on policy theory, development and implementation.

Disembodied Spaces

The "separate moments" of policy development and policy practice prevalent in policy literature clearly identify a hierarchal relationship between actor and agent (between
those who develop policy and those who are to be the benefactor, recipients of policy). Just as earlier research was based on analysis of formal organizational structures and operations, current research continues to leave unacknowledged the "agents" role in the micro-level of policy development and analysis—assuming a static agent. Milbrey McLaughlin, who was a primary investigator in the Rand Change agent study in the mid-1970's, revisited the Rand study findings and reconsidered some of the study's previous conclusions. McLaughlin (1990) describes that in the development of federal change policy-makers "assumed a relatively direct relationship between federal policy "inputs," local responses, and program "outputs" (11).

On reconsideration of the Rand study findings, McLaughlin asserts that although the Rand study was developed to include the perspective of local implementors and thereby aid change efforts, the "driving questions reflected macro-level concerns, not micro-level realities" (14). McLaughlin concludes that "we cannot mandate what matters to effective practice" but should turn our attention instead to "understanding how policy can enable and facilitate (effective practice)" (15).

Richard Elmore (1983) made the same point arguing that an over emphasis on state-level control undermines local implementation. Other researches have pointed out how policies may be incompatible with the realities of daily
operations of school environments and how through this inconsistency, may turn out to actually be "diversions" from the goal of the policy itself (Fullan, 1991).

Michael Fullan (1991) in his recent and comprehensive summary of research relating to educational change further emphasizes this point: "If we know one thing about innovation and reform, it is that it cannot be done successfully to others" (xiv, emphasis in original). Lee Shulman and Gary Sykes (1990) see educational policy research moving away from questions of whether programs and resources make a difference, toward how they make a difference. The text of the policy, used for implementation, assumes a direct relationship between signifier and signified. Social policy rhetoric has also assumed that a policy is a text with a set meaning and outcome. The policy text presupposes a naive, ahistorical and innocent reading leading to rational implementation. However, implementors of policy come to the policy text with their own histories, experiences, values and purposes, thus leading to multiple readings of policy text (Bave & Ball, 1992).

This recent acknowledgment of the possibility of policy as an unfixed text—as a text constantly changing with interpretations varying according to the context in which a policy is put into practice—has led to interest in issues of policy implementation and agency. Michael Lipsky, in his
1980 book *Street Level Bureaucracy*, addressed specifically the issues of agency in implementation.

Lipsky views teachers, social workers, police officers, etc. as "street level bureaucrats" who implement policy and thus act as policy makers with often high degrees of discretion and autonomy from organizational authority. Lipsky argues that while policy has sought to further systematize and regulate interactions to keep street level autonomy at a minimal level, there are situations, contextual and situational, for which policy cannot or should not attempt to frame alternatives.

These opportunities for re-forming, re-interpreting a policy text mean that policy formation does not end with the legislative moment. Bave & Ball (1992) see policy making and remaking as a continuous policy cycle played out in three policy arenas. One, the context of influence, incorporates where a policy is initiated and how discourses are constructed. Another, the context of policy, includes policy text production and representation and thirdly, the context of practice, is the arena of practice where policies are subject to repeated interpretation and reinterpretations.

This meaning-making across and through the three policy arenas relate policy generation to practice. Stephen Ball has dedicated his research and writing to a pursuit of "equitable relationships" between policy formation,
analysis, and practice. Ball (1990) strives in his research to not simply provide an account of institutions of policy making but to "...plot changing ideological, economic and political parameters of policy and to relate the ideological, political and economics to dynamics of policy debate and policy formation" (8).

Ball (1990) finds the field of policy analysis to be dominated by commentary and critique supporting "tidy generalities" while ignoring "messy realities". For this reason Ball asserts and embraces agency: "I will unashamedly be attempting to explain policy making via what it is that individuals and groups actually do and say in the arenas of influence in which they move" (9). Ball is not content to stop here however and goes on to state that: "I want to be theoretically more adventurous, I want to subject education policy making to analyses which employ a number of different theoretical strategies" (9).

Stephen Ball explores the micro-politics of policy throughout his work (1987, 1990, 1992). He positions micro-politics as the link between conflict and domination. Micro-politics is concerned with the content of policy making—–with how actors define, interpret and carry out policies. While Ball (1987) acknowledges that micro-politics in organizations operate to maintain the status quo, he asserts that attention to micro-politics can "...highlight the degree of tenuousness, dysfunction,
interruption and possibility inherent in educational context" (279).

Scheurich (1994) proposes a new policy studies methodology which he terms "policy archaeology". Scheurich states that policy archaeology "takes a different approach to policy studies...including definitions of problems and problem groups, discussions of policies and policy alternatives, and presumptions about the function of policy studies within the larger social order" (7). Scheurich furthers Ball's inquiry and situates "policy archaeology" as concerned with both the macro- and micro- intricacies of policy development and analysis.

Ball has served as my impetus to further explore the role of agency in policy formation and analysis. In order to question how policy can incorporate and respond to context specific lives—what Trinh Minh-Ha (1988) describes as "...inscribing difference without erasing it"—I rely upon feminist, postmodern and sociological theories of the body to inform my research.

**Toward An Embodiment of Educational Policy**

**Why Bodies?**

The absence of discussions of subjects, subjectivity and agency in policy literature and my own grounding in feminist theory led me to consider why agents are "left out" of policy discussions. Agents are often "analyzed" through quantitative counts of accountability measures. However,
the agent is rendered and represented as static and formless beyond large assimilations and assumptions of a large target population. I came to view and feel policy literature as disembodied from practice, from agency.¹³

Attempts to question the relationships between macro- and micro-level policy development and implementation led me over and over again, radically, back to the body. At first, my readings and connections between feminist and postmodern constructions of the body and policy were timid. The messy physicality of a talk of bodies felt somehow taboo, forbidden, and out of place in rational policy discourse. Body is a promiscuous term.

However, in attempting to understand policy in the context of specific lives I repeatedly returned to a notion of embodiment. Whether rendered invisible, portrayed romantically, described with statistics, fear, repulsion, or pity, policies are about and for bodies. Our body is inescapable and cannot be lost in a chain of reference (De Lauretis, 1987). Bodies are always already cultural artifacts (Foucault 1979, & 1990).

¹³This feeling may have been exasperated by educational policy's tradition of "gender blindness" which has "systematically structured unequal relationships between women and men, girls and boys" (Blackmore & Kenway, 1993, 9). I would also include in this "blindness" absences of race, class, sexual preference and family organization (Griffith, 1992). Jill Blackmore & Jane Kenway's (1993) edited volume explores the complex and subtle ways in which gender has mattered in educational policy and offers a "feminist challenge" to current thinking in educational policy.
Kaja Silverman (1988) writes: "Even if we could manage to strip away the discursive veil that separates the subjects from his or her 'actual' body, that body would itself bear no unmistakable stamp of culture" (146). Brian Fay (1987) points out that "oppression leaves its traces not just in people's minds, but in their muscles and skeletons as well" (146). Culture inscribes both on and in the body. I suggest that policies also attempt to situate bodies. Policies dictate performance of bodies with rules, regulations, incentives and accountability measures.

Bodies both incorporate ideas and generate them (Giroux, 1991). Bodies are objects of power and as well as sites of resistance to power. As Foucault aptly demonstrated, discourse, language, is not disembodied nor does it produce disembodied practices—words and symbols are a dialectical part of our bodies (Giroux, 1991; McLaren, 1986).

Bodies place us within partial subject positions. Donna Haraway (1988) describes the view from the body as "always a complex, contradictory, structuring, and structured body, versus the view from above, from nowhere, from simplicity" (585). Our bodies are an impediment to objectivity, serving as sites of our "locatedness" in space and time (Bordo, 1993). Giroux (1991) defined body/subject as:
a terrain of the flesh in which meaning is inscribed, constructed, and reconstituted. In this view, the body is conceived as the interface of the individual and society, as a site of embodied or "enfleshed" subjectivity which also reflects the ideological sedimentations of the social structure inscribed into it. (150)

Policy dictates rules, behaviors, and outcomes for bodies. Theories of the body raise questions about how to form policy, which is informed through theories of feminist and postmodern discussions of the body, without seeing recipients as body/subjects. As:

passive biological resources to be mapped and manipulated by the latest advance in behavioral technology or from a subject position of moral certainty that exercises an authoritative closure on the meaning-generating abilities of the students in the name of a transcendent patriarch or imperial discourse. (Giroux, 1991, 153)

Turner (1984) discusses four tasks of society related to the body: reproduction, regulation, restraint and representation. Policy can be seen to be about the reproduction of embodiment. Embodiment is not neutral. It involves the constituted politics of gender, race and class (Frank, 1991). The body becomes a site of opposition to and target of "...colonization of everyday world by public arena
of (male) reason" (Featherstone, Hepworth, & Turner, 1991, 8). Exploring an embodiment of policy will lead to insight of how policy constructs the "natural" and reflects common sense—unclothing how policy produces what Foucault (1979) calls "...domains of objects and rituals of truth" (194).

Postmodern "Fluid" Bodies

Postmodern theorists, through the negation of a constant and stable sense of self, historicize and de-naturalize binary oppositions (body/soul, flesh/spirit, instinct/reason, drives/consciousness) that have delegated bodies and sex to a field of rationality. It is the opposition between the mind and the body which has become the focus and pivotal point of attack by poststructuralists on modern systems of thought and philosophy of the subject.

The category of the body, through postmodern critique has achieved a tactical value as a site of deconstruction to "unpack" the concept of a stable and unified subject by exposing how rationality is based upon the repression of the "bodily realm" and all that it is held to represent. As Nancy Fraser (1989) puts it: "The rhetoric of bodies and pleasures...can be said to be useful for exposing and opposing, in highly dramatic fashion, the undue privilege

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While the following discussion is organized into three areas of literature concerning the body, it should be noted that these areas are highly interrelated and serve to inform and question each other's theories of the body and society.
modern western culture has accorded subjectivity, sublimation, ideality and the like" (62).

Postmodern theories of the body challenge and destabilize notions of innate sexuality and male/female identities influencing sociological and feminist works to further question the construction of heterosexuality and gender (Butler, 1990; Turner, 1989). Stated in a broader fashion, postmodernism constantly questions and leads to the un-doing of identity/embodied assumptions based upon gender, race, class, and sexual identity.

However, it is exactly for this strength that postmodernism has been critiqued and questioned, particularly by feminists and women of color (Anzaldua, 1990; Christian, 1987). Feminists and women of color have questioned the rise of postmodernism—which destabilizes categories of difference—at a time when issues of gender and race were gaining status and recognition. Postmodernism, by making subjectivities so malleable, "contributes unwittingly to the demise and depolitization of the historical subject--literally suctioning out its capacity for critical agency" (Giroux, 1991, 146).

The postmodern notion of subjectivity and bodies constructed in an endless play of difference threatens to erase not only any possibility for human agency or choice, "but also the theoretical means for understanding how the body becomes a site of power and struggle around specific
differences that do matter with respect to the issues of race, class and gender" (Giroux 1991, 43). Butler (1992) however has worked to release "agency" from its "foundationalist weight" in order to address concerns of feminism's need for a political subject and postmodernism's call for a fluid subject.\textsuperscript{15} Butler (1992) argues that deconstructing the subject, as postmodernism calls for, is not the end of the subject but, on the contrary, serves to "release the term into a future of multiple significations...and to give it play as a site where unanticipated meaning might come to bear" (16).

Postmodernism's attention to the deconstruction of binaries, and a fluid notion of subjectivities is helpful in exploring an embodiment of educational policy. While describing the way in which history, society and power are inscribed upon individuals, postmodernism has only recently [primarily through Butler's writings] attempted understanding how these different subject positions and meanings are actually mediated and taken up subjectively by real, concrete individuals. Thus, discussions of the body by Foucault and feminist theory will be used to further engage in an exploration of the body and social policies.

\textsuperscript{15}Refer to "Dismantling the Subject?" in Chapter I for further explication of Butler's use of "agency" in the postmodern.
Foucauldian "Docile" Bodies

Much of Foucault's work insists on the body as a historic specific entity. Foucault discloses how power produces different types of knowledge which in turn produce effects in the bodies of social agents. Foucault's concepts of "docile bodies," "biopower," and "micropractices" are useful to critical thinking about organizations, policies and power.

The body, as argued by philosophers, anthropologists and sociologists, is a medium of culture, a powerful symbolic form (Bordo, 1989). Foucault extends this understanding of the body as a text of culture to the body as a practical, direct locus of social control. Policy acts as the social context of bodily repression (Johnson, 1983).

Foucault, in his important work Discipline and Punish, points to society's "political investment of the body" and describes the body as useful "only if it is both a productive body and a subjected body" (Rabinow, 1984, 175). Policy can be viewed as a form of bio-power, employing specific "scientific categories and explicit calculations to objectify the body...and to render individuals docile and pliable" (Ball 1990, 7). Foucault describes this as a "subtle coercion" of the individual body; an "infinitesimal power over the active body" (1977/1984, 181).

The discourses and practices of "biopower" emerge as an "apparently benevolent, but peculiarly invasive and
effective form of social control (Sawicki, 1991, 67). Biopower operates through two inter-related forms of social control: disciplinary practices and regulatory power. Disciplinary practices aim to render the individual both more powerful, productive, useful and docile. They are located within institutions such as hospitals, schools and prisons, but also at the microlevel of society in everyday activities and habits of individuals. They secure their hold not through the threat of violence or force but rather by creating desires, attaching individuals to specific identities, and establishing norms against which individuals and their behaviors and bodies are judged and against which they police themselves. (Sawicki, 1991, 68)

Foucault cites how the social object of control was not only "the language of the body" but "their internal organization" through "an uninterrupted, constant coercion, supervising the processes of the activity rather than its result" (1977/1984, 181). This is the second form of "biopower"—regulatory power inscribed in policies and interventions governing society. Foucault acknowledges that while in every society the body has been a locus of control with constraints and prohibition, he characterizes a change during the eighteenth century of "techniques". Foucault
views the scope of control moving "internal" to "movements, gestures, attitudes".

Foucault terms the methods which made possible the "meticulous control" of the body "disciplines". Foucault thus characterized bodies as subjected, used and manipulated bodies--"docile bodies" exercised always in the interest of the utility of society. "Thus discipline produces subjected and practiced bodies, 'docile' bodies" (1977/1984, 182). In doing so, "discipline" policies operate "not by differentiating individuals, but by specifying acts according to a number of general categories...in short it normalizes" (1977/1984, 195, emphasis in original).

Viewing policy's methods of categorization not as a neutral activity, but as a political act--a "moral enterprise"--provides insight into the workings of social policy (Nathanson, 1991). Foucault characterized these workings of categories as the development of an "integrated" system of "surveillance" and "disciplinary power" which allowed it to be both "absolutely indiscreet, since it is everywhere and always alert" it "constantly supervises" and "absolutely discreet," for it functions permanently and largely in silence" (1977/1984, 192).

Foucault also situates sexuality as both historically and culturally constructed. This refutes an "essentialist/modernist" view of sexuality which has dominated twentieth-century literature (Nathanson, 1991).
Foucault links governance/power with sexuality in tracing how population and welfare became a central and enduring theme of governance.

Foucault (1974/1990) in *The History of Sexuality—Volume I* cites the move toward a "policing of sex: that is, not the rigor of a taboo, but the necessity of regulating sex through useful and public discourses" (25). The notion of "population" emerged as an economic and political problem. It became necessary to "analyze" sex: birthrates, legitimate and illegitimate births, frequency of sexual relations, age of marriage, birth control methods etc.

Thus, "sexual conduct of the population was taken both as an object of analysis and as a target of intervention" (26). "Sex has a role in the modern regime as an epistemic object and a target of power; it justifies asymmetrical procedures of coercion and intimidation and induces the formation of habits of self-surveillance and self-policing" (Fraser, 1989, 59). Foucault describes these interventions and regulatory controls as "a bio-politics of the population" (1977/1984, 262, emphasis in original).

Foucault cites a "deployment of alliance" which arose in every society—systems of kinship ties, marriage and transmission of property.

The deployment of alliance has as one of its chief objectives to reproduce the interplay of relations and maintain the law that governs them; the deployment of
sexuality, on the other hand, engenders a continual extension of areas and forms of control. (Foucault, 1974/1990, 107).

It is around and on the basis of the deployment of alliance "that the deployment of sexuality was constructed" (108). Sex thus became a "political issue" linked to the "disciplines of the body" and to the "regulation of populations" subject to "political operations, economic interventions...and ideological campaigns for raising standards of morality and responsibility" (Foucault, 1977/1984, 267-68). This gave rise to "comprehensive measures, statistical assessments, and interventions aimed at the entire social body" (267). These practices and forms of "bio-power" develop "a normalizing society" played out in multiple arenas including social policies and judicial laws (266).

Foucault cites that while institutional power of the state ensures a maintenance of the production of relations, the forces of "bio-politics" acted as techniques of power present at every level of the social body and utilized by very diverse institutions (the family and the army, schools and the police, individual medicine and the administration of collective bodies), operated in the sphere of economic processes. (1977/1984, 263)
These "techniques" also act as "factors of segregation and social hierarchization... ...guaranteeing relations of domination and effects of hegemony" (263).

Foucault identifies knowledge with power, and cites how the production of knowledge about sex became a major instrument in its control. He demonstrates how sexual social control may appear in the guise of incitement to discourse—how proliferation of talk about sexuality actually operates as a form of control. This insight led him to question the idea of Victorian repression and leads to questioning the assumption of contemporary liberation as well.

Feminist "Gendered" Bodies

Feminist theory has benefitted from Foucault's way of "conceiving of the body as a concrete phenomenon without aligning it materially with a fixed biological or prediscursive essence" (McNay, 1992, 17). Foucault's exploration of how discourses of truth operate in relation to power structures in society and his focus on the body as the principal target of power (Foucault, 1990) is appealing to feminist theorists.

However, notions of the body are not new, particularly in feminist writings. While the body has received interest as a topic of postmodernism and Foucauldian thought, Bordo (1993) writes that
neither Foucault nor any other poststructuralist thinker discovered or invented the idea...that the "definition and shaping" of the body is the focal point for struggles over the shape of power. That was discovered by feminism, and long before it entered into its marriage with poststructuralist thought. (17)

Bordo feels this role of feminism in identifying and developing a political understanding of the body is rarely acknowledged.

Catharine MacKinnon (1990) characterizes feminist theory as conceptualizing social reality, including sexual reality, "on its own terms" (210). MacKinnon cites the need to identify constructs such as "sexuality" as constructs which have "circumscribed and defined experience as well as theory"—"capturing it in the world, in its situated social meanings, as it is being constructed on a daily basis" (210, emphasis in original). Thus, MacKinnon approaches an embodied sense of how gender impacts on the social reality of women.

Feminists first began to develop a critique of the "politics of the body" in terms of a material body as a site of political struggle. French feminists Irigaray, Wittig, Cixous, and Kristeva and de Beauvoir are known for their work on the body. As early as 1792, Mary Wollstonecraft described how for women, defined as, with and by the body and largely confined to a life centered on the body,
culture's grip on the body is an ongoing, intimate fact of everyday life.

Confined then in cages like the feathered race, they have nothing to do but to plume themselves, and stalk with mock majesty from perch to perch. It is true they are provided with food and raiment, for which they neither toil nor spin; but health, liberty, and virtue are given in exchange. (In Martin, 1985, 72)

Feminist attention to the body focused itself on the constraints of the body for women. The body was identified as itself a politically inscribed entity shaped by histories and practices of containment and control. Andrea Dworkin (1974) describes this form of control:

Standards of beauty describe in precise terms the relationship that an individual will have to her own body. They prescribe her motility, spontaneity, posture, gait, the uses to which she can put her body. They define precisely the dimensions of her physical freedom. And of course, the relationship between physical freedom and psychological development, intellectual possibility, and creative potentials is an umbilical one. (113)

Dworkin goes on to point out that "not one part of a woman's body is left untouched, unaltered" (114) by the constraints of cultural control. Naomi Wolfe (1991) in her popular book The Beauty Myth points also to this phenomenon,
citing the costs to women in terms of time, money and energy on conforming to popular beauty standards. Wolfe and other feminists point to the perpetuation of this "myth" as being vital to our economy and serving a major role in male-female differentiation so necessary to current hegemonic structure. The body is a text of femininity.

Recently, several feminists have attempted to move feminist discussions of the body beyond an oppressor/oppressed model which theorized men as possessing and wielding power over women while women are viewed as utterly powerless. Such theories proved inadequate in explaining the social and historical complexities of the situations of men and women. Many of the critiques in this area center around issues of race and class differences among women which affect constructions of the body. Other criticisms take issue with a depiction of women as passive, without agency, citing women's repeated efforts at resistance.

As in postmodern theory the mind/body split has been the focus of much feminist attention. Feminists have questioned what is the relation of gender to this dualism? Feminists have shown (Bordo, 1993) that the dualism is frequently gendered, with women cast in the negative role of the body---"weighed down by everything peculiar to it---while man is positioned and in possession of "the pure idea, the
absolute spirit" (Beauvoir, 1957). Bordo (1993) cites the cost of such projections:

For if, whatever the specific historical content of the duality, the body is the negative term, and if the woman is the body, then women are that negativity, whatever it may be: distraction from knowledge, seduction from God, capitulation to sexual desire, violence or aggression, failure of will, even death. (5)

A conception of the body as woman has led to a deeply sedimented ideology which assumes and produces images of "woman as temptress". This image of woman as evil seductress is played out in popular culture through movies and television shows, is displayed in our legal system as justification for abuse or rape, and used as justification for exclusion of women from religious and educational institutions. Bordo (1993) points out that this concept is so deeply ingrained that "even when women are silent (or verbalizing exactly the opposite) their bodies are seen as "speaking" a language of provocation" (6).

A duality of active spirit/passive body has also been pervasive in Western ideology of gender. Specifically, descriptions of sexuality, physical intercourse, and conception have positioned the male as active, effective, powerful and the female as passive recipient, and without agency. Bordo (1993) cites the mind/body dualism as a
"practical metaphysics that has been deployed and socially embodied in medicine, law, literary and artistic representations, the psychological construction of self, interpersonal relationships, popular culture and advertisements" (14).  

In summary, feminists have raised concern with the postmodern tendency to portray the body as so fragmented that "the different ways in which bodies are oppressed and how bodies are constructed differently through specific material relations" is ignored (Giroux, 1991, 44). Feminist theorists have considered how individuals actually make choices, promote effective resistance or mediate between themselves and others. Teresa de Lauretis (1984, 1986, 1987) and Alcoff (1988) characterize identity as a practice that is theoretical and political.  

While Foucault (1977, 1974/1990) provides an understanding of how the growth of the modern state has been accompanied by repeated attempts at disciplining the body, feminist theorists have furthered this argument by showing how gender is implicated in the production and discipline of

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16Bordo (1993) points out that both women and men are subject to this historical power and pervasiveness of cultural images and ideology of the body.

17de Lauretis and Alcoff do this influenced by postmodernism, arguing that the agency of subjects is made possible through shifting and multiple forms of consciousness, constructed through available discourses and practices, but always open to questioning through self-analyzing practice.
the body (Bartky, 1988). The sexualization of the female body is viewed as fundamental to the way in which women are socialized. Feminist theorists argue that the gendered body must be seen as a site of domination, struggle and resistance and linked to a broader theory of agency (Bartky, 1988).

There is a need here to be careful not to reduce an embodied sense to an essentialized female body,\textsuperscript{18} as critiqued by postmodern theory. An essentialized female body is often a sentimentalized version of the female body and motherhood citing innate and enduring attributes of caring and nurturing.\textsuperscript{19} These portrayals rely on and reproduce a binary discourse of sexed bodies, natural bodies, which serve to legitimate certain strategies of oppression (Butler, 1990; McNay, 1992).

A discourse of sexed bodies feeds into a biologization of bodies—and by extension, of roles, practices and personalities—which are especially coercive in their application to women. Nathanson (1991) states that "at the

\textsuperscript{18}Susan Bordo (1990) writes that although feminist gender theory has been overly universalized it "deserves a somewhat different historical evaluation than is currently being written" (141). Bordo questions whether we would now be able to speak of the differences and complexities of "gender" if gender had not first been shown to make a difference.

\textsuperscript{19}Sara Ruddick's (1990) Maternal Thinking: Toward a Politics of Peace is an example of an over-reliance upon attributes of "caring" as being particularly (and thus inherently) female.
same time that the essence of women became identified with their reproductive functions, their sexuality was being defined out of existence" (9). Thus females came to be constructed through the oppositions of desire—abnormal, prostitute—and nondesire—normal, respectable mother. Nathanson (1991) cites the continuing power of this dichotomy as evidenced in the powerful rhetoric of the New Right through which "the aborting woman, the welfare mother, the promiscuous teenage girl are but the prostitute clothed in modern dress" (9).

Nathanson (1991) situates the control of unmarried young women's sexuality as a "significant concern" in American culture since the early 1800s, "sustaining an unbroken record of institutional response" (14). Nathanson follows the nature of this concern from one of "individual" transgression to a symbol of "social" disorder routinely equated with "moral terms."

Rethinking Teen Pregnancy as a Policy Issue

How has women's sexuality and specifically teenage women's sexuality become a significant social concern and why? Foucault's theories provide insight into the regulation of sex as a "target of intervention" and as a political issue linked to the "disciplines of the body." Feminist theories provide further insight into how bodies are disciplined, controlled and produced through gender. This section seeks to identify how teen pregnancy is named
as a policy issue and the problematics that occur in this naming.

This task will require a "rethinking" of traditional literature reviews or purposes as the task is not to identify teen pregnancy as a social problem but rather to begin to identify how teen pregnancy is named and defined as a social problem.\textsuperscript{20} This "rethinking" will occur through four phases: first, how and why teen pregnancy has been situated as a "crisis" problem will be explored; second, feminist re-readings of teen sexuality and pregnancy pointing to the dilemmas of current gender practices in schools, sex educational programs and "gendered" pregnancies will be re-read; third, current policy responses to teen pregnancy identifying the dilemmas of defining teen pregnancy will be reviewed; and fourth, a feminist unthinking of teen pregnancy through postmodern influences is presented in an attempt to move beyond the dilemmas posed by "rethinking".

\textbf{Crisis Talk: Defining Teen Pregnancy as a Social Problem}

Recently researchers influenced by Foucault have critically examined the practice of constructing policy issues as "epidemics" (Nathanson, 1991; Singer, 1993). The need for a crisis can be characterized as the first characteristic of policy-making (Silver, 1990; Singer, \textsuperscript{20}Refer to Appendix 1 for teen pregnancy statistical and demographic information.)
1993). Furthermore, such research points out that a concept of "crisis" calls for control and restraint (Singer, 1993). Policy responds and acts as a restraint upon the body accepting that the "...growth of civilization requires simultaneously the restraint of the body and the cultivation of character in the interest of social stability" (Featherstone, Hepworth & Turner, 1989, 15).

Foucault's work influences the asking of the following types of questions: How is a crisis defined? Whose crisis is it? What impact does crisis making have on the construction of alternatives for policy development and implementation? Recent works by Nathanson (1991) and Singer (1993) explore the workings of policy development and implementation through "crisis" talk and offer insights for an examination of teen pregnancy as policy problem.

Critiques such as Nathanson's do not seek to underplay the necessity of focusing public and political attention on a policy issue, such as teenage pregnancy. By naming an issue as a crisis, its makers hope to create a sense of urgency and response by policy-makers (NCHS 1991). Additionally, teenage pregnancy, as were other social programs, was directly affected by funding cuts during the Reagan and Bush Administrations. Title X, a federal program devoted to the prevention of unwanted pregnancy for low-income women and adolescents, was cut during Reagan's tenure and has failed to be reauthorized.
Other major, longitudinal studies designed to provide information about adolescent risk-taking behavior and its relationship to other social and familial factors were also derailed (NCHS, 1991). Policy initiatives concerning teenage pregnancy have been caught up in societal ambivalence about adolescent sexual behavior, anxieties about parental roles and in philosophical, theological and political conflicts over abortion (NCHS, 1987). There is concern that the recent increase in teen birthrate may reflect an increased difficulty for teens to obtain family planning and/or abortion services.

Thirty-seven states have enacted laws limiting minors' access to confidential abortion (NCHS, 1992) and few cities have not been touched by the demonstrations and advertisements of the "Right to Life" campaign. Additionally, federal cutbacks to family planning clinics (the source of contraceptive care for six out of ten teens seeking services) has resulted in fewer teens being served and provided with contraceptives (NCHS 1992).

Thus the political climate surrounding teenage pregnancy certainly requires the attention and exposure that is critical to obtaining funding for prevention and intervention programs. Getting attention--getting on the political agenda--currently often means presenting a policy issue as a "crisis" problem--one that is rampant and requires immediate attention. The critique presented here
is not offered as a critique of that process, but questions
and explicates how the political making of a crisis impacts
definitions and characterizations of teenage pregnancy and
what this has meant for policy development and program
intervention.\(^{21}\)

How has teenage pregnancy come to be a "crisis" issue,
a problem of epidemic proportions? Teenage pregnancy and
unwed mothers are not new to our modern society—the U.S.
has a long history of relatively early childbirth. Rates
of premarital pregnancy have undergone cyclical variations
over the last three centuries, with peaks in the 18th
century and in recent years (Zabin & Hayward, 1993).

Historical and societal changes in recent decades,
however, have profoundly altered the context within which
adolescent sexual behavior occurs. Nathanson (1991) upon
her historical review of society's response to teenage
sexuality concludes that until the early 1970s "deviant
sexuality was perceived as a white, middle-class problem,
especially divorced from reproduction; deviant reproduction
was a black, lower-class problem, an appropriate subject for
public policy because it affected the public purse" (45).

\(^{21}\)The literature reviewed and issues presented here
provide background for continued analysis of how teen
pregnancy is defined in Chapters IV and V. The
consequences of current political practices which
influence policy development are discussed further in
Chapter VI.
Nathanson then asks how then did a problem of unwanted pregnancy among "five million poor women" become transformed into an "epidemic of adolescent pregnancies among 11 million teenagers" (45)? The social, economic and cultural context of the period of adolescence changed dramatically in the 1960s and 1970s giving new parameters and visibility to teen pregnancy and childbearing. Zabin & Hayward (1993) cite several changes that have led to increased attention to teenage sexual activity.

The average age of menarche has declined (currently at a mean of approximately 12.5 years); the average age of marriage has risen; economic shifts have led to a need for longer educational careers; and sexual norms across society have altered. These trends have had an effect on the length of adolescence and increased the complexity of adolescent transitions to adulthood.

Nathanson (1991) points to the medicalization of women's sexuality and pregnancy, focusing upon themes of illness and prevention and an emphasis on "family planning" as a public policy instrument. Nathanson points out however, that while advocates found it easy to situate teenage pregnancy as a problem of epidemic proportions which

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Nathanson is referring here to the influential 1978 Alan Guttmacher Publication, *11 Million Teenagers*, which helped to situate teen pregnancy as a problem which affect the "girl next door"--"our" problem, "not only among the poor and minority groups, but in all socioeconomic groups" (U.S. Congressional House Select Committee on Population, 1978, 170-71).
required intervention, they were less successful in determining how the problem should be solved as the discourses of epidemic correspondingly involved and invoked moral concerns and confrontation with the ideology of the Moral Majority (Foucault, 1974/1990; Nathanson, 1991, 57-60).

Nathanson (1991) also identifies an on-going characterization of teenage pregnancy as a "problem of black teenage women on welfare" (65-68). Nathanson points out a continued, but misplaced, perception among policy-makers that government spending and teenage pregnancy are connected, the assumption being if one reduces the aid provided through federal welfare programs then births would dramatically decrease to single teenage girls.

While research has repeatedly refuted this hypothesis (Allen & Pittman, 1986; Bane, 1986; Duncan, 1984; Wilson & Neckerman, 1986), virtually every policy document and research article on teenage pregnancy presents information ("in almost identical phraseology" as Nathanson notes) relating to the number of welfare payments made to women who were single teenagers when their child was born. Nathanson also points to the distortion of teen pregnancy being "redefined from a white to a black problem" occurring "at time when both the rates and the numbers of births to
single, black teenage women were declining relative to those of whites" (1991, 66).  

Teen pregnancy as a "crisis" problem has been linked and defined through changing norms and definitions of adolescence, economic concerns, and race, class and gender representations. Specifically what role gender has played in defining teen pregnancy will be considered next.

Feminist Rethinkings of Teen Sexuality and Pregnancy/What's Gender Got to do With It?

Feminist attention to issues concerning adolescent girls has occurred only recently but lends an interesting critique and consideration of the issue of teenage pregnancy (Cussick, 1988; Weiler, 1988; Wolpe, 1989). Feminist theorists have identified that the information concerning teen pregnancy is limiting and tends to perpetuate stereotypical images that further disenfranchise our youth. There has been little work reflecting on the relationship of gender and sex role stereotyping and teenage pregnancy.

Yet, it would appear to be naive to ignore the impact of sexism on teen pregnancy. Gender issues have been specifically ignored in our educational systems, regardless of the evidence stating that schools are not meeting the needs of girls. The impact of gender and sexism on teen sexuality and pregnancy will be presented through three

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23For further discussion and detailed critique of this practice as well as examination of demographics related to teenage pregnancy see Nathanson (1991) Chapters 2 & 3.
phases: one, general research situating the impact of sexism on girl's in schools; two, a consideration of how sexism and sex-role stereotyping impacts sexuality and sex education programs; and three, a final consideration of how sexism impacts teen pregnancy creating what I term "gendered" pregnancies.

Sexism and Gender in Schools.

The study of gender and education has revolved around two main themes: one of equal opportunity (operating under liberal feminist and sex role socialization assumptions) and the other of anti-sexist interventions (influenced by critical feminist work) (Weiler, 1988; Weiner, 1985). The equal opportunity approach, which has received the most public attention and support, focuses on an equality of access to existing educational benefits.\(^4\)

Numerous studies based upon a notion of an "equality of access" point to the fact that while boys and girls start school at roughly the same abilities, by early adolescence girls decline rapidly in measures of mathematical reasoning and self esteem (for a summary of this literature see AAUW

\(^4\)A call for equal opportunities and equal access based on gender led to the passage of Title IX of the Education Amendments Act of 1972. Title IX created a legal grounding for equal opportunity for girls and women in educational programs receiving federal funding. Under Title IX, girls and women cannot be excluded from participation, denied benefits or be subjected to discrimination due to their sex. Title IX encompassed the prescriptive stance present in much of the equal opportunity research and passed with little public fervor or attention (Weiner, 1980).
report, 1992). It is commonly reported that by grade school boys and girls began to differentiate their skills and abilities by gender—they form separate play groups, seating arrangements and work partners. Teachers do not typically intervene in this process—it is viewed as natural and harmless.

However, this "natural" process often places severe limits, restrictions and demands on young girls and such differential treatment cannot be without effect. Moving from "young girl" to "young women" in American culture involves meeting these mixed demands and signals in a society that both idealizes and exploits the sexuality of young women, while assigning them roles that are clearly less valued than male roles.

A proliferation of research points to and sought to highlight the differential treatment of boys and girls in schools (Clarricoates, 1981; Mahoney, 1985; Spender, 1980; Stanworth, 1983). This research highlighted our use of language boundaries in gender stereotyping. For instance, researchers repeatedly noted that girls were described as "obedient", "tidy, neat, and orderly" while boys were described as "adventurous", "aggressive", "boisterous", and "confident". Feminist researchers question the consequences of such stereotypes. Schools were seen as responsible for shaping women into lower socio-economic achievements and domestic roles (O’Brien, 1987; Walkerdine & Lucey, 1989).
Sexism and Gender in Sex Education.

The above general discussions of sexism in education have influenced feminist thinking about sexuality and sex education. Catharine MacKinnon (1991) asserts that a feminist theory of sexuality would "locate sexuality within a theory of gender inequality" (209). MacKinnon (1991) views sexuality not only as a "pervasive dimension throughout the whole of social life", but also as a "dimension along which gender pervasively occurs and through which gender is socially constituted" (211).

MacKinnon (1991) argues that sexual theory must take into account and include discussions of social power by gender. Lees (1993) identifies a feminist approach to sex education as aimed at "challenging the sexism that is so taken for granted by boys and girls" (218). Wendy Hollway (1984) cites a hegemonic and dominant discourse surrounding male sexuality. Male sexuality is viewed as being produced by a biological drive, and thus activities and acts of aggression are seen as natural, respectable and are

25Nathanson (1991, chap. 6) provides a thorough review of the history of the "management of the sexually unorthodox girl".

26MacKinnon (1991) views the "sexual objectification" of women as primary to current power relations with consequences across theory and practice in the social sciences, medicine and legal fields. She thus characterizes gender to be a dimension through which other social divisions, such as race and class, "partly play themselves out" (211).
legitimized by experts. Women become the "object" in this discourse, defined both as "passive" and as "dangerous".

Hollway (1984) concludes that "sexuality is substantially what makes the gender division be what it is, which is male dominant" (211). Bland (1989) historicizes the positioning of women's sexuality as both innate and perverse. Medicalization of women's sexuality and women's bodies and mothering led to "calculating observation and monitoring" of women who are defined always as "abnormal" in reference to a rational and pure male norm (Bland, 1989; Bordo, 1989). Bland (1989) further discusses the internalizing of social discourses (what Foucault would term "bio-power") citing that for women "with the wild workings of her reproductive system....there was no escape" (58-59).

Walkerdine (1984) and McRobbie (1978) have expanded on this theme in their work with female adolescents considering the role of social practices and cultural forms (books, films, popular culture) on establishing heterosexual practices. McRobbie (1978), in her work on working-class girls, identifies the importance the girls placed on "attracting and keeping a man" as the assumptions of femininity that there is status and power attached to being attractive to men.

Women and girls reproduce accepted sexual practices often taking up the object position in male sexual drive discourse. Hollway (1984) found the same emphasis on
"attracting a man" in her work and summarizes that "these practices re-produce certain sexual and couple practices, and re-produce both gender difference and the inequality of women's position in the dominant discourses concerning sexuality.

Walkerdine (1984) specifically argued that cultural forms, practices, and positions not only concentrate girls on some pre-existent desire, but position girls within "discursive positions" which help to produce the fixing and channeling of desires by virtue of their production of power-knowledge relations. The "content" then of sexuality, desires and femininity can be viewed as neither arbitrary nor natural assignments but as situated within historical and contextual specificities.

What these researchers point to is the importance of gender power relations in considerations of social policy. Nathanson (1991) documents how the way teen pregnancy is defined carries distinctive policy implications (see her Chapter 8 for a detailed discussion of how definitions have been linked to various interventions). Policy discussions of teenage pregnancy incorporate ideological debates of the "normative status of adolescent female sexuality"--as a product of personal or social consequences or of "willful immorality". Pregnancy makes sex visible and Nathanson (1991) in her work discussing the "social control of sexuality in women's adolescence" states that the
"'immorality' to which the adolescent pregnancy label draws attention is not primarily reproductive, but sexual" (5).

It is often accepted that teen pregnancy is a problem of increased sexual activity without sexual knowledge (Diorio, 1985; Fine, 1988; Jurs, 1984). Sex education programs have thus been seen as the key to decrease high rates of teen pregnancy. However, recent feminist writing on teenage sexuality have pointed to the problems of sex education programs that are based on heterosexual, male norms (Fine, 1988; Lensky, 1990; Lott, 1987; Rofes, 1989). Research has also remained inconclusive on whether sex education courses increase the use of birth control measures.

The question then becomes what is happening when a group of teen mothers who have had repeated access to knowledge about sexuality and birth control continue to not use birth control (Cusick, 1989)? Barbara Spencer (1984) in her study of adolescent sexual behavior found that there were separate rules governing girls' and boys' sexual behavior. Few boys saw themselves as responsible for contraception, nor were they seen as responsible by the girls.

Spencer (1990) explains this by citing how the boys in her study accepted the general social view that girls are more consistently held responsible for their actions, while boys are only expected to demonstrate responsibilities under
certain conditions. Thus, for young women who operate under a double standard which condemns a girl as irresponsible if she does not use contraception and as unrespectable if she does, low contraception use may be expected (Lees, 1993).

Michelle Fine (1988) dramatically captures the inadequacies of our present sex education policies. Fine finds that current practices and language used in sex education programs lead to increased experiences, particularly for low-income females, of victimization, teenage pregnancy, and increased dropout rates.

Fine (1988) provides examples demonstrating how, in America, adolescent sexuality is frequently associated with metaphors of victimization and danger. Indeed, Fine states, that there is an aura of social ambivalence, a missing "discourse of desire", for the young female. Compare for example the goals of sex education programs. In Sweden, where sex education has been offered in schools since the turn of the century, the State Commission on Sex Education recommends teaching students to:

...acquire a knowledge...(which) will equip them to experience sexual life as a source of happiness and joy in fellowship with other (people). (Fine, 1988, 33)

Compare this to an exercise suggested in a major U.S. metropolitan sex education curriculum:

Discuss and evaluate: things which may cause teenagers to engage in sexual relations before they are ready to assume the responsibility of marriage. (Fine, 1988, 33)
This pattern of discussion of morality versus information is prevalent even among programs in the U.S. that are serving teens who are already sexually active, pregnant or parenting (Fine, 1988; Lees, 1986; Nathanson, 1993). Fine (1988) identifies four prevailing discourses of female sexuality in public school:

1) sexuality as violence;
2) sexuality as victimization;
3) sexuality as individual morality; and
4) a discourse of desire.

Sex education within the United States is predominantly developed and discussed around the first three discourses. The fourth discourse, a discourse of desire, is basically nonexistent in the official work of U.S. public schools. If introduced at all, it is as an interruption of the ongoing conversation (Snitow, Stansell & Thompson, 1983). The naming of pleasure, particularly for females, barely exists in the formal agenda of public schooling on sexuality. When spoken, it is in conjunction with reminders of consequences—emotional, physical, moral or reproductive.

Foucault’s (1974/1990), History of Sexuality—Volume I, however, counters this notion of silence, a missing "discourse of desire", surrounding childrens’ and adolescents’ sexuality citing on the contrary "multiplied forms of discourse on the subject". Foucault characterizes this discourse as also establishing a "web of discourses" and "coded contents and qualified speakers". Foucault cites inducement for practitioners and parents to speak about sex,
or speak to children about it, causes "children themselves
to talk about it" but only through "canonical bits of
knowledge" or "a (constructed) science which is beyond their
grasp". Foucault links this "multiplication of discourse"
to "interventions of power" creating an arena where child
and adolescent sexuality have become "an important area of
contention around which innumerable institutional devices
and discursive strategies have been deployed" (1977/1984,
311-312).

Thus, Foucault offers evidence that increasing
discourses about sex did not nor will not lead to a
liberation from oppression, but instead result in an
increase in social controls (Nathanson, 1991). Feminist
research offers a further consideration of this phenomenon
by exploring how gender and gender-power relations have
influenced and been constructed through discourses of
sexuality. de Beauvoir (1949) pointed to the domination
given to men reifying "woman" as an object. "She is defined
and differentiated with reference to man not he with
reference to her, she is the incidental, the inessential as
opposed to the essential. He is the subject, he is the
Absolute--she is the Other" (212).

Thus discourses of sexuality even in their
proliferation continually affirm woman as absent or as the
"other". No where is this practice more apparent than in
the language used to discuss sexuality. There is very
little socially accepted vocabulary to use to talk about the female sexual anatomy which is not derogatory or clinical. Carol Lee (1983) pointed out the difficulties and resistance in developing a sex education program for girls using certain words, such as vagina.

Lees (1993, 206) attests to the use of many euphemisms for female genitalia which begins in infancy and childhood (mothers show more reluctance in naming the genital organs of their daughters than of their sons, and if they do they do so at a much later age) referring generically to female genitals as her "bottom" or "down there". Females later are exposed to terms such as "cunt", which are depicted as dirty and shameful.

Two recent studies attest to the dilemmas of current constructions of female sexuality for young women. Deborah Lynne Tolman (1992) in her study of adolescent girls' sexual desire described a key finding to be a "centrality of the voice of the body in these girls' experiences of sexual desire". Girls repeatedly noted an "absence of embodied feeling" when describing a lack of sexual desire or pleasure. Urban girls in particular "voiced caution and control in their responses to desire, linking desire with danger and often silencing their bodies". Annette Lawson (1993) also documented this disembodied state of female adolescent sexuality. Lawson found pregnant girls, who had
obviously been sexually active, promoting a "wholesale rejection" of their own sexuality.

For example, Lawson (1993) noted girls stating, "No man has ever touched me" and "I wasn't there" when describing their sexual relations with boys. This recent literature points out the naming by teen girls themselves of a disembodied state—an abstraction of themselves from their bodies. The consequences of sexism for teen sexuality and pregnancy is further considered through a description of "gendered" pregnancies.

Gendered Pregnancies

Sidel (1990) and Weiler (1988) argue that current approaches to teenage pregnancy do not make sense. They state that teen pregnancy must be viewed within the larger societal framework—including race, class and gender—and that by doing so we will find that teens are doing exactly what our culture expects, and implicitly or explicitly, tells them to do.

Motherhood, inextricably tied to the concept of womanhood in U.S. culture, has been implicated by some feminists as holding the futures of most young women hostage. Young girls receive the continual message that no matter whatever else they aspire to, they will become mothers, and because most teen women expect to become mothers it is not surprising that some impatient teens may
choose to become mothers earlier rather than later (Cussick, 1989).  

Cussick (1988) explores how sex role stereotyping exasperates teenage pregnancy in a number of key ways. Stereotyping teaches young women that they are of less value than men, to be passive about their own sexuality, to place too high a premium on their ability to attract the other sex, and to see motherhood as their primary destiny.

While it is often claimed that there is little research about teenage fathers, I found this not to be the case. Additionally, when teen fathers are discussed in teen pregnancy literature the research and language is much more contextualized and never is blame assigned to the teen father in the way that is prevalent in literature surrounding teen mothers (Lawson & Rhode, 1993; Nathanson, 1991).  

Recently some feminist researchers have spoken about these double standards and diametrically opposed

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27 There has been a considerable amount of feminist attention paid to "mothering" ranging from views of motherhood as an "oppressive condition" (Rose, 1982) to attempts to validate and valorize a maternal instinct and "maternal thinking" (Ruddick, 1990). Pertinent to this research and what I believe Cussick is targeting is not to deny the desire to mother per se but to understand these desires as produced and situated within the norms and positions of social practices, and thus potentially changeable (additionally see Henriques, et. al., 1984, introduction to Section 3).

28 For further information on and programs for teen fathers see: Lawson & Rhode 1993—specifically Part Three—"Fathers"; Lindsay & Rodine, 1989; and Whatley, 1991.
expectations for young women. Weiler (1988) and Stewart (1981) point out the importance of considering the contributing factors of gender, historically and socially. Stewart specifically feels that when such a gaze is utilized what may have been seen as deviant (teen pregnancy) may alternatively be seen as a normal response to social expectations. McRobbie, from her study of white working-class girls resistance, viewed some girls use of sexuality as an opposition to authority and middle class definitions of femininity--resisting against notions of "good girl".

There has been other recent feminist work with teenage girls that is pertinent here. Acker (1992), for example, found that the social reproduction scenario reproduced itself for adolescent girls even in the presence of countervailing efforts. In this way, actions, language or policies that explicitly reproduced gender segregation were not seen as imposed--the girls in Acker's study felt that they had full choice and individual control over their choices and destinies.

Gaskell (1992) in her work on career choices among lower working class youth found that the youths "choices are

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29 Hilary Homans (1985) edited a book on the sociology of human reproduction considering political and gender forces as well as the medical model in the construction of reproduction practices, knowledges, contraceptive choices, health care, abortion and artificial insemination.
realistic given the messages and examples all around them." Michelle Fine (1991) problematizes our view of high school drop-outs and questions to whose benefit it is that we continue to define/frame drop-outs as deviant. Recent critical work on teen pregnancy has come to this same conclusion—that many young girls who become pregnant are doing exactly what our culture expects, and implicitly or explicitly, tells them to do (Cussick, 1989; Sidel, 1990; Stewart, 1981).

Teenage pregnancy thus cannot be removed and understood as separate from considerations of gender and sex-role stereotyping. Foucault and feminist theories point to society’s interests in regulating particularly women’s sexuality, further reinforcing teen pregnancy as strictly a female problem. Teenage pregnancy violates our image of what should be. The social public displays a unique voyeurism in relation to teen pregnancy that is specifically gendered (Lesko, 1988; Nathanson, 1991).

Policy Responses: Intervention or Prevention?

Teenage pregnancy as a policy issue has been caught in the dilemmas of defining the parameter of teen pregnancy. While teenage pregnancy has been an issue of growing concern, Deborah Rhode and Annette Lawson (1993) cite a lack of coherent policy response. Rhode and Lawson place the problem within a lack of consensus about what the problem
actually is and the politically volatile nature of questions surrounding teenage pregnancy.

For example, is the "primary issue morality, fertility, or poverty" (Lawson & Rhode, 1993, I)? Should policies concentrate on pregnancy prevention or focus on intervention? The problematic assumptions found in policy studies and teen pregnancy research (as discussed in Chapter I) further complicate policy responses to teen pregnancy resulting in incomplete or ineffectual intervention programs.

Typically teen pregnancy statistics have been used to call for policies to create a discourse to mandate, control, and monitor the issue of teen pregnancy. Yet, federal, state and local levels of government have found themselves caught in the cross-fire between those who feel government should subsidize birth-control services for teens and those who argue that providing such assistance would undermine family values, parental authority and legitimate sexual promiscuity (Rhode, 1993).

In 1978 Congress passed the Adolescent Health, Services and Pregnancy Prevention Act focusing on teenage pregnancy and supporting contraception as an alternative to abortion. However, the policy provided such limited services without adequate provision for evaluation that its impact remained minimal (Vinovskis, 1993). In reviewing the legislation, Rhode (1993) states that it is clear that "congressional
debate was ahistorical, uninformed, and more attentive to political pressures than to adolescent needs" (317).

In 1981, Congress passed the Adolescent Family Life Act (AFLA), supporting pilot demonstration projects related to teenage sexuality and pregnancy. Again however, funding limitations limited adequate analysis of program impact. Moreover, the AFLA banned any use of funds for provision of contraceptive services or abortion counseling, relying instead on encouragement of "chastity" and "sexual self-discipline". Many programs receiving AFLA funds have been religious. A 1988 Supreme Court decision sustained the act against the wake of widespread church-state entanglement (Brindis, 1993). Currently funding for AFLA remains at low levels and Rhode’s characterizes its limited availability as "an uneasy political truce" (Brindis, 1993, 317).

Responsibility for the issue of teen pregnancy has thus turned to the state and local arena. During the 1980s, over two-thirds of the states developed initiatives regarding teen pregnancy, although only a few targeted contraception as intervention efforts. While school-based clinics and "free condoms" campaigns receive extended media attention, by the early 1990s, only about one hundred clinics were operating nationwide, and only about two dozen schools had condom distribution programs (Rhode, 1993).

Given the politics surrounding teen pregnancy, policymakers have generally felt more comfortable about
supporting programs that help pregnant teens and their infants versus supporting programs aimed at postponing or preventing a first pregnancy. A number of comprehensive programs have been developed in this area.\(^3\) Such programs focus on health of mother and child, mother's completion of high school, preparation for financial self-sufficiency and delay or prevention of a second birth. Although these programs have served only a small portion of eligible pregnant teen parenting teens they have shown that attention to these areas significantly counter the negative impact of early parenting (Brindis, 1993).

Increasingly, over the past eight years teen pregnancy has been linked to school responsibility. Sixty-five percent of school administrators see teen pregnancy as one of their top ten problems facing the school system (Kenney, 1988). Even when socio-economic status, academic ability, and motivation to graduate from school are taken into account teen mothers are less likely to graduate from school (Kenney, 1988). This had led to the development of a variety of in-school programs for teenage girls who are pregnant and/or parenting.

The past five years have seen a proliferation of pre- and post-parenting programs operating within or in

\(^{3}\)See Lindsay & Rodine (1989) for a comprehensive overview of the programs targeting prevention, and also programs for sexually active teens, pregnant teens, parenting teens, and programs specifically for teen males.
conjunction with the schools. The goals of the programs include: prevention of pregnancy or of repeat pregnancy, basic knowledge of birth control, provision of child development information and parenting skills, and preparation of the teens for their future as providers. Experimentation with comprehensive health centers either on school sites or nearby, has also been used to target teen pregnancy.

Policy intervention or prevention responses to teen pregnancy, however, remain sporadic and mired in issues of morality which silence critical discussions of gender, sexuality, race and class related to teen pregnancy (Nathanson, 1991). Dryfoos (1990) acknowledges that current models of prevention for "at-risk" adolescents based upon "problem behavior syndrome" typologies ignore the complexities of gender, race, class and power in our society.

Summary/Policies, Bodies and Feminisms:
Informing and Disrupting Teen Pregnancy as a Policy Issue
The reviewed bodies of literature create a tension among and through their readings which when combined create an opening for a movement of "disembodied" policy to an "embodied" space. However, as the literature demonstrates the task is not so easy as to simply determine how policy theory may be informed by theories of agency, as attempts to embody implementation often remain tied to modernist traditions.
Foucauldian theory demonstrates dramatically how bodies are constructed and manipulated through social discourses and policies and how bodies themselves internalize and reproduce this process. Central to Foucault's theory is a conceptualization of "bio-power" and "power-knowledge". Feminist theory points to the further impact of gender on these relations and offers a critique of Foucault's "docile" bodies.

How do these bodies of work inform policy? Foucauldian and feminist theory point to the importance of unmasking the historical construction and situatedness of values, practices, and knowledge while at the same time considering the impact of gender on power-relations. Foucault and feminist theorist's lead to a questioning of identity as an innate phenomenon, citing the political nature of issues of identity.

Such queries inform policy studies growing acceptance of policy as a political act (Carlson, 1993; Ball, 1990) and informs critiques of policy's inadequacies in relation to macro-development and micro-implementation (Elmore, 1983; McLaughlin, 1990). However, policy discussions have remained silent and cautious to considerations of historical and social constructions of policy issues. Foucault and feminist theories offer lines of inquiry through which to explore these issues in educational policy.
Teenage sexuality and pregnancy presents itself as a policy issue tangled in the critiques and dilemmas highlighted in policy, body (Foucault) and feminist literature. Teen pregnancy has been targeted as a policy issue with many conflicting definitions of "the" problem and has become embroiled in moral and religious issues of abortion, teen sexuality and contraceptive rights which confound policy responses.

Policies targeting teenage pregnancy and parenting have tended to ignore the embeddedness of issues of gender, race sexuality and class in the problem of teen pregnancy thus developing programs aimed at reform and normalization for teenage girls. While a proliferation of programs exist for the prevention of teenage pregnancy, teen pregnancy still continues to increase. This runs counter to programs for teens in Britain where teen pregnancy rates dropped significantly in relation to the start of pregnancy prevention programs (Lees, 1986).

The inclusion of Foucault and feminist theories into an exploration of teenage pregnancy can aid in situating the issue of teenage pregnancy within a broader social construct. Feminist theories in particular require consideration of female sexuality as important to understanding teen pregnancy pointing to the inherent and conflictual sexism prevalent in discourses, knowledges and practices concerning female sexuality. Such considerations
have important implications for policy development and implementation and may offer means to explore an "equitable relationship" (as Ball states) between policy and agency.
CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY: ON-GOING, ADDITIVE AND DISRUPTIVE INQUIRY

Incorporating theories of the body into policy analysis promotes a changed methodology, an embodied "lived" methodological experience. Policy is an interpretive and symbolic act and thus positivist methods of inquiry are often incompatible and incomplete in identifying the political and contextual situatedness of policy implementation (Kelly & Maynard-Moody, 1993). Because this research attempts to promote an embodiment of educational policy--drawing upon Foucauldian, feminist and poststructuralist theory to situate the policy issue of teenage pregnancy in a larger, historical context--it will follow in Foucault's tradition of genealogy--paying great attention to detail, being careful to "seek not a meaning, but a precaution" (Foucault, 1977/1984, 182).

The proposal here is to engage in inquiry as recontextualization--as embodied, on-going, and disruptive--by bringing together differing actors, stakeholders and discourses and situating this inquiry within a larger social and political perspective. I am influenced by feminist theory and practice with its emphasis on political action.
and transformative possibilities. I am further influenced by Foucault's meticulous attention to detail and continual questioning of the constructions of power/knowledge and "truths". Thus, I utilize a combination of feminist methodology and Foucault genealogy to attempt an embodied analysis of a case study of teen pregnancy policy.

While this research relies upon a case study format, which is traditional in policy analysis, the goal of the research is not to follow the precedent for case studies in policy analysis to develop taxonomies as Howell & Brown (1983) suggest: "Out of case studies such as these we might expect in time to find help in producing a taxonomy of systems that would shed light on the varying behavior of different kinds of systems" (9). Instead, I will rely upon the use of genealogical inquiry to inform an embodied analysis of teen pregnancy policy which considers and takes into account discourses, power, bodies and knowledge.

The case study format and the influence of feminist methodology imbues this genealogical inquiry with narratives—with the voices of teenage girls, teachers and administrators. I rely upon the combination and juxtaposition of genealogical and feminist methodology in a case study format to illuminate a "communicative body" in policy—a "capacity for recognition which is enhanced through the sharing of narratives which are fully embodied" (Frank, 1991).
There is little support for this type of post-positivist inquiry in policy analysis. Guba and Lincoln (1987) view the policy analyst (or researcher) as subservient to the stakeholders. In their view, the analyst must accept "at face value" (212) the insiders' views. Kelly & Maynard-Moody (1993) have written one of the few articles dealing with policy theory in "the post-positivist era" and their writing is unique in that it seeks to clearly determine what post-positivism means for the methodology and practice of policy analysis.

Kelly & Maynard-Moody, who term post-positivism a "young intellectual movement" seem to be on to something they are not quite aware of. They question issues of interpretation in terms of who "should be empowered to interpret" (1993, 137). Kelly & Maynard-Moody (1993) see a changing role of the policy analyst in a post-positivist era and "argue that the analyst must challenge the insider to move beyond their narrow interpretations" (137).

Kelly & Maynard-Moody also specify two activities the policy analyst may use to engage in post-positivist inquiry. First, Kelly & Maynard-Moody suggest that the policy analyst make use of "practical reasoning"--which they define as being "a rational and critical reflection on actions or potential action that accepts the cultural embeddedness of policies" (138). Secondly, they claim in this way the analyst can examine problems from "different
frames of reference" and can work toward "intersubjective agreement."

Their second point is very important to their change in methodology for the policy analyst. Kelly & Maynard-Moody suggest that policy analysis be conducted within "interpretive forums." These forums would bring together various stakeholders and the analyst who would then "engage in inquiry as recontextualization by bringing together the various pieces of the historical puzzle and by engaging in practical reasoning" (138). They highlight the policy analysts' role as facilitator, not an expert "who lends his or her own subjective but outsider perspective to the evaluation process" (138).

Thus, for them, the "post-positivist role" for the policy analyst is to:

facilitate rational deliberation, to bring together multiple perspectives, to assist in the process of exploring alternative courses of action, and to aid policy makers and, perhaps, citizens in understanding the possible limitations of their current perspective. Kelly & Maynard-Moody report on the use of these methods in a study they conducted and point out that such methods which take into account local context and recipient needs should enhance successful implementation efforts.

Kelly and Maynard-Moody's work is interesting to me in terms of what they do not say. They basically begin to
describe the underpinnings of feminist methodology—engaging in social, political and personal transformation through research. Kelly and Maynard-Moody certainly emphasize this through their avowance of "interpretive forums" and their view that the policy analysts' role is to "challenge the insiders'...narrow interpretations."

While their language may be assumptive, terming insiders' views as "narrow", I see the possibility to extend their argument by describing insiders' views as constructed, layered, and political versus narrow. Thus, where Kelly and Maynard-Moody end, I begin. I believe a little over a year ago, I may have been satisfied with Kelly and Maynard-Moody's description of the role of the analyst. In fact, when I first envisioned my research I did so on the basis of some of these same beliefs. For example, after the first four months at my field site, I envisioned that what I would write would be representative of the girls' voices—I would give them voice. However, my first attempts at writing up my "data" felt very incomplete and often ended up voicing twisted polemics. Were the girls' views (interpretations) narrow, or were mine? Was the policy narrow, or was my representation of the policy "too feminist"? Was I too attached, too involved in the research and with the girls to
ever present the information "fairly", "intellectually" and in an "academic format"?

Further readings of Foucault, feminist theory and postmodernism problematized these issues. I began to see the need to place a discussion of teenage pregnancy within a larger social, historical, political context. This led to further questions and interest in the relationship between social policy and context specific lives. How do they interact and represent one another? Who influences who, when and how?

I turned to poststructuralist theory, postmodern writers, genealogical inquiry and ultimately to the body itself as my tool for uncovering polemics and representation. Postmodernism never lets me settle into one position for too long. Genealogy prescribes "precaution" and feminism acts as a constant reminder of the embeddedness of gender, race, class, ethnicity and heterosexism and how these are played out intricately in our lives. These "bodies" of literature--postmodern, Foucault and feminist--compeled me to feel, observe and experience the collusion, colliding and meetings of their theories of the body and representation.

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31These questions are raised directly from feedback I received from a professor on an early attempt at data analysis. These criticisms served as an impetus to explore further issues of representation, validity and the use of reflexivity.
This has been extremely uncomfortable at times. McNay (1992) suggests that feminist research needs to look beyond artificial polarities and "explore ways in which theory can be made compatible with the local" (8). While I agree with McNay, her characterization feels too neat to me. Influenced by genealogy, I wish not to find compatible relationships but responsive, conflicting, changing discourse for possibilities for social change. Through explorations of the constructions of relationships existing between policy and local context, my wish is to not simply authorize the local, but to situate and understand the discourses of power and practice which influence the naming, defining, and living of teenage pregnancy. Genealogical inquiry is conducive and productive of these goals.

In order to address the absences I observed and feel, I am trying to engage in a more politically critical,

\footnote{Here I am sure, I am the field (Linden, 1991). As I moved through this research, delving into a history of women's sexuality and childbearing options, I felt constructed, constrained, angry, fearful, and proud. I tied links to my mother, my sisters, my niece, my daughter, the young women I met—to the paths we had chosen and the paths (would they be new?) still to be walked. I found I could not do this research without thinking beyond my sample size. What I was writing often was my life and the lives of those I cared about. Such a realization and acceptance of this led me deeper into an analysis of political theory and a search for a practice/theory link (micro/macro discourses) necessary to effect social change.}
discourse-oriented inquiry (Fraser, 1990)\textsuperscript{3}. This approach shifts the focus of inquiry from a defining of teenage pregnancy to discourses (personal, social, historical, political) about teenage pregnancy. The discourses studied and analyzed will represent "official", "personal", and "counter" discourses. Thus this research will call upon and use a variety of data (counts and percentages; interviews; documents) to foreground, situate and embody discourses about teenage pregnancy and sexuality.

In considering how teenage pregnancy policy is constructed through multiple discourses, my aim is to offer a reconceptualization and questioning of current policy discourse. Implicit in this research is an exploration of power relations played out through policies. Studies of power tend to privilege either the organization or the individual, determinist accounts or individual self-actualization. This lends itself to a view of "undesirable practices in organizations as abuse, which can be remedied by good interpersonal relations and a new ethic" (Hollway, 1984, 56). It is not the intent of this research to identify "new ethics" but rather, as Foucault argues, to uncover strategies of power as they are camouflaged in the assumptive discourses and practices of political theory.

\textsuperscript{3}While Fraser does not classify her research methodology as "genealogical" she does cite Foucault and an understanding of Foucault's method of genealogy has been beneficial to my use of Fraser's work.
Such a framework which recognizes the social construction of subjectivity in social and power relations and discourses creates a possibility for change when it devises methods which do not conceal them. I have used the fields and literature of postmodernism, Foucault and feminism, in particular discussions of identity and the body, to engage in a line of inquiry which continually questions, counters and reveals the assumptions of the other. In this way, I have tried to develop an analysis which neither takes power away from the individual, nor valorizes the individual.

I also rely upon Michelle Fine's work (1991) as an impetus to identify the power of silences. "Silencing shapes language, representations, and even the forms of resistance permitted and not" (Fine, 1991, 9). Fine's work highlights the "policies and practices of exclusion" (8) and encourages us to unthink the ways we usually think about problems.

I guard against, however, the "view from nowhere" supposition that if "we only employ the right method we can avoid ethnocentrism, totalizing constructions, and false universalizations" (Bordo, 1993, 222). While I state that I am using the theories of Foucault, postmodernism and feminism to deconstruct layers of assumptive constructions and subjectivity, I also recognize that I always "see" from points of view which are invested with my own personal,
social and political interests. I do not wish to write through a denial of my locatedness but to situate and reflect on it when I am aware of its functioning in my research and analysis.

Research Design

Because of my interest in exploring and situating the discourse of a policy for teenage parents and its implementation considering how this school policy addressed, defined and responded to teenage sexuality and pregnancy, it was necessary to develop inquiry based upon multiple strategies and sites.

I explored these issues through three phases:

1. Situate policy surrounding teenage pregnancy and school involvement historically within the state specific to the events which led to the adoption of a state-wide model program for pregnant teens in 1984.
   * what was climatic "mood"/values when the policy was being formed? (media and cultural influences)
   * what discourses were spoken and how were they constituted? (embody discourse within time and place)
   * what did this discourse mean for funding, school involvement, program placement?

2. Identify the program's embodied discourses
   * document analysis of curriculum
   * observation of how discourse acted out in classroom
   * interviews with program teachers

3. Identify how teenage girls who are pregnant and/or parenting take on/negotiate/modify/resist the policy's discourse. What are the teen mothers' discourses in response to or separate from the policy's?
As identified, this research is based upon a case analysis of a policy program within a mid-western state. The case analysis allows for the possibility for theorizing of policy and policy making (Ball, 1990).

Site Selection and Pilot Study

Winter quarter 1992 I began "collecting data" for a qualitative inquiry course. I had chosen a school which had a program for teen girls who were pregnant because I had access to the school, having met the school administrator and the program teacher through my position as a parent trainer with a local parenting support program. I spent approximately two months on site at this school in a "pilot project" and then an additional seven months observing and gathering data.

My pilot project gave me insight and practice into interviewing as well as an idea of what other issues impacting teen pregnancy would be important to consider during my research. The pilot project also offered me access to an additional 12 school sites that I visited and gave me insight into questions to ask in my interviews with other teachers and state office administrators of the program.

Description of Policy Setting

The program for teenage parents this research is based on is called Graduation, Dual Roles and Reality Training (GRADS). GRADS was developed and implemented in the state
of study in 1984. GRADS is currently used in ten additional mid-western states and has been named a model program for intervention with teenage parents.

GRADS is a school-based program, whose primary goal is to keep teen mothers in school and prepare them to be financially self-supportive. GRADS originated in vocational education programs, linking teen mothers with training that would enable them to be marketable in the work force. This initial linkage supported the connection of placing young women in non-traditional fields.

GRADS is provided through home economics division of education tied to family life issues. GRADS classes usually meet for one to one and one half hours daily. GRADS provides a full curriculum for teachers covering issues of sexuality, pregnancy, childbirth, parenting, child development, self-esteem, goals and career choices, homemaking issues—such as care of home, healthy meal preparation etc, and health care issues. GRADS does not explicitly address issues of contraception and level of preventive discourse will vary according to discretion of the school.

GRADS holds as its tenet that teen girls who are pregnant have made a "poor life choice" and should be helped, citing the benefits of helping the young mother now instead of deeming the single mother to a life on welfare. A major component of GRADS philosophy and purpose of its
curriculum can be found in the following statement: "Student will solve problems related to the development of a positive self by identifying problems, evaluating information, considering alternatives, judging consequences, scrutinizing decisions and taking morally defensible actions" (APRG, 1989). See Appendix B for a detailed summary of GRADS history, curriculum and goals and current implementation data.

Selection of Participants

Classroom observations and interviews with teachers and teen girls were situated in two urban areas in a mid-western state. A total of 10 school sites were visited with an extensive nine month observation and involvement being conducted at one site. Over the past 18 months I have observed over 100 girls participate in this program. Thirty girls were "interviewed". Additionally on-going discussions, lasting over a nine month time period, occurred at one site with six girls.

As a feminist I often struggled during this research on whether to include teen fathers in my research design. While to do so was probably beyond the scope of this study, I also came to feel that while I certainly view teenage pregnancy as an unfairly "gendered" issue aimed at targeting teen mothers for prevention and thus blame, there is a strong need for feminist analysis of the issue of teenage pregnancy and what it means for young women. Little of this work has been done. Youth culture studies have focused upon boys; consequently issues of sexism and differing power relations are not even considered in most teen pregnancy programs.
The site where I spent nine months collecting data was unique in that it is an "alternative" school\textsuperscript{35} for high school students with behavior and learning problems. Additionally, I discussed the implementation of GRADS with 12 teachers who worked with the program and had two meetings with the state coordinator of the program.

**Data Collection**

As mentioned earlier data collection consisted of a variety of methods including observations, interviews with girls, interviews with teachers and state program coordinator and document/curriculum analysis.

**Observations**

Observations were conducted of the GRADS program at 10 different urban school sites. As indicated earlier six months was spent at one site situated within an "alternative" school. The purpose in observing the program was to identify how GRADS is implemented in the school setting, to familiarize myself with GRADS goals and curriculum and to observe how GRADS teachers and teen girls interacted with the curriculum.

Extensive notes were taken on activities, discussions, projects during observation. Additionally, at times after an observation I would engage in further reflection on my

\textsuperscript{35}Although this school was termed an "alternative" school, it should be noted that the students attending this school did not usually chose to come to it but were placed there after "failing" at one or both of the other high schools in the area.
observations noting questions or points of interest. Upon visiting several GRADS sites, I begin to find it important to note the structure and placement of the GRADS classroom within the school. There seemed to be a vast difference in "freeness" of implementation of GRADS curriculum based upon the size of the school and placement, size and comfort of the classroom.

**Interviews with girls: individual and group**

Very few studies of adolescent girls' sexuality are available. Often researchers have commented on the inaccessibility of adolescents. By conducting interviews during school time rather than after I avoided cutting in on the girls' own time and provided a diversion from their classes.

Initially, during my pilot study, I spent four weeks observing in the GRADS classroom, participating in groups or at times more intimate discussions when included by the girls. At that point I did not want to set up structured interviews--I felt I had much to learn about female adolescence and watched, listened and learned. After about five weeks, I spoke to the GRADS teacher and we decided that I would have set days and times I would be in the GRADS classroom. She announced this to her classes, told them know about what I was doing in school and let them know I was available to talk to them if they wished.
It felt important to me to have the "interviews" occur in this unstructured manner. I was worried about issues of difference and representation and felt this was one way to lessen the authority of my role as researcher. Additionally, I must admit, I had no idea what I should be "looking for". I was confounded by the images, voices and similarities with my own life of what I saw in the GRADS classroom versus what "the literature" "told" me about teenage pregnancy. I was also dedicated to this research coming from the girls--their voices deciding what to talk about, what was important to them.

Certainly, over time I identified themes--relationships with the school system, mother, father, boyfriend; conflicting voicings of "woman" and "mothering"; discourses of desire; conflicts with procedural social systems; wishes, dreams, hopes, fears--which I would follow up on. The use of non-directive, unstructured to semi-structured interviews enabled me to identify the above themes, follow up on them and allow the girls to be more specific and make connections across themes which helped indicate the social context of those feelings, beliefs and ideas (Lees, 1993).

It has been noted by several researchers how willing adolescents are to discuss intimate details about their lives (Lees, 1993; Herr, 1990). I found the same to be true. This is not to say that the girls did not view me as different from themselves and this likely affected their
responses. However, because of my connection with the parent support center the girls also knew and saw me function as single parent of two young children and clearly identified with this, asking me numerous personal and intimate questions about my life and my life as a woman and mother.

These discussions with the girls took place at a table in the GRADS room, on a couch in another area or even more privately in their teachers office (complete with rocking chair for the pregnant youth). I let the girls decide where they wanted to talk with me.\textsuperscript{36} Conversations lasted from ten minutes to one-and-one-half hours. Initially, I listened and would write up my notes immediately after my discussion with a girl. After establishing a relationship with some of the girls I would ask if I could write down what they said, as we were talking.

I did not use a tape recorder with my interviews as this seemed intrusive and contrary to the relationship I was establishing with the girls. Although I felt my notes taken immediately following or during a discussion, and I engaged in reflective entries to question my own assumptions and

\textsuperscript{36}Usually before I had my first "meeting" with a teen girl we had already discussed issues of confidentiality. Also because the girls were minors I had to solicit consent from a parent or guardian before "collecting data"--the necessity of this process did cause delays and may have impacted who I had "access" to.
readings, I decided I needed further "accounting" of the themes I was thinking through.

The use of triangulation is widely used and represented in qualitative research. However, I felt for this research such a researcher directed process would be out of synch with how the collecting of data had been handled to this point. Thus I decided to do a group activity with six girls with whom I had established relationships. We took an easel, paper and a marker to another room and I asked the girls to talk with me about being a teenage mother. I told them we would write down their ideas so we could see how "it all fit together".

It should be noted that the girls in this GRADS classroom were often required by their teacher to be reflexive about their own lives and think about their futures so they had some practice with exercises like this. From this exercise I was able to develop themes that the girls identified as important to their lives and then use these with and against the themes I was identifying from my representation of their interviews. I repeated this exercise with the girls four times during my analysis and found it further served to highlight theory/practice links and raise questions about contextual policies.  

37 Six months after my research, when I was engaged in writing I told my writing group that I now had a great idea for dissertation research. Upon going back through my notes, and re-visiting my field site I wish I had the foresight and the time to develop research which would
Interviews with teachers and administrator

I interviewed 12 teachers involved with implementing GRADS and one state-wide coordinator of GRADS policies and programs. The interviews with the teachers again followed an open-ended, non-directive format designed to engage them in discussing their experiences in implementing GRADS programs. These discussions were recorded as they occurred and I engaged in reflexive note-taking after each interview.

Certainly, my relationship with the teacher at the site I spent six months at was much more involved and revealing than the relationships I established with other teachers at other school sites after only one to two visits. Thus, in data presentation and analysis, this differentiation will be noted. The statewide administrator was interviewed to determine a macro perspective of GRADS policies and implementation and to gain an understanding of GRADS within the political climate of the state as well as to situate it historically.

Documents

Fortunately, GRADS state-wide coordinators have been organized individuals and thus I was able to avail myself of historical documents relating to the conception and consequent funding and implementation of the GRADS program have explored policies for teenage parents developed by teen parents. The beginnings of this occurred during the group exercises with the girls and I believe the possibilities and illuminations of such research would be exciting and further engage research as theory-practice.
within this state. These documents included early notes and memos relating to the development of a policy program for teenage parents; early drafts of curriculum; detailed quantitative evaluations of pilot programs; grant proposals; and step-by-step monitory of GRADS from a fledgling program to one that is now implemented almost state-wide.

Additionally, GRADS policy manual and curriculum guide were read and reviewed.

**Data collection time frame**

Data collection began during a pilot study January 1993 and continued until February 1994. Specifically, the nine month period spent in the "alternative" school site occurred January 1993 through October 1993. See Appendix C for an outline of pilot and data collection time frames.

**Data Analysis: Writing and Representing Data**

Analysis is personal and political. As presented earlier, I am in this research. Thus in writing and representing I will seek to make my manipulations visible.

For writing, like a game that defies its own rules, is an ongoing practice that may be said to be concerned, not with inserting a "me" into language, but with creating an opening where the "me" disappears while "I" endlessly come and go... (Trinh, 1989, 35).

The theoretical influences of this research encourage me to moved toward an "embodied sense of analysis and representation". Through such an exploration of an
embodiment of educational policy, critical aspects of praxis and policy (for whom, with whom, to whom, on whom and to what end) will be introduced. The purpose of such analysis is not to find conclusions but to invite space, questioning, and critique—in essence creating possibilities for more possibilities. Trinh Minh-Ha (1991) states:

To challenge the regimes of representation that govern a society is to conceive of how a politics can transform reality rather than merely ideologize it. As the struggle moves onward and assumes new, different forms, it is bound to recompose subjectivity and praxis while displacing the way diverse cultural strategies relate to one another in the constitution of social and political life. (68)

An embodied notion of analysis challenges the "regimes" and traditions of representation. Before discussing what that may mean, or look or feel like in this research, some issues of ethics and politics will first be addressed.

On politics and ethics

The art of doing ethnography, field work, or qualitative research often includes discussion of the researcher "going native". The goal of the researcher is to obtain the "insiders" view of what is going on in the field site. It is through this insiders' filter that the researcher gathers, perceives and interprets her surroundings. It is widely accepted in the social sciences
that the researcher's view, filtered though it is, is more valid than the participant's. Wax (1971) writes:

...while the outsider simply does not know the meanings or the patterns, the insider is so immersed that he may be oblivious to the fact that patterns exist. (3)

While the above represents a fair assessment of what the field researcher attempts to do in her field work, it also ignores the politics and ethics of doing field work. Indeed, this is an area that until recently has not received much attention—it is rare to find researchers who tackle the issue of the politics of their field work beyond a simplistic and traditional view. However, it is vital for researchers to consider "the politics of the gaze"—to consider who is looking at whom and for what purpose. The outcomes of such exploration will dramatically affect researcher conduct and use, analysis, and reporting of information from the field site.

Much of what has been written concerning the field worker situating herself in the field site is pertinent and relevant to a discussion of ethics and politics in fieldwork. Wax (1971) speaks of the phenomenon of "shared meanings" that is acquired in the field. Wax equates this phenomenon to the task of learning a new, strange language. First the language appears to be all mumbo-jumbo; then patterns begin to emerge—the patterns begin to make more sense and the student proceeds from halting discourse to
increased fluency. Wax would further describe this process as a "resocialization."

Wax warns against, however, thinking that resocialization supplies the fieldworker with the same authority as the native. Often the field researcher creates a grandiose vision of the effect of her work and insight. We, as researchers, must accept that we produce our field sites; they are "constructed" not "found" worlds and our role in them is a socially negotiated relationship (McLaren, 1991).

Unfortunately ethnography has clung to some positivist stances and terminology in its search for acceptance as a valid and valuable methodology. We can still read examples of doing observations where the researcher is as "unobtrusive" as possible and is thereby studying the "natural environment". The researcher is often described as not involved in the field site--and the affect of the researcher in the site, for example, observing in the classroom everyday for 6 months, on the teacher or the students are often not addressed or considered. Validity issues as defined in the positivist tradition have kept qualitative researcher from, until recently, recognizing, admitting and rejoicing in the fact that research is not neutral (Lather, 1986).

Accepting this knowledge, instead of inhibiting the field worker, offers a whole new realm of exploration and
possibility for change oriented research that before was
difficult to discuss. In essence, a new language is being
written for dialogue of critical, or praxis-oriented
research (Lather, 1986). Entry, access and collection of
"data" are not something that is given to the researcher--
lines of communication and social vantage points through and
from which the researcher is permitted to make her
observations are negotiated and re-negotiated throughout the
field experience. This can only occur through a mutual
reciprocity by the researcher and the researched. "Immersion
or stepping into,...is always a joint process, involving
numerous accommodations and adjustments by both the
fieldworker and the people who "accept" him" (Wax, 1971,
43).

There is a fine line that the astute researcher must be
cognizant of--the line between doing and not doing in the
field site. How involved should the researcher become?
What are the consequences of the researcher's involvement?
and importantly, What is the motivation behind the
researchers' involvement? Wax divides the fine line into
two opposing roles: one, the researcher allows herself to
be "convinced" that she must act, she must become involved;
two, the researcher may hold herself in so tight a role of
rigid "neutrality" that she is rendered motionless.

Listening and writing with reflexivity are tools to
help one situate oneself and be cognizant of the ways your
personal history can influence the research process (Ball, 1990). Through the use of reflexive writing the researcher or peer debriefer will hopefully determine the filters through which the researcher is working and thus keep the critical framework from "becoming the container into which the data are poured" (Lather, 1986). Williams (1990) considers her use of reflexivity a form of additional fieldwork: "My notes constitute the field, and my attempt to understand them is in a very real sense fieldwork (255).

Williams (1990) also equates fieldwork with the task of analyzing her own experiences in the process of fieldwork. "Understanding emerges out of interaction between me as a researcher and the situation within which I find myself—out of the questions that emerge from my response to the situation" (254). In the search for how the act of conducting or situating oneself as a researcher impacts the field site, critical ethnography has gained attention.

Critical ethnographers seek research accounts that attempt to understand the "ways social class, race, and patriarchy intersect to reproduce current social relations" (Anderson, 1989). Reflexivity in critical ethnography grows beyond the relationship of the researcher to the data. According to Anderson it involves a dialectical process consisting of:

* the researcher's constructs;

* the informants' commonsense constructs;
the research data;
the researcher's ideological biases; and
the structural and historical forces that shaped the social construction under study.

Lather (1986) defines reciprocity as "...a mutual negotiation of meaning and power." She further talks of "research as praxis". That is research geared to help those being researched understand and change their situation--"empowering the researched." Such research would include the negotiated construction of meanings between the researcher and the researched. The most unorthodox of Lather's suggestions is that of what she terms catalytic validity. Catalytic validity: "...represents the degree to which the research process reorients, focuses, and energizes participants toward knowing reality in order to transform it..." (272).

While Lather discusses these issues in the context of validity, I believe they are also pertinent to the politics and ethics of doing research. Questions about whether to intervene in a research site and to what extent--what is the researcher's social role in the site--are essential to all researchers and ought not be classified only as issues of validity and reliability (Gitlin, Siegel, & Boru, 1989).

Ethics in qualitative research are often dealt with in a minimalist manner using positivist terminology. This is not to say that these issues are unimportant, only that when provided alone they do not speak to the complexities
involved in field research. Briefly, commonly addressed issues are presented by Eichelberger (1989) who offers a basic section on "Ethics in Research" which presents a historical outline of ethics in research and then considers the issues of informed consent, coercion, withholding of information, exposure to mental or physical stress etc. (the issues were taken from the third edition of Research Methods in Social Relations, 1976). Bogden & Biklen (1991) also discuss the same issues in their section on Ethics and later point out that observer’s comments are a way for the researcher to track any concerns and aid in working them out.

As is obvious to the reader by now, field research involves a dramatic array of issues and dilemmas beyond informed consent. I would question the usefulness of the above categories to the field researcher. What is informed consent in praxis-oriented research? It seems the "lines" are melding and crossing in change oriented research. This does not mean that ethics should not be discussed in the doing of such research.

To the contrary, I believe such discussions are essential to the outcomes of the research, but that the language we use to explore the issue of ethics needs to be different from traditional, quantitative phraseology. The very act of discussing the politics and ethics of our work in those terms places our research in a political position.
Helpful here is a chapter "Field Relations and the Discourse of the Other" by Peter McLaren (1991). McLaren attempts to move beyond the "policing structure" of field relations to explore such issues as whose interests are being served by the inquiry and what are the politics of the research. McLaren supports the notions mentioned earlier that field workers create their field site.

We are, in effect, both the subject and the object of our research. It is within this context that we strive as field researchers to create an atmosphere of place and tradition that will act as a lure to the "right" kind of informants—those who will largely be compliant with our research agenda by conforming to our normative understanding of them. (152)

Wax (1971) found herself in this dilemma in her field work in Japanese American Relocation Centers. She found herself at one point developing a strong belief in what constituted an authentic Japanese American and began to critically judge all others against this vision. Wax stated that by maintaining her interviews, observations and writing she was able to slowly work through this situation without presenting data that were overly biased in one direction. I would have liked to have had Wax further discuss this issue; it seems to me this attitude had a strong influence on her actions and her writings that she is not acknowledging.
For example, Wax during her field work in Japanese American Relocation Centers also "...did two very unprofessional deeds." Wax went to the Department of Justice staff and provided information that in one case lead to the release of a man and in the other led to a man's internment to Japan. In the last case, the expatriate, "...had appealed to the American army to remove him because certain of the young men confined with him were threatening to kill him." Although Wax writes later that perhaps one should not get as involved as she did and that she did not always conform to research ethics, it is disappointing that she did not explore the politics of her actions in more detail.

When one reads through Wax's field notes with her reflexive comments you do get a flavor of the struggle she went through in her site--"If anyone had told me that I was about to "interfere" in a field situation and that I was thereby breaking a primary rule of scientific procedure, I think I would have laughed or, perhaps, told the admonisher to go to hell." But this is as far as the issues are explored from a political or ethical standpoint.

As a way to move beyond the political power set up of most research, McLaren supports the act of doing research with, not on, a group. McLaren attempts to decenter the researcher as the master of discourse and refuses to analyze in the mode of dominator. "The activity of the researcher
is as significant as the action of the discourses of field research on the researcher" (154). McLaren further recognizes and acknowledges the school as both a "social and political site". He states that it is vitally important that the researcher make her intentions clear from the very beginning of the research. This may include the researcher sharing her confusion about her role in the field site without hiding the research agenda that is driving the research project.

In order to do this the researcher must be able to recognize "conflicting discourses" within herself and be willing to let go of "already-formed preconceptions". McLaren's words seem simple but are very powerful, suggesting a movement away from the gaining of "true" knowledge to discourses within the research site. This type of reflexivity would dramatically alter the researcher's role, position and purpose in their field site.

McLaren is also very sensitive to the issue of the omnipresence of the researcher in a school setting. Just by being present in an environment as researcher sets up roles of "doing research on" and power over relationships. McLaren sought to remedy this situation by entering the field collaboratively and engaging in ongoing discourse concerning field site analysis and personal history that was contributing to the analysis. McLaren attempted to move
away from self as the instrument to creating co-determinants of meaning.

Cultural differences in field settings are often problematic for the researcher and the researched. McLaren writes: "...the very attempt to capture cultural difference (e.g. the alien) in many respects served to construct my own subjective location and the discursive grounds upon which I stood as a white, middle-class male" (160). Furthermore, he writes,

...researchers need to become aware of how they can unwittingly become complicitous in the hostile displacement of minorities as those who possess a prehistorical surplus of culture, which celebrates the distance middle-class whites have evolved (e.g., have become rational). (161)

This leads to discourse on who should be looking at who? Can a white male do research at a college for black females? Do the "techniques" of reflexivity and peer feedback provide the means for this researcher to recognize his own history and its impact on his research. Is it enough that the researcher is "aware", or can we only read the researcher's text through the limitations of the researcher's filter? Are some filters "better" than others for certain field sites?

It seems it is imperative for those who want to do fieldwork to engage in practice of such research under the
guidance and support of others (i.e. in a university setting). Through such "pilot" work individuals can become aware of what their strengths and limitations are in different field settings. One person may feel very comfortable and fluent in research "across", while another individual may falter or block in such a setting.

Reading, doing and discourse seem to me to be the tools of learning to be effective and productive as a qualitative researcher. In this manner, individuals gain insight into what history they bring to the field site; what motivates their work; how they will situate themselves and the consequences of their choices. Via their strategies, researchers can explore the politics and ethics of their work and become practiced at speaking and writing about it. McLaren (1991) writes:

As field researchers it is important to be aware of the controlling cultural mode of our research and the ways, often multifarious and unwitting, in which our subjects and our relationship to them become artifacts of the epistemes that shape the directions of our theorizing by fixing the conceptual world in a particular way by

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38 Although one would hope "Ethics and Politics" would not become like other methodology sections utilizing the same "key" and "appropriate" terminology over and over again—this would utterly defeat its purpose as situated discourse about an inquiry's specificities.
selecting particular discourses from a cultural range of possibilities. (162)

**Validity and representation**

**Validity**

Validity is deemed to be the crux of determining the authority and acceptance of social science research. Validity determines the acceptance and honor of the researcher's work. I view validity as a political issue and often ask myself if it is a question that should even be asked or addressed. However, it is a term still widely accepted and used and therefore I will discuss how I have come to view and understand "validity" in terms of this research. I sympathize with Lather's (1993) continued use of the term "validity" to "both circulate and break with the signs that code it" (674).

As discussed earlier a major component of this research consists of a methodology of interrogation—a use of differing bodies of research to interact and fragment the discourses and practices surrounding the issues of teenage pregnancy and sexuality. Thus, this research rests upon an acceptance of multiple validities—seeking not to systematize discourses but to disperse, highlight and fragment discourses. Validity is in this sense "grounded in theorizing our practice" (Lather, 1993, 674).

As Foucault (1984, 79) states, "What is found at the historical beginning of things is not the inviolable
identity of their origin; it is the dissension of other things. It is disparity". I found I have an innate and humanist desire for answers, for the validity of "truths" which have been ingrained in theory as necessary for social change. In my efforts to challenge my own desire for certainties and search for differing relationships between policies and implementation, I began to identify what I came to call a "validity of discomfort."

The tendency to want to come to "one" knowing led me to pursue and use differing bodies of literature and practices to interrogate this knowing--to explore how these "discourses of truth operate in relation to the dominant power structures of a given society" (McNay, 1992, 25). "Truth" operated as an "instrument of mastery which I exert over areas of the unknown as I gather them within the fold of the known" (Trinh, 1991, 12). I sought to move beyond a gathering of "truths" into existing "folds of the known" to "interrogate the truthfulness of the tale and provide multiple answers" (Trinh, 1991, 12).

This process of interrogation and fragmentation felt uncomfortable on my body, but ultimately led to further exploration, insight and inquiry along a path I previously had not considered. I began to identify this discomfort as my measure of validity for this research. I can only explain it as a pull on my body, which I at times countered with resistance and at other times embraced. I began to
equate this "validity of discomfort" with what Spivak (in Harasym, 1990, 9) terms the need for us to engage in "un-learning our privilege as a loss". Through a pursuit of identification and fragmentation of the discourses of teenage pregnancy and sexuality, I fragmented my own life. In order to pursue my goals of establishing a "new" relationship between theory and practice, I had to un-learn, unthink and rethink modernist privilege prevalent in policy studies.

Thus, I came to identify my times of feeling too comfortable, in my body, in my privilege, as times of "false validity". False validity is alluring, seductive—promising categories and neat data analysis chapters which policymakers could easily access for prescriptive policies of social change. I would fall into its lure only to be hit by a postmodern turn or Foucauldian note of precaution and confronted by the conflictual realities of the girls I came to know. Trinh T. Minh-Ha (1989) writes:

So where do you go from here? Where do I go? and where does a committed woman writer go? Finding a voice, searching for words and sentences: say some thing, one thing, or no thing; tie/untie, read/unread, discard their forms; scrutinize the grammatical habits of your writing and decide for yourself whether they free of repress. Again, order(s). Shake syntax, smash the myths, and if you lose, slide on, unearth some new
linguistic paths. Do you surprise? Do you shock? Do you have a choice? (20)

So I wait and read, reflect, observe, talk and wait, at times apprehensively (where would it take me this time?) for a validity of discomfort to come over me again.


What I came to call and feel as "validity of discomfort" operated mainly on an individual level during times when I would be staring at my data, piles of journal notes and transcriptions, and attempting to put them into some representative form. While this validity measure served me well in the writing of this research, I also depended upon another form of "validity check".

This second form of "validity" could be viewed as more external and served to act as a check for myself on the "accurateness"—the sensitiveness—of the themes and quotes I was using to tell the stories I had heard told to me. On four different occasions I did "validity checks" which consisted of myself and five teen girls brainstorming ideas about a topic which affected their lives. However, what I came to call a "validity check" was not developed for that purpose at all.

Initially this exercise rose out of my own desire to engage in some form of reflective praxis with the girls I had been talking with and beginning to form relationships. I was reading Sandra Cisneros The House on Mango Street at
the time and was moved by the texture of her writing. I thought a group writing activity would be useful and helpful to the girls and myself as a form of reflective practice. Many of the girls told me that talking with me helped them and they would sometimes approach me a week later on an issue we had discussed that they had been thinking about. I also knew the girls had writing assignments as part of their program and two of the girls I had been talking with said they liked to write poetry.

The first writing group activity occurred in a playroom with five volunteers and myself. I had planned to talk with the girls about writing a story together about teenage pregnancy and parenting and brought chart paper and markers to write down what we said. What I did not plan for was the interest and spontaneity of the girls. They decided to start their joint story with memories from their own childhood.

I was born brown and beautiful.

You grew up fast in my neighborhood.

You learned you needed a man but that they would let you down a lot.39

From here the girls moved to themes of school, boys, sex and pregnancy continuing to make statements which built upon each other. Here is an excerpt from their discussion of "boys":

39The quotes in this section are taken directly from the writing exercises and are presented as examples.
You flirt. You try to look really cool.
You meet older boys.
They say you’re really hot.
They say they can’t live without you.
You’re horny.
You do it, and do it, and do it. You can’t get enough.

After the first writing group activity exercise when I reviewed the data we had generated in a short 30 minutes I realized how data rich this experience was. I wanted to find a way to incorporate the data generated in this exercise so I began to use data from these meetings as themes for representations of individual interviews. These themes form the organizational headings for "girl talk" in Chapter V.

Data Analysis and Issues of Representation

Representation became an issue for me in my research early on. I began to feel critical of reflexivity as a method to identify our assumptive worlds. Representation, writing, voices, position, bodies, text, the lure of authenticity, the knowledge that "'breaking rules' still refers to rules" (Minh-Ha, 59), the "other" in every "I". Reflexivity began in some way to feel artificial and constructed to me. I find myself reflecting on my reflecting on my experience (Richardson & Lockridge, 1991).

Where does this get me? What does it all mean? Where is my validity? Do I buy it, subscribe to it, believe in
it? Who is speaking—when and for whom and why? When I accept that social reality is presented, constructed, not known, indeed, that it is "created...by the active construction of a text" (Van Maanen, 1988, 7), the responsibility and privilege feels overwhelming—how do I write?

Thus the writing and representation of data analysis in this research necessarily made apparent the "problems inherent in ethnographic writing (which) have been obscured" (Linden, 1991, 3), to "lift the veil of public secrecy surrounding fieldwork" (Van Maanen, 1988, 91). Data analysis offers a means to work through a feminist poststructuralist lens, specifically in representation and presentation of subject/other. While I accept that "a postmodern approach to feminism thus calls for a total rejection of the epistemology that rests on the subject/other dualism" (Hekman, 1990, p. 93), and that "unless feminists can displace the epistemological presupposition of the subject they will continue to search for the chimera of objective knowledge (Hekman, 1990, 96), I have struggled with how to do this in my own work.

Silencing this pain leads us to equate the writing process with methodology. We read other writers in our genre and gain practice and insight on the "appropriate" phrases to use—the struggles which are appropriate to
witness. In other words, we believe there exists somewhere a methodology, standards for writing and representation.

The semantics and texture of art and performance and the personal have made their way into social science writing. While I embrace multi-modal writing, I fear that in our haste toward creativity and postmodern examples and pursuit of legitimation much has been left unexplored. I fear if I embrace what is current I am only re-canonizing again. For example it has become acceptable and in some instances derigeur for the author to cite where s/he is positioned at the beginning of her paper.

I began to question the popular practice of situating one's locatedness through a listing of attributes: white, heterosexual, middle-class, Jewish, academician. I began to view such practices as practicing "enlightened feminist projects", as devices of legitimatization. Cixous (1981) refers to this as the process of identifying the master, "in short, to salute...and show their identity papers" (51).

Positioning in this manner also sets up examples of how a feminist postmodern text reads. What does it mean to say I am writing from a feminist poststructuralist position? Because I say it, should the reader buy it? "Can any one of us write like a man, like a woman, like a white?" (Trinh, 1989, 19). How does a feminist postmodern text look, feel, move, perform?
The point seems to be that somehow if I as the writer position myself at the beginning of my paper I have taken care of the dilemma of positioning myself. I have aired my "dirty linen" and "cleaned my closet of any skeletons" which may be used against me to invalidate my work because I have stated up front where I am coming from. Therefore, I expect the reader to take this into account into my reading and my representation of "others."

While I do feel I as researcher/writer bring my "peculiarities of inner experience" (Kreiger, 1991, 47) to the dialogue, does this relieve me of the necessity of critique of my position, my assumptions? Positioning of the author may be read as a prescriptive disclaimer warning off critical interrogation (Alcoff, 1991). Can critique occur with an author who up front states they are speaking from a specified limited location? Is the need to position related to privilege?

I wonder if such attention to difference only served to create an exotic "other" and a "paralyzing anxiety" (Bordo, 1993, 225). Do such listings of locatedness actually politically serve as a denial of locatedness? Foucault (1974) reminds us that "everything is dangerous." No theory or practice, not even those which seek to measure its adequacy in terms of justice to heterogeneity, locality and thus difference, can place itself beyond this "danger."
Of importance then to the task of data analysis for this research is the issue of representation. These issues of representation tie into policy's own dilemma of representation in policy development and analysis. How then do we as Trinh (1989) asks: "inscribe difference without bursting into a series of euphoric narcistic accounts of yourself and your kind" (28)?

**Conclusion**

Chapter III situated the methodology and inquiry of this research as on-going, additive and disruptive. The inquiry utilized in this research has been influenced by genealogy and theories of the body in an attempt to promote an embodied "lived" methodological experience. Chapter III describes this inquiry as occurring across multiple sites and through multiple modes of data gathering including document analysis, interview and observations. A discussion of "ethics", "validity" and "representation" describe both where I, the researcher, am in this research and text and how I "dealt" with these issues during the research process and their uses and insights for this research.
OVERVIEW OF CHAPTERS IV & V
"DISCOURSES" OF TEENAGE PREGNANCY

Chapters IV and V will seek to present "data" embodying multiple discourses surrounding teenage pregnancy in Ohio. The intention and attempt of these chapters is to present, situate and listen to varying forms of data used to make decisions concerning intervention in the area of teenage pregnancy. Thus, data ranging from prevalencey counts to interviews with teen girls will be presented. The intent of the analysis is to unthink what we think we know about teen pregnancy and to think about how we come to know what we know.

The chapters follow the interests of Chapter II, attempting to uncover larger "discourses" of teenage pregnancy. This approach views all "social utterances, whether vocal, behavioral, stylistic, ritualistic, as part of ongoing social dialogues" (Lesko, 1991, 47). As Chapter II demonstrates these "social dialogues", the "talk" surrounding teenage pregnancy carry weighty implications for program development and implementation.

Chapter IV is concerned with the larger social construction of teen pregnancy and begins an analysis of discourses at a macro-level. This analysis turns its gaze upon and questions "official" discourses such as statistical, demographic and program evaluation data in order to identify the construction of teen pregnancy as a
social and educational policy problem and to identify a "network of social regularities that constitutes what becomes visible as a social problem and what becomes socially visible as a range of credible policy solutions" (Scheurich, 1994, 9).

Chapter IV presents these networks of "social regularities" as important to identifying what we think we know about teen pregnancy. The influence of the media in the construction of teen pregnancy is also considered. How these regularities are then carried--through "regulatory functions", "surveillance" and "control of bodies--'bio-power'"--into the development and evaluation of GRADS--the teen pregnancy program--is discussed. A re-reading and re-interpretation of GRADS talk identifies "silences and absences" providing a critique of current representations of teen parents which aids in an unthinking of what we know and how we come to know it.

Chapter V provides an analysis of how the social construction of teen pregnancy, including the "network of social regularities", is lived and negotiated by teachers and teen girls who are pregnant through the telling of "Classroom Stories". "Classroom Stories" include classroom observation and interview data comprised of "Teacher Talk" and "Girl Talk". These stories seek to identify how "Official Stories" are experienced, lived and countered in GRADS classrooms by GRADS teachers and students. In
addition, how these stories are lived out in girls bodies, in a larger context of regulation and surveillance by schools and communities, is explored through a discussion of "Architecture and Bodies".

An Interlude occurs between Chapters IV and V which provides further contextual information by presenting a story of a "typical day" and a "baby day" in a GRADS classroom. In this section, I enact my grappling with the role and placement of the researcher's voice, my voice, in this inquiry and analysis. What does it mean that I have contained my reflective voice to footnotes? What role has my attempt at genealogical inquiry played in this occurrence?

Chapters IV and V thus provide an analysis of discourses surrounding teen pregnancy which is situated within statistical data, classrooms, buildings, bodies, media and communities. The tone and variety of the data presented is complex and at times contradictory. The stories are not easily told or conveniently separated—they confound and complicate one another.

I have struggled with the need to imbue the stories, the "data-talk" with theory, to "validate" this knowledge-making, versus my desire to have the data, the talk, stand on its own. Thus, at times "data" is presented verbatim from texts, interviews or observations without researcher interpretation. At other times, my own and other voices
interrupt and interpret in attempts to reveal discourses and question the practices of current representations.

In this way I attempt to acknowledge Judith Butler's (1993) assertion that the "demand to think contemporary power in its complexity and interarticulations remains incontrovertibly important even in its impossibility" (19). Butler further affirms the "partiality of a text" as a condition which may serve as a statement of the "radical character of its insights" (19).

Thus, Chapters IV and V, although conditioned by the norms of dissertation "data analysis", exist outside any illusion of exhaustive data display, foregrounding the inevitable partiality of data analysis. The attempt at analysis became not one of answering questions or creating "neat" knowledge, but an effort at juxtaposition of multiple and varying discourses, leaving space for the provocation of the unintended and the unanticipated.
CHAPTER IV

THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF TEENAGE PREGNANCY:
GENDER, RACE, and CLASS AS ISSUES OF SOCIAL CONTROL

Interpreting and Interrupting Official Talk:
Representations and Silences

"Official talk"—statistics, demographics, charts, tables, means, averages, numbers, and even case studies in "official" reports—are viewed as just that—"official."
"Official" data are accepted in their assumed expertise and neutrality. They tell "facts" which cannot be argued with, "facts" gathered scientifically and produced mathematically. Demographic facts are seldom questioned but frequently used for purposes of regulation and distribution of services and resources.

What would it mean to question "official talk"—to consider what discourses and representations "official talk" promotes? A process of questioning and situating "official talk" promotes an unthinking. What kind of data is collected and how is it presented and used? What kind of data is not collected? What do these silences embody? How do these representations and silences impact policy talk?

The "official talk" of data provides a normalizing gaze, a form of surveillance which allows the researcher,
the policy analyst, and the policy-maker to qualify, classify and validate findings and decisions against an unquestioned norm. Foucault (1977 in Rabinow, 1984) describes this surveillance as a form of "disciplinary power...exercised through its invisibility" (199). However, in its invisibility Foucault states that "in discipline it is the subjects who have to be seen" (ibid.). That is, it is the objects of "official talk" who remain visible to surveillance, to analysis, never the data itself.

This chapter seeks to reverse and reflect this "disciplinary gaze" onto the discourses of "official talk." "Truth is both a construct and beyond it; the balance is played out as the narrator interrogates the truthfulness of the tale and provides multiple answers." (Trinh, 1991).

This analysis seeks to make visible, identify and embody official discourses of teenage pregnancy through a reinterpreting and revisiting of the construction of teen pregnancy as a policy issue. Regularities which aid in this construction will be identified and then these regularities will be followed into an analysis of the GRADS curriculum.

First, demographic data about teenage pregnancy will be situated within a larger frame of "crisis" discourse, considering the impact and proliferation of this discourse in the popular media. Effects of the "social regularities" of race, gender, sexuality and family values in the construction of teenage pregnancy are presented.
Second, GRADS Talk--its curriculum and own effectiveness data is subjected to critique and presented in an inverted form, identifying absences and countering popular representations of teenage parents. Third, two incomplete stories of teen girls who were/are pregnant or parenting are presented. Their stories attempt to embody the silences GRADS maintains around choices of abortion and students who "disappear."

**Demographic Data, Media and Policy Talk**

Demographic data--sheer numbers--have been used to demonstrate "the problem" of teenage pregnancy. Teenage pregnancy has been described as an "epidemic", as a problem reaching a "crisis" level. *Time, Newsweek*, and *Education Week* as well as numerous other popular media magazines and newspapers have run high profile featured stories on "the problem" of teenage pregnancy. Headlines promote "crisis" talk and fear through characterizations of teenage pregnancy as an issue involving "CHILDREN HAVING CHILDREN" and descriptions of the "problem of teenage pregnancy" as one which "rends the social fabric" (*Time*, 1985).

The acceptance of teenage pregnancy as a major social problem causing a variety of social dilemmas has filtered into and influenced literature, research, discussions and policies on this issue. Schurich (1994) describes this "targeting, naming, and labeling" of a social problem as the reproductive work of the grid of regularities:
the grid both attunes its listeners to hear (see) a particularly frequency (the problem group) and constitutes the frequency (the problem group) itself. (22)

As pointed out in Chapter II, literature surrounding teenage pregnancy continues to assume teenage pregnancy is a problem in and of itself—its made real—unconnected to issues of gender, sexuality, birth control, choice, access and socioeconomic status.

Teenage pregnancy cannot be situated, evaluated or discussed as separate from larger social constructions and discussions of itself in our media, popular opinion and culture. How we talk about teenage pregnancy—who we think these girls are—affects policy development, implementation and evaluation. During this research I could not escape from the multitude of and multiple voices echoing "the dilemma of teenage pregnancy."

Four months into this research I began to keep track of how often teen pregnancy was situated as an "impending crisis" connected to "the decline of the nuclear family" and "family values." This discourse was spoken in a variety of forms: from "conservative" newspapers or reports to more "liberal" newspapers; from Christian radio to National Public Radio news programs; from traditional news programs to "insightful" public station reports; from "conservative" views expressed by the deli owner down the street to my
"liberal, feminist" friend; from administrators and teachers in graduate courses to the teachers who implement GRADS; and perhaps most painfully from one young pregnant girl speaking of another pregnant girl.

I began to question the impact of these discourses on the development, implementation and evaluation of teen pregnancy programs. Lesko (1990) suggests that teen pregnancy data operates and is understood through three social arenas (or in Scheurich's terminology "a network of social regularities"); demographic, gender relations and the family. These arenas situate demographic representation and discourse within a broader context of social meanings, values, legitimacy and power.

I further Lesko's analysis identifying and exploring media and cultural representations of teen pregnancy as a demographic crisis, as "gendered" through female representations of pregnancy, and portrayal of young women as either victim or wanton, and lastly as situated within family values rhetoric.40

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40It is important to emphasize that by doing this form of critique I am in no way suggesting that teenage pregnancy is not a social issue which deserves attention, support and programming. Nor do I wish to suggest that teen parents are not without problems, dilemmas or in need of a variety of services or support. What I am suggesting is that the way we attempt to develop support—the way we talk about teenage pregnancy—will have critical impact on how and what kind of policies and programs we develop, how the policies and programs are implemented, and what we use as criteria for evaluation of these policies and programs.
The themes that are explored below operate within and through a condition which particularly relates to the subject of teenage pregnancy as a policy issue. The themes of "crisis", female as "victim" or "wanton" and "family values" rhetoric incorporate a definite discourse of women's body and mother's body as public terrain. These themes and networks of regulatory discourses create a condition of control and surveillance, operating through what Foucault characterizes as "bio-power", which is directed disproportionally at women.

Who conceives children, what actions are taken upon conception, who fails to conceive, how mothers treat children in utero and what supports mother's "need" or "deserve" from society are issues which occupy political, legal, medical and social welfare arenas and operate through regulatory practices of surveillance and bio-power. Teenage pregnancy is intimately enveloped within these discussions and constructions of gender, bodies and power.

"Social Regularities": Echoing Themes of Crisis, Color, Gender, Sexuality and Family Values

How have statistics and demographics influenced and constructed the rise of teen pregnancy to "crisis" status? Interestingly, during the 1980s when teenage pregnancy was most actively being situated as a crisis situation, in actuality, the number of births to women under age 20 declined. For example, the Children's Defense Fund (1985) states that "birth rates for all but the very youngest
teens, those younger than 15 have dropped significantly since 1970" (3).

How then is teenage pregnancy read and represented through demographic data to be a new problem of epidemic proportion—a crisis situation—in the mid-1980s at the same time its frequency declined? Nathanson (1991) traces the linkage of teen pregnancy with "illness" metaphors and "medical" discourse, its construction as a "black single mother problem", its "dazzling" rise to crisis level promoted by the Moral Majority and discussions of declining family values during the 1980s as the result of the type of demographic data presented on teen pregnancy.

Trudell (1993) supports this argument stating that the statistical formulation of the teenage pregnancy "problem" and its commonsense "solution" appears neutral and objective, it actually embodies particular economic and social interests as well as normative assumptions about cultural meaning and what constitutes legitimate sexual expression.

(15)

Trudell finds the "reliance on aggregate statistics" as contributing to an idea of a teenage pregnancy "epidemic" separate from "economic circumstances" and "structural inequities."

Demographic representations provide a context for situating teen pregnancy as a "crisis" (Lesko, 1993).
Demographics tell us that the modal teen mother in the 1980s was poor and gave birth against a backdrop of a declining middle class birthrate (Furstenberg, Brooks-Gunn, & Morgan, 1987). A special issue of Education Week on the school-aged population in the next 20 years proclaimed, "A country without a middle class majority will simply not be the America we have known" (May, 1986, 3).

Similarly, stories in the media and popular press state the impending time when "minorities" will "outnumber white Americans." Time magazine specifically, in an April 9, 1990 publication, featured a cover story on the changing color of America: from white to brown to black. Lesko (1993) thus situates the construction of "crisis" in teen pregnancy as being "articulated as a national problem at a time when the number of births to white middle-class Americans is dwindling" (9).

Trudell (1993) supports this analysis pointing to the trend of categorizing teen parents (mothers) by age and race and ignoring factors of social class and poverty. Such analysis sanctions existing "systematic discrimination" and does not consider how such inequities may contribute to teen pregnancy for teenage women. Additionally, in this way, teenage pregnancy is constructed as an individual and moral problem versus a social problem.

Thus, teenage pregnancy resonates with many of our values and fears because it unites concerns from different
and social levels. As previously discussed in relation to demographic talk, Lesko (1993) relates these to concerns of race, class and gender. Lesko (1990) writes:

The construction of teenage pregnancy as a problem affirms the continuance of the superiority of middle-class norms of responsibility and rationality and the economic rewards of a secure income in return for postponement of parenthood. Thus, teenage pregnancy becomes a piece of the social logic that understands poverty to be the result of inferior values and desires among the poor. (121)

Lesko (1993) also identifies demographic discourse as a "gendered construction"—that is a problem represented by young women. Teenage pregnancy has been consistently portrayed as an issue affecting young women. Young women embody the "problem" of teen pregnancy literally and figuratively. Lesko (1990) observes:

Girls of different colors, shapes, ages with babies in their arms or on their laps stare out from the pages of Time. ...Young women with extended bellies or small children both represent and are the problem of sexual irresponsibility and failure to delay motherhood. (121)

What impact does a discourse which uses only female images to portray and represent a situation that invariably
involves both men and women as a "problem" have on policy
and program development?

Trudell (1993) agrees that teen pregnancy discourse has
centered tacitly on individual young women rather than men
and furthers this discussion by suggesting that statistical
data has also assumed:

intercourse as the only legitimate expression of human
sexuality; "sexually active" and heterosexual coital
activity (at least once) are synonymous. Other forms
of sexual expression such as masturbation, oral sex,
gay and lesbian sex, are invisible and thus not
legitimate. (15)

Teen pregnancy in its gendered construction promotes
discussions and images which focus attention on the teen
girl as "victim" or as "wanton." These portrayals are
captured in the current and continuing paradoxical
constructions of female sexuality in our society, media,
advertising, and movies (Bordo, 1988 & 1993). "Problem
girls" are portrayed as too young for sex and sexually
irresponsible—leading to "good" versus "bad" girl
definitions, portrayals, expectations and representations of
young women. At times both of these messages are spoken in
the same document.

For example a January 7, 1992 news article (Springfield
NEWS-SUN) cited the ending of the day when "value judgments
(are) attached to those who weren't 'nice girls.'" The article further states that:

observers say girls have become more expressive in matters involving sex, taunting boys with sexy conversation, following them around malls, calling and sneaking out to meet them at all hours of the night, and encouraging boys they like to touch their breasts and buttocks in places as public as the hallways at school.

This is the typified characterization of female as "siren" supporting the notion that females and female sexuality is wild and uncontrollable and that males are left defenseless in its power. The same article however quickly goes on to say that girls having sex are doing so "for love, not enjoyment" citing this is "a tale as old as time." In this way, girls who were described as wanton like are now described as victim—a victim of their social circumstances (poor family life) and their emotional needs. "These are not promiscuous people. These people are lonely."

Passion, pleasure and desire are thus removed from female sexuality. Females may be portrayed as "wanting it" but really only "want it" in the interests of love and relationships not pleasure. In this way female sexuality is presented as "wanton like" and unnatural (Bordo, 1989). Male pleasure is viewed as natural, pure, hormonal and related strictly to pleasure.
Numerous researchers have suggested that such portrayals of female and male sexuality explain our society's continued placement of contraceptive responsibility on females (Weiler, 1989). Sex education programs emphasizing "Just Say No" themes place the responsibility to say no on females as male sexual urges are natural, assumed and hormonally driven versus the "unnatural" characterizations of female sexuality.

Female bodies, lives and sexuality are particularly prey to public scrutiny and display. Singer (1993) classifies this type of interest in and at times voyeuristic fascination of teenage pregnancy as "erotic welfare." "Erotic welfare" is situated within a logic of epidemic—a situation out of control, calling for regulatory intervention. "Erotic welfare" both regulates and reproduces that which it abhors.

It lends itself to a love/hate relationship with the topic of our interest. For example here is Lesko's (1988) description of a 1985 Time magazine featured cover story on teenage pregnancy:

The image of a young girl with swollen belly dominates the discourse on the problem of teenage pregnancy ...She stands sideways, to accentuate her fully pregnant, fully sexual body. Her ripe body is juxtaposed with her child's face, which communicates sadness, pessimism, and confusion. Her face
forecasts uncertainty—the apparent consequences of irresponsible sexuality. This image signals "disorder" or "alarm": a child having a child, a young women too soon sexual, a spectacle, a grotesqueness. (49)

This image describes the "heterosexual gaze...and overtly sexual gaze of the 'popular culture'" (Walkerdine, 1990, 122).

This image has been promoted not only in popular media such as news magazines and newspapers but also in research literature, education journals and policy analyses. One has only to review the titles of journal articles and policy reports to observe how strongly "crisis talk" surrounding teen mothers and female sexuality is promoted in these publications. Most of this literature continues to link teen pregnancy to individual problems of delinquency and poor life decisions without considering larger implications of gender, class, sexism and poverty.

Lastly, discourses of "crisis" and teen pregnancy as a "female problem" participate in the last level of analysis, the family. The family is the social site for values, behaviors and beliefs and is the backbone of our society. It is against the accepted norm of a heterosexual, nuclear, middle-class family that the meanings of the problem of teen pregnancy are most vivid.

Single-parent families and poor families are not viewed as satisfactory environments for creating self-sufficient,
rational, life-planning, optimistic, upwardly mobile children. It is in this context that birth statistics, not of total births, but of total births to unmarried women are important. Here is where the numbers have increased in the 1980s (CPO, 1990).

Lesko (1993) states that "the problem of teenage pregnancy is part of a social logic and politics that discredits single mothers (who are overwhelmingly poor) by blaming their economic and family traits on bad values" (15). Demographic data furthers this discourse by "nesting" teen pregnancy data within the discourses of further social dilemmas such as "single parent" (read single mother) and low-income households.

"Single parent" or "one parent" households and "low-income" represent discourses which signal rampant negative social ramifications not only for the individual experiencing these categories but for society. Teen pregnancy then becomes a "scapegoat" justifiable in that the pregnant girls' lack of restraint "contributes to poverty, with its consequences for taxpayers, social services and economic productivity" (Lesko, 1993, 10).

"Social Regularities" in GRADS Curriculum:
Turning Bad Girls Into Good Mothers

GRADS curriculum discourse originate from demographic discourse situating teen pregnancy as a problem. GRADS curriculum discourse furthers this however by establishing teen pregnancy as a dilemma which can be fixed. By
establishing a characterization of teen pregnancy as involving youth who are "lonely", have "low self esteem", and who have made "poor decisions"--the curriculum is prepared to "help" the teen parent see the irrationality of their previous actions and establish the basis for future "practical decision making" (APRG, 3).

GRADS curriculum is grounded firmly in a tradition of Reason and Knowledge. "Reasoning" is natural, the problem is that teen parents do not use practical reasoning skills. The use of "practical reasoning" skills is emphasized over and over again in GRADS literature and is viewed as part of what makes GRADS unique and effective. The APRG states the importance of practical reasoning skills to "recognize and emphasize the practical approach to the complex problems of adolescent parents", develop "critical and creative thinking skills, enabling teen families to gain control of their lives", and to encourage "action to bring about change, rather than passive acceptance of existing social conditions" (APRG, v-vi).

The APRG states its goal as "to develop proactive teens who control their own lives by successfully solving their perennial practical problems" (APRG, 3). The solving of "their problems" occurs within a high mode of surveillance. The curriculum assumes that teen parents will have to watched, checked and monitored. The curriculum thus assumes
that "proactive teens" can be achieved through the use of rational reasoning and pedagogy.

The Guide states this more explicitly in the following: "The students will solve problems related to self-esteem, pregnancy, parenting, and economic independence by identifying problems, evaluating information, considering alternatives, judging consequences, scrutinizing decisions, and taking morally defensible actions" (APGR, 3). The decisions made and "morally defensible actions" taken occur under the surveillance of the GRADS program. GRADS programs include a wealth of "data" on each student monitoring actions, decisions and behavior.

Walkerdine (1990) refers to this process as "a scientific process" through which regulatory discourses of "love" and helping behavior develop a pedagogy of "covert surveillance" (21). GRADS further embraces a notion of an ethic of self-mastery, superior will and self-control over lives and bodies (Jagger & Bordo, 1989 cite this as "conventional feminine practice", 23).

While GRADS does seem to acknowledge issues of personal development and self-esteem in the teen parents life, attempting to acknowledge the "perennial practical" problems of teen parents, these issues are approached through a characterization of teen parents as "low-income", who "receive public assistance", are "less skilled", "more likely to abuse their children", and are "single parents or
divorced."

The Guide states that recent research reveals similar "personality traits, including less acceptance of social norms, an inability to use information, an inability to project events into the future, and low self-esteem" among teen parents. The teen parent is presented as someone who "needs help:" "Even though there are many teen parents who become warm, nurturing, and caring toward their children, few achieve this status without overcoming serious problems" (APRG, 3).

Such characterizations lead to a natural and unquestioning acceptance of and indeed a call for the "rational", "valid" and "moral" processes GRADS espouses to create "proactive" teen parents. GRADS characterization of teen parents41 as impulsive youth who have made poor decisions without seeing rationally into the future furthers a discourse of morality--a morality which assumes that only if teen parents learned to make rational decisions they would act in rational and "morally defensible actions." In this way, GRADS is very much about taking "bad" girls and re-making them into "good" mothers.

41While GRADS repeatedly uses the terms teen "parents" or teen "family" throughout its literature, one easily receives an image and picture of teen mother. Characterizations of teen pregnancy center around data about teen mothers with a particular emphasis on "single" or "unwed" pregnancies taking on the discourse of gendered pregnancies discussed earlier (Lesko, 1993).
GRADS curriculum was developed and is implemented through a set of familiar ideological conflicts (Nathanson, 1990):

conflicts over the normative status of adolescent female sexuality; over the meaning of sexual unorthodoxy--as a product of personal or social pathology requiring compassionate treatment to avert its largely unintended consequences, or of willful immorality for which the consequences are well deserved; and over the location of responsibility for sexual social control in individuals, families, professional experts, or the state. (147)

GRADS speaks paradoxical messages about teen parents--situating their sexual behavior (particularly girls) resulting in pregnancy as immoral but explaining this "immorality" as the lack of practical reasoning skills faced by teens who are facing a variety of social ills. GRADS thus situates teen parents as deserving of help, as capable of redemption.

This discourse of morality is particularly aimed at teen mothers with discussions of sexuality centering on preventive efforts by women, of self esteem related to relationships with men, and of parenting and economic independence related to marriage and family. The discourse of morality seems practiced through traditional, middle-
class, white American norms against American fears related to the decline of the nuclear family demographics data.

While GRADS historically has been concerned with preparing the young parent for viable employment it situates this concern with its emphasis on "dual role training." That is the training of the teen parent to be both parent and worker. GRADS curriculum carries a strong moral message continuing to link particularly teen mothers to responsibilities of marriage and home. GRADS concerns itself with the making of good mothers beyond discussions of pregnancy, health care, child birth, infancy and child development to units devoted to the domestic management of one's home.

This discourse is exemplified in GRADS discussion units which focus on teaching the teen parent "how to manage and maintain a home" including lessons on "how to clean a refrigerator", "how often to vacuum and dust", and "how to give your home a pleasant atmosphere." GRADS furthers a discourse of traditional and normative values with discussions of relationships and intimacy which tie the young woman to "fulfillment through the mature intimacy of marriage."

This is not to deny that GRADS programs are spending time dispensing valuable information about infancy and child development, health care and nutrition. In some cases, it is not the topic which GRADS espouses as much as the
discourse surrounding the topic. For example, GRADS curriculum assumes a "deviancy" model of teen parenting. There seems to be an accepted assumption that teen parents will naturally be "bad" parents and abuse their children more than other sets of parents.

In this way, information which all parents need to know about child development and parenting skills, and which many middle-class parents attend courses to find out, becomes available to teens in GRADS filtered only through a deficit model of teenage parents. GRADS curriculum then delineates the characteristics and knowledge necessary to be "good mother." It is assumed that these skills can be obtained prescriptively through rational training. GRADS curriculum in no way accounts for cultural differences or practices or alternative family situations. GRADS attempts through its curriculum to develop a clear sense of "right" and "wrong" practices.

GRADS however speaks several paradoxical discourses entangled with larger social concerns of female sexuality and roles in our culture. For example, GRADS speaks clear messages of teen girls' independence—economic, encouraging higher paying, non-traditional work settings as options for young women and emotional, emphasizing the importance of individual independence and self-esteem. Yet GRADS also counters these messages with sentimentalized messages of
mothering and marriage and homemaking as a pathway to economic independence.

During GRADS inception one of its stated goals was to help move young women into higher paying non-traditional careers—thus its connection with vocational education programs. 42 There are sections of GRADS curriculum which can be used to affirm a teen mother's decision to remain single and work outside of the home (as long as these decisions are reached through a rational process). In this case, being a "good" mother is more related to economic self-sufficiency rather than legitimacy through marriage.

Nathanson (1991) however suggests that this trend of economic self-sufficiency in teen pregnancy programs is not developed out of some sense of fulfillment for young women but in the "rhetoric of fiscal conservatism" (156). Nathanson suggests that while women are still expected to be prepared for "their domestic futures" there is a "powerful alternative construction" through which female adolescence, like male's, has been redefined as preparation for occupational attainment and "economic self-sufficiency" (ibid.). The construction of teenage pregnancy as a problem of teenage mothers on welfare has played a primary role in policy's attention to female's education and preparation as wage earner (Nathanson, 1991).

42 In saying this, I am not denying the also obvious issue of GRADS tracking certain groups of students into primarily "blue collar" professions.
"Social Regularities" in GRADS Evaluation Talk: Indicators of Effectiveness

The State Office of Education oversees, collects and compiles "data" about the implementation of GRADS in Ohio. Specifically, information regarding how many students are served, who the students represent, and multiple indicators of "success" are collected and reported. GRADS collects data on:

- who it serves and where;
- birth rates and birth weights;
- agency linkages; and
- retention and graduation rates.

GRADS evaluation data seem promising, concise and overwhelmingly clear in their promotion of GRADS effectiveness. Indeed, GRADS publishes and promotes this data through its participation in the National Diffusion Network. In Ohio, FY92, 241 teachers in 417 school districts served 10,594 students in GRADS programs. GRADS is implemented in 64% of Ohio's school districts in 95.5% of Ohio counties (only four counties in Ohio, out of 88, do not implement GRADS programs).

During the school year 1991-92 GRADS enrolled 10,594 students of which 9,428 (89%) were females and 1,166 were males (11%). Four hundred and fifty (4.25%) female students were enrolled with their second pregnancy and 57 (0.54%) with their third pregnancy. Nine hundred and seventy-seven (9.2%) of the students were married.
GRADS reported ethnic enrollment for 10,348 students during school year 1991-92. White, non-hispanic students represented the majority of students served (67.51%, 7152 students). African-American students represented 29.16% (3093) of GRADS students served; Hispanic students 2.71% (287); and Asian-American and American Indian 0.20% respectively (21 students each).

GRADS reports in its 1992 Annual Report that: "241 GRADS teachers made 36,333 agency contacts, an average of 162 contacts per teacher. This assistance has made it possible for GRADS students to overcome barriers and stay in school" (12).

The Annual Report then clearly states that "success of the GRADS program is best measured by the dramatic reduction in the dropout rate of pregnant and parenting teens" (12). GRADS rates of retention and school completion are especially impressive when compared to state and national norms. The Annual Report states that: "since 1980, the dropout rate has ranged from 5.2% to 16%. This compares with a national teen dropout percentage rate of 60%" (12).

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43This enrollment number differs from the previously reported number of 10,594 students. The apparent discrepancies in GRADS reporting of data is not mentioned in the document from which these figures were obtained. As is problematic in much teenage pregnancy reports, the GRADS Annual Report does not state how it is defining issues of pregnancy, birth, multiple pregnancy, retention nor does the report state how the information was gathered. This leads to "coding" of the data in ways which often lead to discrepancies between the statistics reported as in this case.
The report again summarizes the number of students served by GRADS in the number of school districts and states that "many students claim that without the GRADS program, they would have found it much more difficult to remain in school and receive any credits at all" (12). The Annual Report states that program impact is also "measured in human terms" and presents three "representative case studies reported by GRADS teachers" (12).

However, what is GRADS leaving unsaid, silenced in this discourse and how may these silences effect a reading of GRADS effectiveness? What regularities are at play in these silences? GRADS effectiveness data is thus subjected to analysis of its own analysis. This is done through an inverting and reinterpreting of GRADS evaluation data and then through the presentation of two stories of girls who are "silenced" in GRADS evaluation data.

**Effectiveness Data Inverted: Stories Untold**

GRADS effectiveness data will be questioned, examined and inverted through the same categories GRADS uses to collect its data. These include: who GRADS serves and graduation rates; birth rates; and agency linkages.

**Who GRADS serves and graduation rates.**

While GRADS seems clear about who it is serving its data raises several questions about who GRADS might actually be serving in Ohio. GRADS for example leaves unsaid any notion of how many of teen parents in Ohio it is actually
serving. Surprisingly, the state office monitoring GRADS does not even consider data of this kind in its analysis.

Through correspondence and configuration with the director of Ohio’s Children’s Defense Fund, the director and this researcher have established that GRADS serves less than 10% of teen parents in Ohio (CDF, 1994). This raises questions about who the teen parent is who is choosing to be in GRADS versus the teen parent who chooses not to be. Are students who enroll in GRADS students who are more likely to stay in school and are thus able to avail themselves of the extra support GRADS provides? Why do students who are pregnant choose not to enroll in GRADS?

GRADS additionally chooses not to collect nor produce data relating to the socio-economic status of the students it serves. Why this silence given the preponderance of information and assumptions placing teen pregnancy within the dilemmas of a low-income family? Is GRADS serving a different population of teen parents?

It is also interesting to consider GRADS demographic data. While teen pregnancy tends to be situated as "minority problem" and the GRADS curriculum preface alludes to this characterization, GRADS data states that the majority of students it serves are caucasian. However, when an African American friend read the case study presentations of "Maureen", "Reneta" and "Maria" in GRADS Annual Report she pointed out what she read as an inherent discourse of
race in the case studies from the chosen names of the girls to the description of their lives.

The case studies also represent all the girls as being from abusive (sexual, physical and/or alcohol) homes. In this way, the girls' pregnancies are viewed as being beyond their control, due to the terrible situations they deal with at home. The girls become objects of need—a need to help them overcome their lives, "take control" and see a different future.

In no way do I want to deny that many teens may be experiencing abusive home lives which exasperate and confound the issue of teen pregnancy. Indeed, similar stories are told in Chapter V—"Girl Talk." However, other types of stories are also told in Chapter V—representing the variety of lives of girls studied in this research.

What does GRADS gain through a portrayal of the teen parent (in this case the teen mother) as victim?

**Birth Rates.**

Although GRADS reports on the variety of mishaps or options of pregnancy including miscarriage, infant mortality, live birth, and adoption it does not report on nor mention abortion as a pregnancy termination option. GRADS sends a clear and moral (and very likely political) message about teen sexuality and pregnancy through its silencing of the abortion option available to teen mothers in Ohio.
GRADS leaves space in its curriculum for abortion to be discussed by the instructor. Many teachers I talked with reported that each year they have girls enrolled in GRADS who will choose to have an abortion. How are these girls incorporated or not incorporated into GRADS extensive data gathering and reporting? Are they reported as "dropping out" or simply not counted at all?

Agency Contacts.

A re-reading of GRADS evaluation data lends a differing picture of program outcomes. Although GRADS states that 36,333 agency contacts were made by GRADS teachers in FY92 these contacts resulted in little financial help for students. A simple reinverting of GRADS data leads to startling counter statements. For example:

Childcare

80-90% of GRADS students receive no assistance. 548 buildings in which GRADS operates offer no childcare facilities. What are teen parents doing about child care? GRADS requires students to return to school within 3 weeks of delivery--how do teen parents, specifically mothers who may still be recovering from delivery and adjusting to their infants schedule, find reliable child care to enable them to return to school? GRADS does not report on what teen parents are doing about childcare although childcare is
typically related as one of the major stresses of teen parenting and indicative of graduation rates.

A report produced on the results of implementing a welfare initiative to improve school attendance among teenage parents in Ohio—LEAP, Ohio's Learning, Earning, and Parenting Program (1991)—also reported that only about 14% of the teens enrolled in school reported they were using a child care arrangement funded by the welfare department. LEAP acknowledges that "this rate is lower than state planners anticipated." LEAP linked the low utilization rates to a combination of factors.

First, LEAP staff report that teen parents prefer to rely on relatives to provide child care citing that "when they discuss child care options with teen parents, many teens are not willing to entrust the care of their children to formal day care providers" (xix). Ohio welfare rules do not allow program-funded care to be used within a relatives home, thus reducing the likelihood that funded care will be used.

Secondly, LEAP reported shortages in some counties of available slots particularly for infant care slots. Additionally, available slots may not be located near a teen's home or school, making the placement considerably less attractive to teens.

When considering the factors which mitigate teen parents use of funded child care, their decisions seem
rational and based on the welfare of their child. Many parents choose to have relatives with whom the infant or child are familiar take care their children. Parents also attempt to find child care located close to their home or to their school or work, thus decreasing the amount of time spent getting to child care. Teen parents decisions seem to follow this same logic and concern of welfare of their child.

Teen parents, like other parents, also report that "child care problems" are the primary reason for not being able to meet obligations. LEAP staff report that "child care problems" are a key reason for school absences. LEAPS's analysis indicates that teen parents use the same information (trust, comfortableness with child care provider, location and availability) as other parents in making child care arrangements. Teen parents also face the same constrains of child care arrangements (illness of child or child care provider) as other working parents.

Yet, teen parents decisions concerning child care are regulated, evaluated and judged. For the teen parent, choosing family to provide child care is often described as "irresponsible" because the teens are not availing themselves of available funds to place their child in licensed or certified providers homes. What standards are operating that determine child care arrangements for one set
of parents as mature and rational and the same decision for
teen parents as "irrational" and "irresponsible?"

Transportation

90% of GRADS students receive no transportation funds. How do teen parents juggle the transportation of their child(ren) to daycare and themselves to school? How do teen parents get to health care centers, doctor appointments, immunization clinics, public assistance offices, workplace settings?

Health/Nutrition

75% of teen parents do not receive food stamps. This runs counter to demographic assumptions of teen parents as welfare parents. Is this due to the fact that the teen parents GRADS serves are not eligible or that they are not availng themselves of available services?

Approximately 50% of teen parents and their children do not receive regular health care. What factors are contributing to teen parents and their children not receiving adequate health care? GRADS leaves these questions unasked and unexplored.

Financial Assistance

Contrary to popular belief, according to GRADS data 70% of teen parents in GRADS receive no outside financial assistance. The 30% who GRADS reports as receiving assistance include funding from minimal support programs such as free lunch. What does GRADS gain by presenting a
lengthy list of students who receive financial assistance, even though this number is obviously in the minority, versus representing students as already self-sufficient?

Chapter Overview: Regularities and Absences

The "social regularities" of gender, race, class and family values have been identified as impacting the construction of teen pregnancy as a policy issue and aid in the construction of teen pregnancy as a "crisis" problem. An examination of GRADS curriculum and evaluation data in an inverted fashion reveals silences and absences which point to the workings of "social regularities" of gender, race, class and sexuality in the construction and thus evaluation of acceptable policy options for teen pregnancy (Scheurich, 1994). These regularities also serve to control what GRADS chooses to say and what it chooses to silence. Two stories that GRADS would traditionally silence are thus told in an attempt to embody this analysis by revealing and giving space to "disembodied absences."
"Lost" Data: The Politics of Silenced Absences

These are not natural silences, that necessary time for renewal, lying fallow, gestation in the natural cycle of creation. The silences I speak of here are unnatural; the unnatural thwarting of what struggles to come into being but cannot. In the old, the obvious parallels: when the seed strikes stone; the soil will not sustain; the spring is false; the time is drought or blight or infestation; the frost comes premature.

--Tillie Olsen

WE DON'T KNOW WHERE SHE IS. SHE DIDN'T COME TO SCHOOL THAT NEXT WEEK. THEN HER BOYFRIEND CAME IN AND TOLD ME THAT SHE HAD TAKEN OFF WITH SOME 21 YEAR OLD. SOMETIMES THAT HAPPENS, THEY JUST DISAPPEAR--THOSE ARE THE DAYS WE CRY.

--GRADS teacher, February 1992

All researchers and program evaluators at some point have to confront the issue of data "outliers"—those statistics or stories that just do not quite fit. Quantitative researchers can often rely on statistical manipulation to "out" the "outlier." However, what do we do with participants who for whatever reason did not complete the research? Again, methodology and analysis do give the researcher a way out—we can report a "percentage of involvement" and analyze only that data neatly summarizing participation rates in one sentence under a Subjects heading.

Qualitative and field based inquiry however experiences "lost" data on a personal level. What do we do when the "data" we have been composing are lives—individuals we have
talked to, talked with, sought out, observed, laughed, cried and shared a meal with? What do we do with a "story" that disappears before its conclusion or before we understood the plot? Is this story now irrelevant--its incompleteness meaning it should not be told?

What follows is some effort to present the incomplete stories of two girls whom I started collecting "data" with but who "disappeared"--unofficially "dropped out" of a GRADS program. These girls did not just not show up in school one day--they literally could not be found--thus their teacher's use of the term "disappeared" to describe their absence. They were kept on attendance roles until at a point in time "official" paperwork was filed to declare them as "dropped out."

GRADS chooses not to represent these stories--teachers may code such students as voluntarily dropped out or not include them at all in their program reports. Including such stories may not be easy, but I believe they are vital. Such stories may not fit the rest of our data. However, what do we represent in our untelling? By not telling the stories that do not fit, we are disenfranchising, excluding, those who are not included. Can we find a means to "include the excluded?"

What different tales would our "pieces" of missing data tell us? What would we learn from these tales? As Lather (1987) asks "What are their silences telling us?" (12).
Thus the following stories are also a story of stories that are untold. "To speak of the thin crescent moon as being new is to forget that only when the dark half faces the earth is the moon truly new" (Trinh, 1991, 1).

What is unique in this telling is that in these stories the girls who "leave" GRADS very much fit many of the stereotypical perceptions of what a teenage mother looks like or acts like—yet in the midst of this study they were not typical or representative of the rest of the girls I came to know. What importance do these stories carry?

Minimally they speak a portion of lives that remain silenced. More importantly they speak and acknowledge my respect for "Erica" and "Kathy" for the time they spent with me and the portion of their lives they chose to share.

ERICA

I only met and spoke to Erica one time—actually it was during my first participation in a "Baby Day" at the school—when all the moms could bring in their babies. I was a bit nervous that day and Erica was friendly and willing to divulge information—even if mostly about others. I was excited to talk with her the next week when I was at the school and was shocked to find out she was gone, and no one knew where.

Erica was 15, petite, caucasian with a blend of hispanic. She had thick eyebrows with large dark eyes carefully lined in black. Her lips were full and glossed
and she had a habit of biting her lower lip when she was looking around her at others or when she appeared bored. Erica seemed skilled at scoping--her attention seemed based on seeing who was with whom, who the babies looked like, where her niche was. She wore tight jeans, a blouse tucked in and designer tennis shoes.

Erica's most outstanding feature was her hair--actually her bangs--which although they were at least 8 inches long were sprayed to stand at an eighty degree angle from her head. The rest of her hair was past her shoulders and slightly weaved. Erica has a beautiful 6 month old little girl. Erica has her baby dressed fashionably up, the bow around her head.

Erica's boyfriend, and father of their girl, is here also. He holds the baby most of the time for the first 30 minutes--Erica circulating the room. When her boyfriend leaves and Erica has her baby she seems a bit bored--her daughter is getting fussy and Erica sits down in a rocking chair by another girl and where I am sitting.

Although Erica is holding her baby next to her, she seems disconnected. Her baby is fussing; when she does Erica groans at her, jostles her, and encourages her to take her thumb. Within 10 minutes her baby has fallen asleep and Erica returns to her conversation.

(January 24, 1992)

Erica very much represented my image of a teen mother, not only in her appearance but in her handling of her baby. When she touched her baby she seemed to do so only out of duty, not desire--only when someone would complement her
baby did I see Erica actually look at her with sustained attention or touch her gently.

The following conversation also describes the youth and inexperience, but absolute likability, I felt in Erica.

See that girl over there? She is only 13 and pregnant. She was only with her boyfriend for five months and she is five months pregnant. That can only mean one thing. She did it right away. My boyfriend was in here earlier, did you see him? Well, she complained cause her boyfriend couldn't come in so mine had to go. She just turned 13 too.

Does 13 seem young to you?

Yeah! I mean when I was 12 I had a boyfriend but I didn't think about, I mean, we didn't do anything.

The girl sitting next to her giggles and says something to the effect of "hah, I did."

Yeah, that's all she thinks about!

I was thirteen when I had sex. I was twelve when I started doing it. (the girl who giggled)

How old are you? (to Erica)

Well 15. I know I'm only 15 but I know I made a mistake.

The conversation then turned back to a discussion of what boyfriend this "younger" girl had taken from another and why she was going to "get beat up." Erica and the other girl both describe their boyfriends as "very involved". Erica talks about how her boyfriend had to stand up to his family for her because she used to watch his sister's kids for her without charging, but now that she had her baby his sister would not even watch her so that:
...we could even go cruising the park because that is like what we used to do all the time before we had her, and to see our friends and stuff.

Erica's baby wakes up and Erica seems eager to get up. She says she needs to make a phone call and gives her baby to another girl. While she is gone Erica's baby cries and screams. When Erica returns 10 minutes later--her face looks perturbed and she takes her baby saying, "What's wrong with you--you don't always need your momma." In a few more minutes, we have said our good-byes and Erica and her baby are out the door.

The following week I found out that "Baby Day" had been Erica's last day in school. Her teacher had no idea where she went nor why--she left with her little girl without her boyfriend. Erica's teacher described her as "not a problem student at all, but maybe a bit discontented--she had dreams and wanted to get away." Maybe she did..... Kathy

I met Kathy one day because the girl who I was supposed to talk with was not in school and in fact all the girls in the GRADS classroom were absent on this day except for two girls. One of the girls, Kathy, was new to the school and Kate (the GRADS teacher) asked her if she would talk to me, and she said she would.

"During this section I begin to use footnotes as vehicles and spaces for my reflective thoughts."
Kathy and I stayed right at the table in the GRADS room to talk. She seemed quiet, spoke in a soft voice, and is quite thin and pale.\(^5\) I explained to Kathy that I was going to school. This started the conversation right off because Kathy had moved this past September from the city where I now lived. Her mother and her mother's boyfriend and also Kathy's boyfriend had moved (they moved for jobs). Kathy said she was unhappy in her new home and missed where she used to live.

It's really bad here. The drugs here are really bad--right out on the streets they're selling crack all around us. All the blacks are out selling."

It wasn't like that where you used to live?

No--not where we lived. I mean my boyfriend and his family have always been involved in drug dealing but it's worse here--and my family doesn't do that.

Kathy and I then discussed her relationship with her boyfriend (she just turned 15, he is 21). She was disturbed that she and he were still living with his mother and that he did not have a job. She thought he should go get a job and be more responsible especially since they had a baby on the way. She seemed very confused and close to tears at several points.

I just don't know what I'm going to do--it's just not right the way he's acting and I told him so. He's not

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\(^5\)Whenever I see these girls in their skintight jeans it is hard for me to remember that they are pregnant, much less often 3-4 months pregnant. Kathy's paleness made me think she was in her first trimester and probably having morning sickness.
taking any responsibility and then we fight and he and his mom call the police on me and tell them to take me out of the house--it's just not right them treating me like that while I am pregnant.

I don't know what to do. I can't stay with him if this is the way he's going to be. I told him that too. I don't know its really hard. 46

Kathy told me that she and her Mom have had trouble getting along in the past but that since Kathy had been pregnant her Mom had been "real nice and more understanding." Kathy shared with me that her other brothers and sisters all had children at young ages. Her one brother had four children each 12 months apart and he was 20. This led into the following discussion on having children and birth control:

I just don't know how some people can wait so long to have kids. I mean why do it when you are in your 30's and so old. 47

Well I am 30 now, so I had Jeremy (my son) when I was 27. I have a sister who is 10 years older than I am,

"This was the first time in my research that I felt an intense desire to intervene and "fix it" and this was very difficult for me. I knew Kathy was looking for some direction. I listened and reflected back to her but the few times she made eye contact her eyes were big, mature, innocent, sad and hardened and I wondered what I was doing.

47I had already talked to Kathy about my two kids and their ages. I wondered how old she thought I was--I guess I should be flattered that she did not think I was in my 30's! This was really interesting to me though and I wanted to follow up on this because here was a teenager saying she didn't understand how people could have babies when they were so "old", while those of us who are older do not understand why teenagers would have babies."
but our kids are the same age--so she didn't have her first baby until she was 37.

Kathy looked incredulous and a bit grossed out like what I was describing was very unnatural.

Well, I guess what I mean is how do people go that long without getting pregnant. I mean how do you stop accidents?

Kathy was looking at me pretty intently here and I think she had gotten to what she wanted to talk about so I decided to be very open and honest.

Well, I had three older sisters who emphasized birth control with me from the time I was 14--so I was careful to use birth control but I still had "accidents". Even birth control fails sometimes. Do you use birth control?

No. You see my boyfriend was worried that he would not be able to have a baby because he had been with a girl for 9 months but she never got pregnant, so he wanted to see if he could have a baby.

Did you want to have a baby too?

Well, I did until I got pregnant and now I'm not sure--I'm really scared.

Why did you want to have a baby?

I guess just to have something to love; something that would be my own. I really wanted that, but now it seems really scary.

As I got to know Kathy better I began to come to understand how important this typical cliche "I want something to love" that we hear connected to teenage pregnancy was to her. Kathy did not just say this but lived it. In her mind pregnancy should be a time that embodied the best about being a woman and should be a time when she would be treated well and feel fulfilled. In Kathy's family
pregnancy is part of an initiation to adult status and
respect—her mother was a teenage parent to 5 children who
have been or are now teen parents.

Kathy struck me particularly because she was the teen
mother on Time magazine. She seemed quiet, spoke in a soft
voice, and was quite thin and pale. She was unassuming, at
times shy, often held her head down and hid behind her hair.
She often spoke in cliches, but for her they were sincere,
and she met all the demographic statistics predicting her
future as a teen mother—troubled home environment, low
self-esteem, poor student, unambitious, involved in drugs,
and sexually active as a victim at an early age.

Here is an excerpt of a journal entry I made after
meeting Kathy the first time:

Kathy sat, moved and spoke in a very unassuming
manner. Her hair is strawberry blond; thin and wispy,
framing her face and falling to her shoulders. Her
skin is so pale it at times it looked luminous. She
wore little or no make up—ummm black eyeliner I think.
She had dark circles under her eyes and her skin
is taunt—she is very thin—almost gaunt. She has
several nervous gestures and looks in need of a
cigarette. She made short bursts of eye contact,
sometimes nodding so that the small, frail frame
of her whole upper body swayed.

She wore tight faded jeans, gripped below her waist
on impossibly narrow hips that belied her pregnancy. A
little scoop necked tee covered with a short black
motorcycle type leather jacket; her shoes were old and
worn tennis shoes, worn without socks. Although
she is petite she looks tough also, street wise—
something in her eyes when she looks at me speaks
youth and also hardened adolescence.

Kathy in the same moment for me captured an essence
of drug culture and of frailty. Her attitude and
manner were not abrupt, rough or condescending but
rather one eager of acceptance and wanting to please.
In sitting with Kathy, when she would look at me with short notes of eye contact and nodding--there was such a need of legitimacy and confirmation that I feel inadequate to do justice to. Kathy seemed confused and alone--she was eager to talk. (Feb. 20, 1992)

Kathy and I often discussed her fears of pregnancy and childbirth. She had many questions, fears, and misconceptions and I was able to talk to her both from a practitioner and from a practical experience point of view. It felt good to be able to answer some of her questions although I know it did not lessen her fear.

Kathy was involved with a counselor at a youth services program and one day she told me that she had to go do a drug test later that day. This disturbed her because she said she had told them she had not done drugs since she was pregnant but they did not believe her.

I told her I was not doing drugs since I've been pregnant--and it's hard cause it's dealing all around me, but I'm not going to do it. But she doesn't believe me and I've already done one test and now I have to do another.

One day Kathy came up to me at the start of second period; she was very pale and looked very ill. She told me she felt very sick that she was having cramps and a little bit of spotting and some vomiting. Kate was talking to another student so Kathy had to wait to talk to her to get permission to go to the office. Kathy talked to me about needing to call her midwife, that she had been spotting during her pregnancy. I told her what I knew about that--that some women still do that during their regular cycle
even while they are pregnant. I found her a saltine cracker to eat.

When Kate was finished she sent Kathy to the office to see the nurse, but Kathy came back in a few minutes saying the nurse wasn’t in until the afternoon and they told her to come back to class. Kate said, "Didn’t they offer for you to lay down there?" Kathy said, "no." I suggested I unlock the PAT playroom in the school and there was a couch Kathy could lay down on.\(^8\)

Kathy would seek me out if she heard I was at Parkside and Kate told me that she would ask when I was coming in. One day I saw Kathy when I took my little boy to the bathroom (we go in and play on Thursdays in the Parkside PAT playroom after I’ve finished with my fieldwork in the morning). Kathy had been testing but was finished and had been released so she went back to the playroom with me to meet Kimberle (my daughter) also.

We talked about her health—she still looked a little pale and is having trouble with morning sickness still. Kathy stayed in the playroom and watched for awhile—there were a couple other mom’s there with their kids from my

\(^8\)I was a bit indignant. Kathy was obviously very ill. One look at her and you wondered how she could stand and on top of that to be 14 weeks pregnant—I was upset she was not shown more sympathy in the office. Another part of me wondered if Kathy was having a miscarriage and I questioned whether that would be such a bad thing—I felt bad that I thought this but I could not stop myself from thinking this.
playgroup. We just talked about the kids and how they got along etc. I introduced her to the other mom's and the kids. We talked about her due date and she said she wasn't sure if she would be able to come back to school after she had the baby because of childcare etc. She told me that the school wants them back after 3 weeks and at 7:45 a.m.. I was shocked and we discussed how soon that is and how it is hard as a new mother to adjust.

In our continuing conversations, it became apparent that Kathy was struggling; struggling for her self, her voice versus her need and desire to be taken care of, to be loved. She was resorting to threats with her boyfriend and her voice revealed the tremulousness of those threats. Although she was getting along better with her mother she said "your mother isn't who you want to be with when you are pregnant."

Kathy never did "fit in" with the school. She was always alone whenever I saw her--she never formed a support group of girls. She never overly affirmed herself with any of the teachers. She would seek me out if she heard I was in the school--I watched her flat stomach swell into a slight mound. I felt such an inadequacy to present her life, even in my journal notes.

One day Kathy just did not show up at school. Kate could not get a hold of anyone at Kathy's listed address and telephone number who knew where she might have gone. I
attempted calling and asking around about her myself. I did feel like in some way I had failed Kathy. The first time I wrote about Kathy I cried. It had been four months since I saw Kathy—she would have been seven months pregnant. I wondered if she was still pregnant, where she was, who she was with.

How many girls like Kathy ease so easily and quietly into and out of our lives? Barely demanding, in many ways marginalized even in their existence, so it is easy to allow their coming and going as part of a tide that we stop noting and accept as inevitable.

I keep asking about her. I am told not to get too involved—it is implied I have already done so with my telephone calls. Two weeks later I am told we have a drop slip for Kathy—now it is out of our hands, beyond our responsibility—"sometimes these girls just don't make it". I am overwhelmed with the sense that Kathy did not fail us but that we failed her.

Kathy touched my heart in a way I was not ready or willing to be affected. She was so needy, so wanting—how could we, how could our programs ignore a young girl who was so desperately crying for help? For we failed Kathy dramatically—when she needed trust we treated her with deceit; when she needed support we listened without getting too involved and expected she would make it.

I "knew" Kathy for about two months—but she marked a space in my life which I hope I never forget. I read over some of my old journal notes and remember:

Kathy and I are in the playroom together with my two children and 3 other moms and their kids. We sit on
the floor—Kimmy runs to give me "huggies" and Kathy gives Kimmy a toy. "She is so cute." Kathy says. She is wistfully watching the kids play--"I hope it will work out for me."

Kathy is "gone" and in programs set up to "help" girls like Kathy the mood of "too much" the tangle of bureaucracy is conducive to allow us to forget the ones who leave. I was talking about Kathy to Kate, the GRADS teacher, about a month after Kathy had "disappeared" and she could not remember Kathy. I was shocked and appalled—I respect Kate and view her as a caring and sensitive teacher. I kept providing descriptions and vignettes of conversation until she was able to recall an image of Kathy.

This, Kathy, is exactly why your story, and the stories of other excluded lives in our maze of programs and policies, must be told49. Kathy and I were reading Sandra Cisneros' House on Mango Street before she left. The following section was one Kathy particularly identified

49"Telling" Kathy's story has been very difficult for me though. Kathy came to represent for me a kind of "ironic validity" which in its difference became silenced. Kathy very much fit a larger social construction of who a teen pregnant girl is, yet in this very "validity", her lived authenticity, she was silenced. In this sense Kathy's story is ironic—caught in a difference made out of sameness. Faced with presenting Kathy's story, her living an "ironic difference", I felt what Godvich (1994) describes as "the kind of silence that descends when one cannot even find the words to utter one's anguish" (29). I was however encouraged to write Kathy's story by Godvich's (1994) reading of Levinas of "difference as a cry": "...the cry let out by an injured person even if there is no one to hear it. Such a cry is difference that cannot be contained in the unity that is presupposed by immediacy. It is beyond absorption" (27).
with. I often heard her speak similar words herself. One time I read this section out loud to Kathy as she closed her eyes and relaxed her body:

Sally, do you sometimes wish you didn’t have to go home? Do you wish your feet would one day keep walking and take you far away from Mango Street, far away and maybe your feet would stop in front of a house, a nice one with flowers and big windows and steps for you to climb up two by two upstairs to where a room is waiting for you. And if you opened the little window latch and gave it a shove, the windows would swing open, all the sky would come in. There’d be no nosy neighbors watching, no motorcycles and cars, no sheets and towels and laundry. Only trees and more trees and plenty of blue sky. And you could laugh, Sally. You could go to sleep and wake up and never have to think who likes and doesn’t like you. You could close your eyes and you wouldn’t have to worry what people could make you sad and nobody would think you’re strange because you like to dream and dream. And no one could yell at you if they saw you out in the dark leaning against a car, leaning against somebody without someone thinking you are bad, without somebody saying it is wrong, without the whole world waiting for you to make a mistake when all you wanted, all you wanted, Sally, was to love and to love and to love and to love, and no one could call that crazy.

--Sandra Cisneros

I hope, Kathy, that where your feet have taken you, where you have walked, will be a place where you can find what you want. I wish I could have walked that path with you.... I only hope that I have said what you would have wanted said and that I find a way to express the dreams, compassion and hope you wanted for your own and your baby’s life. There was nothing wrong with that Kathy, nothing at all.
INTERLUDE
OBSERVATIONAL ACCOUNTS/PROVIDING CONTEXT

Before continuing with an analysis of teen pregnancy discourses and consideration of how "teacher talk" and "girl talk" works with, through and against the demographic and GRADS discourses, I provide further context for the data which follows. To this end, two unabridged and largely anecdotal observational field notes of a "Baby Day" and a "Typical Day" in a GRADS program are presented. I have refrained from analytical commentary, from identifying social regularities, to preserve the "feel" of a GRADS class.

The interspersed footnotes contain researcher reflexive notes written during an early stage of the research. The footnotes provide the reader with "researcher talk"--with my own grappling with and understanding of my own "discourse" of teenage pregnancy. The footnotes also provide information on how I operated in the research setting. The footnotes may be read or skipped over as the reader wishes.

Baby Day

Most GRADS programs have a "Baby Day" once or twice during the school year offering the student an opportunity to socialize together with their children. GRADS also speaks about "Baby Day" as an opportunity to affirm the teenager's role as parent and to allow the GRADS teacher(s) to observe the teen parents interact with their children, observe the children's developmental progress, and provide
further "hands on" information of child development and positive parenting.

Because the majority of GRADS programs do not offer child care services "Baby Day" provides a rare opportunity for the teen parents to see each others babies and toddlers. The following is a description of "Baby Day" at Parkside school taken from my journal notes.

56Upon arriving at the school at 1:10 p.m. I found the playroom already filled with seven teen mothers and their babies. I came into the playroom and was approached by the 

56On my way to Parkside I was considering some of my preconceptions of teen parents. Most of my information on teen parents has been gained in the form of depressing statistics or stories in PARADE magazine. I also in the past three years had two very close sets of friends who had spent years battling the infertility cycle and then turned to adoption options. I had watched and supported them while they hoped a teen mother "would do what was best" and give her baby up for adoption. How do I feel about this in relation to my research?

I also acknowledged that I probably did hold more negative images of teen parents than positive ones. I felt I could statistically predict what the future of a teen parent and her child would be. As I pulled into the parking lot of the high school I encouraged myself to interact openly with the girls and attempt to identify stereotypical processes on my part. My focus would be on attempting to learn what I do not know.

I have been reading some of Michelle Fine's work and have been moved by the honesty she relates in her description of an urban high school and the students who go (or do not go) to the school. For me she captures what Denzin (1989) describes as participant observation ethnography:

Participant observation is a commitment to adopt the prospective of those studied by sharing in their day-to-day experiences. ...The ethnographer attempts to discover the practices and meanings that the members of the group take for granted; in so doing, the culture of the group is grasped. (156)
secretary who said that the girls had started coming in at 1:00 p.m. and that no one else was here. She gave me a sign in sheet and asked me to circulate it.\(^{51}\)

I circulated among the girls, introducing myself and asking them to sign themselves and their babies in. This took the next 20 minutes as more girls came in, until we had twenty teen parents and their babies in the room. The babies ranged in age from two weeks to twenty months. The girls basically ignored me when I introduced myself and asked them to sign in. While I was circulating the room I noticed that the girls were closely looking at each others babies, comparing sizes, clothing, hair styles, likeness to mother etc.\(^{52}\)

\(^{51}\)What I really felt here was a sense of panic. No one else is here; what am I supposed to do; when are they coming? I am glad to have the clipboard to hold and use as a way to introduce myself to the girls.

\(^{52}\)I am struck by the healthy beauty of these babies. They are not the low birth weight babies I read about. I do not know what to do when the young mothers struggle to sign in while holding their babies--I cannot read their reaction. To some mothers I ask if I can help by signing their name or holding their baby; only one accepts. I smile and am touched by the gentle handling I see as babies are removed from carseats and snowsuits/sweaters; again I realize I did not expect to see such tenderness in women so young (or at least young to me) nor did I expect to see such responsiveness on the part of the babies. I found I was unconsciously taking mental account of each baby's appropriate developmental milestones--yes, this baby is smiling and making eye contact with his mother; this baby is reaching and grasping; this baby holds up her head; etc. What am I doing? Is this part of my job or part of my preconception that teen parents will have at-risk children?
The teen mothers are sitting about the room with their babies talking to each other. Out of the some twenty teen parents one half are black and the other half white. The teen parents who are black are all sitting at one end of the room; there are a few white teen parents who move in and out of this area but for the most part the playroom remains segregated in terms of racial distinction.

There are two teen fathers present with the mothers (one black and one white). They both have held their babies; the father who is black seems especially protective of his newborn son (two weeks) and sits rocking him. I had noticed that when this couple came in there seemed to be a quiet support and communication between the two of them in terms of getting their son in the playroom, out of his sweater suit, his diaper bag situated and necessary items out, and the mother seated on a comfortable chair. Later when their little boy needs his diaper changed they both go to change his diaper and heat up a bottle for him.

The father who is white leaves the playroom at 2:00 p.m. discussing with the mother when he should return and pick her up. I see he walks by and looks in the playroom twice after this.\(^5\)

\(^5\)I did not expect to see fathers at BABY DAY. I find myself wondering what this couple's future will be. Are we more comfortable, am I more comfortable if a young teen mother is in a relationship with a male? Does having a male involved legitimize and sanction the young
During this time I am sitting in the area of the black teen mothers listening to their discussions of their babies and participating by asking questions about their child's age, schedule, likes and dislikes etc. I am also answering questions about myself which are "Do you have children?" "Are you married?" "What do you do here?"

At one point a pregnant teen and her father enter; she has also brought her sisters' 11 month old baby with her. The father is handsome, the teen stylishly dressed, and the little girl adorable. The father seems to know all the other black teen parents and checks and admires each baby—asking about some girls he does not see there. The father then leaves. This had occurred earlier also—a teen's parents came in with her and were admiring all of the other babies and acting as typical grandparents (they also were black).  

The parents are not engaging their babies with the toys in the room so I begin playing with a few of the children who are sitting on the floor. A couple of the children who are crawling and myself move to another area and play with a variety of toys off the shelves. We interact with another girl's role as mother? Again, my perceptions of what is "14" or "16" year old behavior are challenged.

Ugh—-another stereotype—what did I think, that these babies were not loved; that their parents and grandparents were not proud? I remember in some of my reading that pregnant teens in the black community receive more support and acceptance—is this what I have observed?
mother who has two small children (10 months apart in age). I talk with her about her boys; she asks about myself—but I feel she remains aloof. She is a black parent but has remained on the peripheral of the black group. Her boys are older—ten months and twenty months and are active and moving around. She attempts to sit in one spot but often has to move to intervene with one of her boys.  

By this time Kate, the coordinator of GRADS, has joined the group. She is hugging the girls and admiring babies. The girls seem genuinely affectionate toward her and she interacts easily and honestly with the girls. Kate mentions to some of the girls that I will be doing more activities with them, that I am in a college class for which I need to practice my observing and interviewing skills.

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55I feel that I am being closely scrutinized when I answer my questions. Ah—having two children close in age (21 months) struck a cord of acceptance; I feel a sense of "oh she had accidents too." I did not feel I was making headway talking with the teens however, so I began playing with a couple of the children. I notice that I am being watched in my play—I feel a bit unsure of myself. I feel a real sense of empathy for the mother with two small children—her life seems different to me from the other teen parents—she seems more mature, yet also more sad. I was thinking who would not be sad to have two children 10 months apart—I know from experience that would not leave you with much of a life to call your own. I found myself hoping she had a support person. I engaged her older boy in play—cautiously at first under her attentive eye—and then as she relaxed I helped him use some of the toys he had been attempting to play with.

56I know she has mentioned me to the girls earlier. I feel here that she is breaking the ice for me; letting the girls know she feels good about what I am doing at
I am still on the floor playing with children and have moved towards where the white teen parents are sitting. Some of the other parents are now getting toys off the shelves to show to their babies. Many of the parents are eating the snacks provided. Most of the girls sit in groups; there are 2-3 parents who have found their own niche in the room and seem quite content to stay there and interact with their babies letting other people come to them.

It is now going on 2:30 p.m. and I am up off the floor; many of the babies have now fallen asleep. By this time I have circulated the room several times and after getting myself something to drink I sit by two teen parents whose babies (nine months and four months) are sleeping in their arms (actually the four month old is fighting sleep and the mother is encouraging her to take her thumb, which she does and calms down). The girls and I are talking about their babies sleeping and their school day when one of the girls says to me,

See that girl over there? The one with the short hair.

I turn and look and reply, "Yes."

She is only 13 and pregnant. She was only with her boyfriend for five months and she is five months pregnant. That can only mean one thing—she did it

the school. As Fetterman (1989) states, "...an introduction by a member is the ethnographer's best ticket into the community" (43). I appreciate Kate's skill in this matter.
right away. My boyfriend was in here earlier, did you see him? Well she complained because her boyfriend couldn't come in so mine had to go. She just turned 13 too." 57

The girls then get into a discussion of what boyfriend this "younger" girl had taken from another and why she was going to get beat up. Then the conversation turns to the 13 year old sitting with us who is also engaged but she tells me she will not get married until she is 16. We discuss the laws on when you can get married at what age. Both the girls describe their boyfriends as "very involved."

It is almost 3:00 p.m. and I say good-bye to these girls and move to help another adult pick up toys. As I move by the shelves and pick up toys a staff person who works with GRADS and had recently come into the room says to me:

Watch your toys. Make sure everything is on the shelf. Those girls over there have been scoping out the toys.

I must have looked incredulous because she said "I'm serious." I check the toys and do not see anything missing and move around the room saying good-bye to the girls and their babies.

Five girls asked me for help getting their babies in their coats or to hold their babies for them while they picked up all of their things. The mother with the two boys

57I thought this was pretty wonderful--I was becoming privy to gossip--to teen girl gossip which I soon realized is how I would hear their talk about life, sex, boys, sexuality, and pregnancy.
is the last to leave—the older boy wants to take a toy with him. I think that they have left; I am picking up toys; someone comes through looking for Kate who has gone out to help some parents get their car seats in the car; the older boy comes back into the room to play—his mom comes after him again.

Kate comes back through, says "Thank you" and she is off to take some girls and their babies home.

The teen girl who is pregnant and brought her sister's baby girl comes back in; she is waiting for someone to pick her up. In comes a young looking grandfather, smartly dressed with another child (beautiful girl, who I later find out is 2 1/2 and obviously related to the other little girl). The grandfather asks how it went, picks up the 11 month old and when he and his pregnant daughter can't get the two year old to leave the room they jointly pick her up by her arms and laughing leave the room.

It is almost 3:30 p.m. I finish picking up toys and close up the playroom.58

58 I do not want to idealize what I observed. The girls topics of discussion definitely seemed juvenile at times to me; their emphasis on material items immature; and they often appeared as what Kate calls "lazy"—they do not move around with or play interactively very often with their children. So I am not idolizing teen parents—but I did see more than what I expected to see. I cannot begin to comprehend how these girls have dealt with this responsibility in their lives. And I wonder in all of this where is their sense of self; who defines it and by what standards? Are teens pregnant due to a lack of or abundance of self esteem? I seemed to observe both today. I am struck by what I
Typical Day

The following description is from an observation of a typical lesson in a GRADS classroom at Parkside.

I entered the room at 1:25 p.m. and introduced myself to "Jill" who works with GRADS. Kate had forgotten to inform Jill that I was coming. I explained to her what I was doing and she stated that she felt comfortable with me observing.59 Jill introduced me to the girls and said that I would be observing their class. I sat at the end of a group of three girls and Jill at a table—they created a foursome which I was outside of. The three girls sitting with Jill looked incredibly young to me—they seemed closer to childhood to me than to adolescence.

I read in Williams (1990, 254) that: "Understanding emerges out of interaction between me as a researcher and the situation within which I find myself—out of the questions that emerge from my response to the situation". Denzin (1989, 165) spoke to this issue of "culture shock" and describes four phases observers may pass through in fieldwork: honeymoon; crisis; recovery; and adjustment. The importance of "thick" notes, reflective thinking and peer "debriefing: are now very apparent to me. Again it is helpful to listen to Williams (1990, 256):

Indeed, when I now look at what I have written, I worry that there is so much of how I felt and not enough of how the people I encountered expressed their feelings. And sometimes it seems to me that the problem lies not so much in the decision to include or not to include personal feelings, but rather in the process of elucidating the part they play in marking boundaries.

59 At first I could not read Jill's reaction; I tried to play low key; I was not sure she actually felt comfortable with me observing.
Two other girls sat a couple spaces away from this group working on what appeared to be a reading and writing assignment. They did not participate in the group Jill was running nor was there any interaction between these girls and Jill—when they completed their work they put their things away and left—this was by 1:40 p.m. One of the girls smiled at me on her way out.\(^6\)

Jill began talking to the girls about the importance of knowing who they were and how they operated. One of the three girls had her head on the table and by 1:50 p.m. had fallen asleep. Jill continued talking and 3 minutes later woke the girl up.\(^1\) Jill next led the girls through a quiz to know themselves better. She read statements and then the girls chose either an A or B answer that best fit them. The girls were very quiet, but attentive—one of the girls was very smiley and made almost constant eye contact with teacher. While they were doing the quiz (I did the quiz

\(^6\)I was surprised at the fact that out of the five girls in the room I only recognized one of them from BABY DAY. How many pregnant or teens with babies are there here?

\(^1\)I had been watching this girl battle sleep for 10 minutes. To look at this girl, with the still unformed features of a not yet 13 year old, it was hard to believe had the responsibilities of being a parent. When she finally fell asleep she looked so young—I wondered if her baby had gotten her up last night; what was her life like at home? I wanted her to be able to sleep and wondered about a school that would acknowledge the exhaustion of being a new parent. I wondered what Jill would do—and my wandering was broken when she woke her up.
also in case I was asked to share) I let my eyes wander around the room.

On a cabinet in front of me were cut out silhouettes of some of the girl's hands. They did not have the girl's names on them but on each finger and thumb was a trait I assume the girl wrote about herself. Many of the hands said "mother" or "very good mother"; "cute" and "pretty" were other terms most used.

When the girls finished the quiz, Jill lead them through scoring their quizzes and determine whether they were a right or a left brain person. This part of the activity seemed to interest them and they perked up asking questions about what this said about their characteristics. Jill talked about using this information and what they knew about themselves to make decisions in their lives. She gave examples such as: what kind of job or career to consider; what "needs" they need to meet; and what type of personality in terms of a boyfriend they might get along with best. A bell rang; class was over and the girls left the room. Jill said to me that she was sorry they were so quiet; she was sorry it was such a "bad class."

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I experienced a flash-back to as a teenager paying a quarter for the machine that would by the heat off my palm give me a "readout" of my personality characteristics. I remember my teenage years as being a searching for self and self validation time.
CHAPTER V

BAD GIRLS, GOOD MOTHERS AND REGULATED BODIES: CLASSROOM STORIES

Chapter V moves the focus of analysis to the local or micro level. Chapter V considers how teachers and girls negotiate the social regularities which construct teen pregnancy as a policy issue. Chapter IV identified these social regularities as gender, race, class and sexuality and presented GRADS curriculum and evaluation talk as constructed through these regularities. Chapter IV further described these regularities as "crisis talk" calling for social control, regulatory practices and surveillance.

Chapter V considers how these forms of bio-power and regulatory practices are embodied in GRADS teachers and students. This analysis takes place through themes which emerged from my conversations and group member checks with the teachers and teen girls I came to know. Thus teacher talk is analyzed through themes of "implementation" and "personal views" while how teen girls negotiate, take on and resist the social construction of teen pregnancy is approached through themes of "sex, sexuality, birth control and pregnancy", "boys and marriage", "home" and "school."
Chapter V presents personal stories which are rich, complex and varied. In an attempt to provide a sample of this complexity not only across stories but within the same individual a "case analysis" is presented of a teacher and of a teen girl who is pregnant at the end of "teacher talk" and "girl talk" respectively. Chapter V concludes with an analysis of the relationship among surveillance, architecture and bodies—a theme and topic of interest which rose from my observations of GRADS classrooms across different school settings.

Teacher Talk

GRADS teachers are the front line implementors of the GRADS program. They are the ones who make the 36,356 agency contacts each year, implement lesson plans, conduct home visits and attempt to help the teenagers in their programs in what ever way possible. GRADS teachers are home economics certified given GRADS funding through vocational and home economics programming. Most GRADS teachers have had no previous experience working with teenage parents. All GRADS teachers initially attend a two day training seminar on implementing GRADS and later participate annually in a GRADS state wide conference.

Some teachers and GRADS sites may serve as training centers for new GRADS teachers further increasing teacher responsibility. GRADS teachers additionally are responsible for developing and keeping up to date individual treatment
plans for each teen enrolled in GRADS and for collecting the variety of "data" and information that the state office uses in its program evaluation of GRADS.

I visited 10 GRADS site and talked with 13 GRADS teachers. Eleven of the GRADS teachers were Caucasian and two were African American. Two of these teachers taught at Parkside and over the 9 months I was at Parkside we came to form close and reciprocal relationships. The 13 GRADS teachers I talked with were responsible for over 350 GRADS students. Ten of the GRADS teachers had been teaching GRADS for over 10 years, the other three teachers ranged in experience from 2 to 4 years. I became interested in how GRADS teachers talked about implementing GRADS, about teenage pregnancy, about the teens they worked with and how they related this or did not relate this to their own lives.

Although the GRADS teachers I spoke with differed tremendously on their pedagogical approaches in the classroom, themes emerged from the teachers I talked with,\(^6\) themes of implementation, status of GRADS teachers and role in school at large, and personal views toward the teens they worked with and the issue of teenage pregnancy.

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\(^6\)When I interviewed and met with GRADS teachers I had planned on using Fetterman's (1989) suggestion of beginning with a "grand tour question" with some protocol to aide in the direction of the conversation and data collection. However, this usually was not necessary as the teachers seemed eager and willing to talk about what they were doing in their classrooms. In this way, I felt we had achieved what Denzin (1989, 102) describes as the "give and take" of a conversation.
These themes will be presented and discussed in relation to how "teacher talk" is taking on, extending or disrupting "GRADS talk" and the social construction of teen pregnancy. Following this discussion of themes, an integrated story presenting on-going conversations with and observations of "Kate", the head GRADS teacher at Parkside, will be presented to provide the opportunity for the reader to experience at a "deeper" level the complexity of teachers negotiating the social regularities of teen pregnancy.

**Implementing GRADS**

The 13 teachers I talked to differed in the way they chose to implement GRADS within their classrooms. Some of the teachers implemented GRADS "by the book", moving smoothly through GRADS curriculum and lesson plans. Other teachers chose to implement sections of GRADS and supplement with additional materials they found to be more "useful or pertinent", while two teachers stated they "occasionally look at the GRADS curriculum" or "open up the GRADS file maybe once a month."

Beyond these differences, however the GRADS teachers spoke some common themes about the GRADS curriculum and teaching GRADS. One theme, I identify as "helping those in need", is that GRADS is a necessary program and serving a definite need in schools:

I wonder what these girls would be doing without GRADS. They have so much to worry about and try to bring together—I think that’s where GRADS helps the most—in supporting the girls to get the services and
support they need to stay in school, finish and be ready to go into the job market.

GRADS teachers also speak with "front-line" experience as to what they view as the increasing need for GRADS programs and in this way echo crisis and decline of the family talk.

Each year I have more and more students enroll in GRADS and I wonder where it will all end up. I have more and more repeats too--girls coming in with their second pregnancies. There doesn’t seem to be anything you can do to stop that, so you just bring them in and hope they finish school before their third pregnancy.

I am getting more family relations in GRADS--like sisters or cousins will be enrolled in GRADS and they treat it like its a family get together. Some families just really seem to condone their young girls getting pregnant. Some of the girls even tell me that they have a younger sister and ‘she’ll be here sooner than I was’.

On the whole GRADS teachers found GRADS curriculum, the APRG, to be a useful document although they all stated something similar to the effect of "there’s no way you could cover everything in a year." GRADS teachers also spoke about their "unique position" in a school as a GRADS teacher. Over half of the teachers said that other teachers in their building and the school administrators did not "really know what I am doing or why" and "do not have respect for my role." GRADS teachers cited other teachers misconceptions about GRADS teachers "low class loads and low teaching schedules."

"But what they don’t know or pay attention to", one GRADS teacher said,
is that I do individual plans for 50 girls in my classes and that I do home visits, agency contacts, and help the girls with everything in their lives--getting them childcare, going to court with them, calling social services for them--it's really never ending. But all the other teachers see is that I teach in the morning and then I have the "afternoon off"--ha what a laugh. Sometimes I don’t even have weekends off.

Several teachers voiced a similar level of commitment to their students saying that "we’re concerned with our student’s whole life not just when they’re in school."

**Personal Views: Teen Girls and Teen Pregnancy**

GRADS teachers also spoke a variety of views about the teen girls they worked with and the issue of teen pregnancy in general. Many of their views correspond with a "crisis" portrayal of teen pregnancy and the same "network of regularities" identified in Chapter IV (gender, race, class, sexuality, family values) can be heard in their voices.

"Kate" the GRADS teacher at Parkside was the most notable exception to this and her story is presented following this section.

All of the GRADS teachers described teenage pregnancy as increasingly a problem. Eight of the teachers describe a "decline of morals" as leading to their perceived increase of teen pregnancy.

Some families just don’t care. These girls just have no sense of responsibility or of what is right or wrong.

The remaining five GRADS teachers equate teenage pregnancy with larger issues such as lack of sex education, lack of birth control, or teen girls need to "get a guy."
Y'know with all the movies and MTV and stuff encouraging these girls to be grown up and sexy and then they just focus all their attention on getting a boyfriend and keeping him. They are really stuck in a Catch-22. On one hand we tell them to grow up and then on the other we don't prepare them for it at all.

All of the GRADS teachers characterized the girls they worked with as having "low self-esteem and just not connected to their school." Additionally all of the GRADS teachers stated that their students were "poor students" or "just don't care" although the degree of this varied according to the type of GRADS school location—urban school, alternative school or suburban school.

Interestingly, an image of the teen mother as low income, on welfare and from an abusive home held in GRADS teachers minds whether the students they had in their classrooms fit this description or not. For example a GRADS teacher in a middle-class suburban high school described teen parents in the following manner:

They just have so many problems they are dealing with. They often are from abusive families and have no sense of security in their lives. Many of them will end up on welfare. They need so much help just to make it.

However, when I asked her about the students in her classroom and pursued this definition with her she stated:

Well only two girls are from families with alcohol abuse and most of the girls are supported by their families but I have had girls in the past who needed financial assistance.

Another GRADS teacher described teen pregnancy as "closely related to race" when in actuality 3/4 of her students were Caucasian. In fact, 10 of the GRADS teachers
provided popular, generic descriptions of teen pregnancy that did not "fit" with who they actually were serving in their GRADS classrooms.

Why did this occur? It seems the media portrayals of teen parents were more powerful than even contextual occurrences in these teachers minds. Scheurich (1994) describes this as the positive productivity of "social regularities" where "social orders are continuously re-established or reproduced by the network of social regularities without the need for a controlling agency" (11)—a form of bio-power. Scheurich (1994) also points to the insidiousness of social regularities which "'arrange' the 'seeing' of this target group, the seeing of it as a problem group" (22).

Perhaps these teachers portrayals are also related to GRADS discourses and policy discourses of "helping" and "fixing" the teen parent—that somehow they are not doing their job if they are not working with "worst case scenarios" as everyone expects the teen parent to be. This explanation is especially powerful given the number of teachers who mentioned their "low status" and "lack of understanding of the work we do" in their school buildings. Do some GRADS teachers promote crisis talk to increase their status within their schools? Whatever their clientele, however, the teachers working with white middle-class teen parents in no way had less responsibility or work to do than
other teachers. Issues of child care, transportation, health care, family relations, personal care, schooling, and future planning remain paramount to any and all of teen parents and time consuming of their GRADS teachers.

The GRADS teachers also had strong and somewhat differing views concerning teen girl’s sexuality. Teen boys and teen fathers were mentioned by only three of the teachers and this was in regards to their absence— in this way teen pregnancy was situated as "gendered" as "the girl’s problem. She’s the one who’s going to have it and have to take care of it."

All of the GRADS teachers felt like "girls are just not waiting to have sex anymore— they are doing it at younger and younger ages." Many of the GRADS teachers related this back to teen girls’ low self-esteem and need to have a boyfriend. Most of the GRADS teachers seemed to relate teen girls sexuality with victimization by boys, by their own lack of self and the resulting pregnancy as part of this cycle of victimization.

What gets me is that they don’t stop when they are pregnant. They just keep going back for more and if this one guy drops them they immediately search for someone else. It’s really sad because they are looking for love in the wrong way and getting themselves in trouble.

Only two GRADS teachers spoke something similar to a discourse of pleasure or desire for teen girls. One teacher stated she felt "curiosity" played a major role in teen girl’s sexuality while another teacher put it more vividly:
Let's face it--some of the girls are having sex because they like it. Maybe they know something we don't!

All of the GRADS teachers stated that they have to discuss issues of sex and sexuality "very carefully." Some stated they were not comfortable discussing "these issues" so they took it "right from the APRG--word for word" while other teachers stated that they feel like the students in their classes "just stay quiet and won't say anything" during lessons on reproduction or birth control.

While the teachers did not use these words to frame their statements they demonstrated an understanding of the politics and consequences of discussing issues of sexuality, particularly female sexuality in their classrooms. Particularly the teachers in the 6 suburban school sites were especially cautious and reticent in their descriptions of their discussions of reproduction and birth control in their classrooms. As one teacher said:

I know I am supposed to have 'low visibility' in the school. The principal does not want to reinforce the idea of teenagers having babies by me talking too much or my girls walking around like it's okay.

Kate: A Case Study

The story of "Kate" is presented to give the reader a contextual feel for a lived experience of one GRADS teacher. Kate's story is unique in that her GRADS classroom is situated in a school which serves high school students who are "not making it" in the other high school settings due to "learning, behavior or family problems." Kate's story is
also unique in a variety of other ways which I hope the reader will experience during the reading.

I had met Kate while I was working with a parent/child program which opened a "playroom" at Parkside where Kate was teaching GRADS. Kate was a very visible figure in the school. Her personality seemed to draw students and faculty to her for a quick "hello", some advice or perhaps a snack from the home economics room. Kate has a reputation for being "caring and involved" but for also "getting done what needs to be done." She was respected in the building for her "savvy with these kids." Students at Parkside described her as "cool" and "someone you can talk to and trust--she won't go and narc on you."

When I approached Kate about my research she was supportive and interested. She said she would appreciate "another pair of eyes and some more ideas of what to do with these girls" and hoped I could share some information or resources with her. I was pleased by the idea that our relationship could somehow be mutually beneficial and set up a first "interview" with Kate for the following week.

The next week, I arrived at the school a little early and went into the GRADS room. I found the room empty except for Jill (a part-time GRADS teacher) and she and I engaged in pleasant small talk until we saw and then smelled smoke rolling into the classroom from the hall.
"Great. What is going on now!" said Jill as she went to see what had happened. She called for me to follow her.

The smoke was thick and choking in the hallway—it seemed someone had set fire to a trash can in the gym. We returned to the GRADS room and shut the door. At that point Kate entered the room said, "Can you believe this!" and then was distracted by a teen boy who came by to ask Kate to pin some buttons on his shirt for him. Kate pinned a button at his neck and on his sleeves. She spoke to him in a quiet manner—she asked him if he knew who set the fire. He said yes and told her who did it; she asked why and he said "I don't know. Guess he was mad and messed up so he set a fire and ran—he left the school." The boy thanked Kate for her help and left—he asked if she had sewn the buttons on his jacket yet and she said no she had not been able to do it today, would he bring it back tomorrow. He replied "Right."

Thus my first "interview" with Kate began in a round about way and established a pattern of interaction and disclosure with Kate which would continue over the next 9 months. Kate sat down in a chair and said,

"Wanda, you have got to help us here. I have already cried three times this week and twice today."

"This week has been horrible. Jill and I have not known if we were going to make it. There is something going on every day here. On Monday a teacher was threatened; on Tuesday a teacher who had worked with these kids for over 12
years walked out in tears—and is not coming back; on Wednesday a teacher was hit and pushed; and today the fire. It just never ends."

"Jill and I have already cried on each other today. You just don’t make it without someone you can go to—and it’s not just for the bad things but also for the really good things that happen."

Over time I came to recognize that Kate was certainly sincere in her emotions toward the school, the kids, their lives and hers. She was not afraid to demonstrate emotion with students or faculty—she viewed this as necessary and positive. She was capable of listening intently, non-judgmentally and with empathy to the lives of her students and colleagues. Thus, she was often sought out by students and faculty.

Kate did not seek this attention for as she stated "only the bad things." Repeatedly I witnessed sincere and joyful hugs, smiles, congratulations and celebrations relating to a decision made, a test passed, a baby born. Kate was not linear in her praise—she took her cues from the individual’s own experience. So for example, in one case a decision to end a relationship might be celebratory where in another case a decision to make a commitment to a relationship might be cause for celebration. Students seemed to have a clear sense that Kate would approach and consider them each individually, "with advice when you need
it but not judgmental." The consensus among GRADS students was "she cares."

I often wondered how Kate maintained her energy and commitment given how stressful her role as "confidant" for 50 GRADS students, the additional 30 boys I came to recognize as they walked by and "hung out" in Kate's classroom, and the 6 teachers I saw her engage in more personal and intimate relationships with. How did Kate do this and why?

Kate had a strong sense of mission and vision in her teaching. These were often tied into liberal-humanist notions of helping but were further centered by her own personal experiences "as a woman." Kate referred to the students at Parkside as:

They are throw away kids. They really are--the other schools do not want them. If they do not make it here they are out on the streets.

Kate thus identified Parkside as the "last chance" for many of the students there. Although Kate was the GRADS teacher she was also involved in discussions of "effective programming" for the students at large at Parkside. Part of this involvement arose from Kate's genuine desire to help and from the fact that the girls enrolled in her GRADS classroom had to be able to "make it" in the other basic courses in the building in order to graduate. Kate often expressed concern that the "programming and policies at Parkside do not meet the kids' needs."
For Kate this was part of a larger dilemma of how to teach students who do not "have someone they can depend on in their lives." This notion that everyone needs someone they can turn to and lean is a major theme throughout Kate's discussions and provides a prime motivation for doing what she does in the school.

How can you teach when they need you to pay attention to their basic needs. It becomes so confusing as to where you draw the line—with structure, discipline and responsibility to them.

...Take _____ for example (the boy who came in earlier for help with his clothes). He came in here this morning and asked if I would sew the buttons on his coat. I could not get it done today, but he will bring it back tomorrow. He knows I will do it for him—I have sewed his clothes for him before. Sometimes they just wander in here—looking for something that they are too afraid to ask for—so they do it in another way, and you do what you can. You help them find a haven.

Interestingly, the girls in GRADS at Parkside are only there because they choose to come to this school versus staying in a GRADS program in one of the other two high schools which offer GRADS. Kate says that she does not encourage girls to come to this school; there really were no advantages except for maybe smaller class size and she worries about the girls being in the environment the school provides.

Kate thought that the girls chose to come to Parkside probably due to the idea that the curriculum would be easier and not so demanding. Kate believes that most of the girls coming to Parkside had "previous academic and attendance problems and were often unmotivated." Kate also feels that
another prime reason for girls coming to Parkside is that "sometimes they wanted to get away from their boyfriends." Kate cites that some of the boys would be "overly protective" of the girls during the pregnancy and it would "drive them crazy."

Kate's views about teenage pregnancy follow her theme of "helping" with a dosage of feminist theory. For example Kate repeatedly talked about "gender issues" with her students and faculty. These discussions were often in terms of unfair expectations for women—to be "both good and bad"—and about the need for women to claim "their space and take care of themselves."

Women are not taught to take care of themselves. After working with these girls for so many years—do you know I am now working with the daughter of one of my first students—I see it still continuing. Girls are taught and expected to take care of everyone else first—it's very damaging. I work to help them think of themselves and feel confident about who they are.

For Kate the cycle of "women not taking care of themselves" is also tied into women's sexuality and sexual activity.

I see their relationships with boys—their sexual relationships—as being really co-dependent. They may be hurt, and pleasure seems to be a taboo word, but they will just keep going back for more. Their sense of self esteem is so wrapped up in this one boy that they lose themselves and reality.

In this way, Kate spoke what Fine (1990) characterizes as the "unacknowledged social ambivalence about female sexuality." Kate also sought to create space in her GRADS classes for "open" discussions of female pleasure and
sexuality. I observed Kate speaking honestly and frankly about her own experiences sexually—speaking a discourse of pleasure—or affirming (or at other times importantly remaining silent) thus legitimizing a space for what Fine (1990) calls a "discourse of desire."

Kate relies on her own experiences as a single parent, as the spouse and "co-dependent" of a man who abused alcohol, her own search for self esteem and "fulfillment" to make connections to the young women she works with. Through these experiences Kate characterizes her life as "not that different from" the teen girls in her class, although she certainly acknowledges the further "burden" of young age and lack of "knowledge about themselves and about life" for teen parents. Central to Kate's philosophy and pedagogy in implementing GRADS are her notions of the impact of gender and co-dependency, the importance of self-esteem and "fulfillment."

Listening to Kate I was reminded of Hekman's (1990) assertion that "there are no myths in which woman is the subject. ...Man, who creates the myths, puts women into them as nature, as Mother, as the good earth, or as wife" (75). Kate shared the stories of her life to provide a basis for possibilities not imagined. Kate would often invite other women in or past GRADS students to relate their experiences as woman and mother. These stories were not "success"
stories per se, but the stories of lives grounded in struggle and reality reaching beyond boundaries.

Kate summed up her reasoning of the need for this type of talk in the following way:

Many of the girls cannot imagine that they would be anything but a mother and struggle to find a man to support them in some fashion. It's not that I am advocating births without partners--I think that when it works for young teen parents to be together that is what is best--but so many of the girls have had so many limits placed on them and been hearing for so long about everything they cannot do, that I want them to feel the possibility of taking care of themselves--physical, emotionally and spiritually--of having some dreams that can be fulfilled.

For some that may mean getting their own apartment or going to the local community college--for someone else it might mean to stop drinking or ending an abusive relationship.

I just cannot get over how much damage we have afflicted on girls by the time they are 15--and the girls at Parkside especially because they often have been in trouble at other schools or with the law just have had so many labels and limits placed on them. I sometimes wonder how any of them even graduate.

Through these lens, Kate implements GRADS in a radical fashion continually critiquing the message GRADS sends while using portions of the curriculum she finds useful. While Kate is critical of some of GRADS assumptions and policies she remains an advocate of the program feeling that:

Without GRADS many of these girls would drop through the cracks. We have to have something for teen girls who are pregnant. I wish the program weren't so moralistic and I wish teachers would change it more to fit their students--but it has good funding, provides good support, annual training and a curriculum that is useful in many ways--especially if you're new to teaching.
Girl Talk

"Girl talk" is comprised from the conversations I had with the 30 teen girls I talked with during this research. Twenty of the girls were Caucasian and ten were African American. Ten of the girls were in suburban school settings and fourteen in urban schools. The remaining six girls were at Parkside, an "alternative" urban highschool where I spent 9 months engaged in observations and discussions in the GRADS classroom.

Several themes arose in my discussions and conversations with the teen girls. They included considerations of sex, sexuality, birth control and pregnancy; boys and marriage; school; and home. Within these themes I attempt to identify "docile", counter or resistant voices and note the influence of social regularities. "Girl talk" concludes with "Shelley" a case analysis of one teen girl's life as female, pregnant and mother to provide the reader with the complexity of these voices in one teen mother.
Sex, Sexuality, Birth Control, Pregnancy

One day you wake up and they are there. Ready and waiting like a new Buick with the key in the ignition. Ready to take you where?

--Sandra Cisneros "HIPS" from The House on Mango Street

I just couldn't have an abortion--not after what I had been through. My mom had me when she was 16 and I was 18 when she (her daughter) was born. My boyfriend wanted me to have an abortion at first, but I wouldn't. Later when she started kicking and stuff (during the pregnancy) he was really happy and really into it and he was great when she was born.

--Teen Parent

My discussions with teen girls about sex were rarely spoken without attention to the mechanics of birth control and the ramifications of pregnancy. I came to view these discussions as almost conditioned responses with the girls speaking words of caution to each other that they themselves did not heed.

Ya better watch out girl--you're gonna get yourself in trouble again.

With all these diseases out there you have to be careful--it's really gross!

You shouldn't be doing it if you're not responsible enough to use birth control.

These themes of caution, control and responsibility were repeatedly spoken in the GRADS classrooms. However, it seems the girls themselves do not follow these prescriptions. Only 4 of the 30 girls I interviewed said they used birth control consistently and GRADS teachers confirmed this pattern in their discussions with teen girls.
In talking with the teen girls, I became aware that they were not unaware of the consequences of early parenting. They had basic and at times in-depth knowledge about birth control and yet had become pregnant anyway. They knew they were endangering their futures by having unprotected sex, but they did it anyway. The question is why?

Well, it's like if you have birth control then you're planning to do it—you're a 'dreg' and then when it's like the time you're gonna do it, there isn't time to stop—besides the boys hate wearing condoms.

The girls I talked with also repeatedly placed the responsibility for birth control on the female stating "it's the women's responsibility" and "it's gonna be her problem if she don't so she should be the one to take care of it." In this way, the girls took on and reproduced gendered views of sexuality and pregnancy. The girls also spoke discontent with the types of birth control options available to them.

For many the diaphragm or contraceptive sponge was "messy and gross", contraceptive gel or foam "a joke— who's gonna fuck you when you're foaming at your lips!" and "it tastes like an antiseptic—it makes you numb", condoms are "gross and slippery" and "girls just don't go buy condoms—give me a break." For many the contraception of choice is the birth control pill however it may be difficult to get or send negative messages "if they know you have the pill they'll never leave you alone" and some girls said the pill "makes you nauseous."
These girls had obviously taken on and were attempting to negotiate through society's paradoxical portrayal of female sexuality. They live in a confusing world—one which they felt told them to be "hot and wild" on the one hand and on the other which also held them up to standards of "being good" and "being responsible." What do girls do "if they just wanna have fun?"

"Y'know I feel like I'm in trouble if I do and in trouble if I don't--so I often don't use it (contraception).

These teen girls provided testimony to the fact that America's youth are assaulted with visions of what is female versus male, what is sexy, and what is sexual on a daily basis. Much of what is presented is diametric, both idolizing and victimizing women. Cussick (1990) states that this form of sexism is a condition which "impinges on every facet of a young women's (or man's life) and plays a particularly crucial, but unacknowledged, role in creating the teen parent" (246).

It became clear in spending time with the teen girls that they were caught in a paradox. While images invoking sex and sexuality are acceptable and omnipresent in our culture, for many groups of women in American society, including teens, it is still not acceptable for women to take control of their sexual lives.

Well it not like I don't know what I'm doing, I do and I get tired of people acting like I don't. So I had sex--I got pregnant. I'm dealing with it. Y'know at some point you've gotta have sex--this isn't
like the 70's--you can't wait anymore, or maybe you don't want to. But it's hard for girls to get birth control and most of the boys won't. At least while I'm pregnant I won't have to worry about getting pregnant!

While I was at Parkside over a 9 month period I observed a trend which carries a plethora of political and social implications. Three of the girls in GRADS at Parkside had received "Norplant" the contraceptive device which in implanted under the skin on the inside of your upper arm or on the inside of your forearm and is thus "virtually invisible." These girls had found out that they could use some sort of medical funding to pay for all or most of the cost of "Norplant" and there was a clinic 40 miles away which was willing to insert the devices and would even "do" one teen girl "for free" every month.

This caused quite a stir in the GRADS classroom and within the next four months two more girls had "gotten Norplant" and three more girls said they were "considering it." Although "Norplant" was still ranked as "an experimental drug" and the long terms effects of it usage are not known, particularly in relation to use beginning in the teen years\(^4\), the teen girls in GRADS brushed over these issues, to the issue that was most important to them.

"NO ONE HAS TO EVEN KNOW YOU HAVE IT!"

\(^4\)It was also during this same time period that a judge in the state of Washington had ordered "Norplant" to be implanted in a 22 year old welfare mother with 4 children who had been accused of child neglect. I leave the ramifications of this to the reader.
This is what was ultimately most "attractive" about "Norplant" to these young women--its invisibility. "Norplant" would allow them to continue on like they were not "prepared" for sex without the consequences of pregnancy. When their GRADS teacher pointed out that "Norplant" would not protect them from venereal diseases or AIDS--the girls again shrugged off such considerations. They were fixated on the allure of an invisible birth control method and their conversations were eager and rampant:

Y'know how like the boys grab your purse in the hallway and look for birth control pills and then they tell everyone you're on the pill--now you won't have to worry about that anymore.

Wow--it'd be great to do the nasty without worrying about getting pregnant.

It is so cool! Did it hurt?

I always forget to take my pills (birth control) and it gets all messed up I mean with this thing you don't even have to worry for 5 years!

and over and over and over again the refrain:

"NO ONE EVEN NEEDS TO KNOW YOU HAVE IT."

"The GRADS teacher listening to the girls discuss "Norplant" eventually stopped inserting her concerns into the conversation. She reflected later, "I mean how could I tell them not to do it. So many of the girls are trying to undo their "bad girl" image and for them "Norplant" feels like their solution. Also I can't say I feel bad about any device that's going to stop these girls from having more pregnancies right away."

"Some girls did voice reasons for not getting "Norplant" such as "I'm chicken--it looks like it would hurt too much." to "I don't want them tubes in my body." to "I don't have sex enough to do something like that."
The young women I talked with spoke strongly about "motherhood." All of the girls I talked to said they "knew" they would "have a kid someday so what does it matter if it's now?" Motherhood, under almost any circumstances, is glorified. While today young teens are bombarded with information about the negative consequences of early parenting, centuries of indoctrination send them other paradoxical messages. Motherhood, for many of the girls provides a fulfillment of their roles as female.

You think you're gonna love this baby and take care of it and it will be easy.

A pamphlet distributed to pregnant teens in the 1980's, Frenatal Care, and available in some GRADS classrooms, informed young women that:

...pregnancy, under any conditions, is one of the most significant and wonderful experiences a woman can have. You must not let your experience be marred by the problems that surround it.

Many of the young girls I talked to said that they "had planned" their pregnancies. A GRADS teacher stated however, that "all the girls will say they planned their pregnancies— that way they are "off the hook, it can't be that they made a mistake." I began to view the girls pronouncements of "planned pregnancies" as connected to larger issues of female sexuality—"good" girl versus "bad" girl—and the stigma of illegitimacy that seemed compounded by an "unplanned" pregnancy. One young girl put it succinctly:

There's a lot of pressure to say that you're happy, that you can't wait to have your baby and y'know you
sorta want to say this to all the people who look down their nose at you just cause your 16 and pregnant--I mean everyone has accidents--why is it okay for some people but not okay for others? ...

So you want to say that your pregnancy was planned, y’know so people will leave you alone--but really I wouldn’t have chosen to be pregnant and I’m sorta scared.

One notable difference in teen discussions of pregnancy was a strong community affiliation and support which a group of African American girls at Parkside experienced. These girls often spoke in voices which countered other girls’ voices, speaking themes of independence and support for their decision making within their community. For these girls, pregnancy was not an end point in their life but part of their life cycle and it was certainly expected they would stay in school, perhaps go to college, have a job and marry one day.

Their community seemed to provide a vital role in providing positive messages about any pregnancy and providing emotional and physical support for the young parent. A secretary of Parkside, part of the African Community, said to me once when she heard what I was doing my research on, "You just have to understand that for us it is different--we love these girls and we love these babies--they are our future." A teen parent sitting with a group of her friends explained it to me this way:

Ya see in our neighborhood it ain’t bad to have a baby--aunts and grandparents get excited. You all know you’re gonna have a baby at some point anyway--
we need to be having babies...I live with one of my aunts now and she watches my cousin's baby and she'll probably watch mine...I always knew I would finish school and these (white) girls crack me up saying they're all engaged and shit. We would never do that!

The few discussions of sexuality I had the opportunity to hear occurred on the periphery, separate from GRADS regulatory and biological discussions of sex. I did observe the teen girls talking amongst themselves about female sexuality in less structured school situations. Fine (1988) states that precisely because young females discourses of desire only usually occur in marginalized settings young teens are learning that what they, as females, feel, think, or desire is not pertinent or important enough to be discussed in a "legitimized" setting. In this way a female discourse of desire becomes an object of regulation.

However, in GRADS classrooms during discussions of sex and birth control I observed silence both as repression and resistance. It was easy to characterize girls' silences—their lack of discussion about their own sexuality—as repression. In this way "silence is pathologized as absence" (Walkerdine, 1990, 35). But I also came to identify girls' silences as resistance, resistance to a

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"The statement "we need to be having babies" by this teen is not related to fulfillment of female as mother but in reference to racism and the need for African Americans to have children, particularly males, as this teen feels "our guys are gone by the time they are 25, we have to start earlier".
teacher's regulatory discourse, resistance to what was being left unsaid in the presentation of the lesson.

What is that teacher talking about when she says just say no to sex. What if I don't wanta say no! But they'll never talk about that with us--they look down their noses at you, like you're bad. So I don't say noten. Whatta she know anyway--she's wound so tight she looks like she hasn't had any in over a year!

What we are all too aware of now, in an era of semi-effective, though not universally available, birth control and receding choice concerning abortion is that the cultural conditioning of girls into women plays a major impact that no availability of birth control devices and choices can alone undo. Women are still conditioned today to regard unwanted pregnancies as their fate; their role one of submission. Religious, moral, ethnic dogmas place women of all ages in a paradox that often seems like a no win situation.

I told him I wanted to get an abortion. He said he wouldn't give me the money. Later he did, give me the money, but I went shopping. I went to the mall and spent all the money.

(one month later she reflected on what she had said)

I don't know. It just didn't seem like something I could really do (have an abortion)--I mean I don't know if I would have gone through with it. Maybe I did it to get his attention--to see if he really wanted the baby. But we just don't do that here--get abortions. It's expensive and you gotta go to another county and people bother you. I figured I would have a baby sometime anyway.
Boys/Marriage/Illegitimacy

Maternity in particular is respectable only for a married woman; the unwed mother remains an offense to public opinion, and her child is a severe handicap for her in life.

--Simone De Beauvoir from The Second Sex

Many of the discussions I had with teen girls centered around their relationships with boys. The discussions ranged from issues of love to jealousy and rage, from fear and dependency to self esteem and individuality. The girls were struggling with these paradoxes. The social regularity of "family" and "family values" figured strongly in their lives. Most of the girls defined themselves against a "norm" of a "good" family complete with marriage, husband, house and child.

They were living what Walkerdine (1990) characterizes as "the result of a struggle in which heterosexuality is achieved as a solution to a set of conflicts and contradictions in familial and other social relations" (88). Part of the girls self-esteem was repeatedly tied to "keeping their man." Many women today are still buffeted by the need to please a man or the desire to keep a man (Sidel, 1990). McRobbie (1978) cited that the adolescent girls' main goal is "to attract and keep a boy." Attracting a man becomes a defining feature for a woman's femininity and worth (Griffin, 1981; Hollway, 1984).

Girls and women are again caught in a bind of sexism. Girls and women are told they can do anything, be anything
in a time when a strong cultural message continues that "her survival in the world depends on her being able to find a man to marry" (Griffin, 1981, 211). bell hooks (1989) elucidates the unique control of sexism:

Sexism is unique. It is unlike other forms of domination--racism or classism--where the exploited and oppressed do not live in large numbers intimately with their oppressors or develop their primary love relationships (familial and/or romantic) with the individuals who oppress and dominate or share in the privileges attained by domination... (For women) the context of these intimate relationships is also the site of domination and oppression. (130)

The girls I talked with voiced an oppression of sexism although they did not name it as oppression but as "normal" and "what you have to do." The girls discussed at great lengths what they would go through to keep their boyfriends with them, faithful and loyal. These ploys often engaged deceit and jealous attacks.

I thought he was at this bar with this other girl--so I went down there and I was so mad--I put white shoe polish all over his red car. He was furious. But then he said, "Brenda, why did you do that? You know I love you." and I knew it was okay.

I'm just afraid he'll leave me in 10 years and that would be scary.

Many of the girls would boast about how if they ever found out their boyfriends were "hanging at the park and screwing around" he would be finished. Others, whose
boyfriends had not been "faithful" were quiet. One girl discussed the problems she had been having with her boyfriend "cheating on her" in a small group and often with me individually.

I found this black book of his once, and went through and called every name and asked if they knew him and if they were dating him, then told them I was his girlfriend and pregnant. They would feel bad and be angry at him. This one girl and I were gonna set him up we laughed and talked; we didn't do it cause Brad didn't show. This bitch, I just found out slept with him when I was pregnant. I called her and told her I knew and what I thought of her for sleeping with Brad when she knew I was pregnant with his baby. She still has one of his shirts and I'm gonna go get it and I'm gonna dress Lynne Anne (her baby) up so cute and throw her in that girl's face. Cause, that's what I have that she doesn't. I have his baby; and he loves his little girl.

While marriage may not have been presented as a fundamental project for the girls it still frequently arose in conversations and loomed in their lives in terms of validating their pregnancy and mothering by the presence of a male. The girls were eager to say "My boyfriends really involved" and of the 30 girls I interviewed, ten were living with their boyfriends. The remaining 20 were all involved with boys, 9 of them with the fathers of their children.

The girls were very aware of the stigma of "illegitimacy" for themselves and for their babies. In a world where morals and policies define "illegitimacy" simply by the absence or presence of a male, these girls were desperate to "do right." Morality in their environment
dictated that it was better to be "with the father of your baby" or with another boy than to be "hanging alone like no one will touch you anymore, like you're used up."

The spoken need for approval and legitimacy by males was not experienced by the girls without consequences. They often spoke of their boyfriends "jealously" and one girl explained it this way:

He be hanging on me. He's always around; he won't never go away, even if I want him to.

Another girl spoke about how her boyfriend is always following me around the hallways. I can't even talk to my girlfriends. I mean I love him and stuff but I need to be free sometimes too.

As mentioned earlier there were differences specifically at the Parkside GRADS class in how a group of 8 African American girls spoke about their relationships with boys. It wasn't that these girls did not talk about boys--they definitely did--but it was with a different flavor or context from many others conversations I heard.

This group of 8 girls spent much less time talking about their personal relationships with boys in terms of "keeping him" and their conversations were devoid of the romantic pronouncements of marriage and happily ever after I heard from other girls. Their conversations were based more on who was doing what, where and family issues. Five of the eight black teens in the class were related (i.e. cousins) or were involved with boys who were related to someone in the class.
Home

The girls spoke another strong theme in their conversations--one of their relationships at home, the absence of their own father and the dilemmas of living with a parent while you are pregnant. The girls often connected their own lives as teen parent and involvement with males as dependent upon their own relationships with their fathers or other adult men.

Twenty of the thirty girls I interviewed were from single parent homes headed by a female. Eight girls I talked with reported that they had been molested or raped by their fathers and/or other adult males.

I'm glad my Mom kept me away from my Dad. I hate him with a passion. You see when I was little he raped me, he molested me--starting when I was only four. I remember him touching me--my Mom didn't know for a long time and when she did, she got him out and kept him away from me.

This same girl connected her current desire to "have a boyfriend who loves me" connected to her abusive relationship with her father. Many of the white girls possessed a strong desire for the romantic fairy tale little girls grow up having read to them--the one where the knight on the white horse rides into town, whisks us away and takes care of us happily ever after.

Y'know it hurt me more what he did to me than when I was attacked and raped. He knew how much I had been through, he knew how much I hurt, and he told me he would take care of me, that he would make everything okay.
These girls even more than others, spent their time looking for that fantasy of the strong male who will take care of them and needed that fantasy to be true for their own lives. This fantasy included not only the male in their own life as loving partner and caretaker, but the male also as the loving father for their child—a father many of them never had.

Even the girls who spoke with the strongest, most independent voices, were caught in the paradox of struggling to make it on their own, find themselves, while also wanting desperately to be taken care of. Our gender stereotypes are set up to allow for only two linear paths—in order to be loved, did they have to submit, to be weak, to be emotional? How could they do that and still do what they voiced as GRADS goals—for them to be "strong and independent and get a job."

It just don't make sense. You sleep with a guy to be close and they treat you good for awhile and then they treat you like shit—they're not honest. You think what did I get out of this? Your so busy thinking about him you lose you.

Eighteen of the thirty girls I talked to lived at home with their mother or parents. Five girls lived with other relatives, four with their boyfriends and two on their own. All of the girls voiced how their own pregnancy had put stress on their relationships with their mother—particularly if they were living at home.

God, all we have been doing since I told her I was pregnant is fighting. She just keeps throwing it in my
face--like your life is over--what are you going to do now. I’m like just give me some time bitch and she says "I’m not going to support you and your baby". I tell her that’s fine I’ll go move in with Donny (her boyfriend) but I know that’s not going to happen--and so does she.

**School**

*I have begun my own quiet war. Simple. Sure. I am one who leaves the table like a man, without putting back the chair or picking up the plate.*

--Sandra Cisneros

*By five you’re on your own; by ten you know how to flirt; and by twelve you know how to keep your man.*

--teen parent (May 1992)

The girls in this story speak in multi-voiced personas--sometimes appearing mature beyond their years at other times reflecting the innocence and bravado of youth. What I never expected, however, was the mood of strong self esteem and independence in the girls. This is not the image of pregnant teen girls we carry with us nor the image portrayed in the media. No where were their voices stronger, independent and resistant than when they were talking about their school experiences.

Repeatedly I heard the girls talk about how they felt they had been treated unfairly in their schools. They voiced a strong desire to learn but because they did not "fit", they feel they were often ignored or put aside. They felt they had not been given opportunities or chances and they were not afraid to state that to teachers, principal, administrators.
If I'm gonna be in someone's class I expect to learn something. They were harassing me for about 5 weeks telling me I wasn't smart enough to go to day and night school and creating problems for me. I say you're here to help me to understand—that's what you're paid for. If you can't help me then I'm getten out.

Another girl, a middle-class, white, attractive, honor roll student was a tuition paying student at a high school out of her district when she became pregnant.

He called me into his office and he said I hear you are pregnant. And I say yeah, so what. He says we don't have pregnant girls in this school—how it was bad for the school's reputation and would give other girls ideas. I said give me that slip right now, I'm signing and getting out of here.

"Kelley" transferred from her high school with its good reputation to Parkside, an alternative school for students experiencing learning or behavior problems in other high schools, because "No other high school would let me in". She said she never felt like she fit in at Parkside "it's not challenging; it's boring" although her agreeable personality and good looks made her popular in the school.

Kelley had been an honor roll student and on a college preparation track. Parkside was ill-suited to her academic needs as it catered to minimal graduation requirements and passing proficiency tests. She and her mother and the GRADS teacher spent two months petitioning and moving through paper work to have her receive a variety of advanced

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"The girls told repeated stories which included "the slip"—a form which a student signs to declare voluntary and automatic withdrawal—i.e. dropping out—from a school.
placement courses either through home tutoring, night courses or after her baby was born attending her old high school half days for her necessary courses.

Kelley thus shuttled across counties to attend her "old" school for academics and Parkside for GRADS. She graduated while I was at Parkside and attended graduation with and was listed on the roll of the "Class of '92" with her old high school and friends.

For Kelley this was a hard won battle. She had to repeatedly petition the system to attend classes and functions at her school and the fate of her attending graduation and receiving her diploma was not finalized until one week before graduation. Kelley received support from the students at her old school—against administrative wishes the Senior Class included Kelley's name on a sweatshirt with signature of the "Class of '92" (the school threatened not to let the seniors sell the sweatshirts and then later said the sweatshirts could not be worn on the school grounds—a decision which was later revoked).

Kelley was very proud of graduating "on time" and "with my class" even after the birth of her baby. She brought her sweatshirt into Parkside and showed her name on it to everyone in the school. Kelley had received the respect of fellow students at Parkside across differences of race and class because "she" as one girl said:

wore 'em down. She know now what it's like to have to fight for everything you want for your life. We all
have a lot of feelings for Kelley—she deserved to graduate with her old school.

Kelley commented on and summarized the events in her life over the past year by stating simply: "I never thought anyone would ever treat me this way."

What do systems and policies gain by promoting the failure of the same girls they define as failures? What do stories such as these tell us about our school policies and institutions? Who are the policies set up to help or protect? Or as Michelle Fine (1991) states and questions in *Framing Drop-outs*:

The dropout was an adolescent who scored as psychologically healthy. Critical of social and economic injustice, this student was willing to challenge an unfair grade and unwilling to conform mindlessly... What is obscured by a portrayal of dropouts as deficient in a fair system? (12)

Repeatedly, I heard stories of the girls in which often it was the very system, itself, that was set up to "help" students, that hindered these girls from taking control of their own lives.

They're like fill out this form and then that one, take this test, go here, go there, put your baby in this child care. I don't need someone telling me what to do all the time. Yeah--I need help but not this kind of help. I need help with my courses, I need help with explaining to my other teachers why I was absent if my little girl was sick. It would just be nice to talk to someone who doesn't act like I'm bad or stick a form in my face.
As much as these girls voiced their battles with "the system" and weren't sure how much GRADS helped them in this they were, with the exception of one student, all positive that GRADS had helped them stay in school. The girls described their GRADS teachers as being "really caring and nice" and "she'll help you with stuff with the school or with your mom." Many of the girls said they wished GRADS "would let us bring our babies to school" and "that some things were different--like a lot of the lessons are boring." In summary, one girl seemed to say it best:

It's like yeah we wish some things were different or there's stuff we don't like, but if you wanna stay in school and not just do home tutoring or after school stuff then GRADS is your only choice.

"Shelley": A Case Example

"Shelley" is presented as a case example to further exemplify the paradoxical voices present in young teen mothers. This case study also explicates how one teen girl negotiates social regularities in defining herself and her life. I knew Shelley for over a year and met with her weekly for 9 months. Shelley would decide where we would talk and she often chose the GRADS office off of the classroom. The office is small and cozy and she seemed to feel very comfortable there.

The first time we met when Shelley was 6 months pregnant, we went into the office and sat down, making a bit of fuss where Shelley should sit--she chose the rocking chair. When I first met Shelley she was 16 (at this writing
she is almost eighteen). Her skin is a smooth ebony; she wears her hair styled closely to her head. She is about 5'2", a small frame although when I first met her she was round and swollen from water retention from her pregnancy. She has a quick smile, playful eyes and a wry sense of humor. She carries herself very well—with a sense of confidence and maturity."

Shelley has a little boy who when we first met was 15 months and he had been sick and in the hospital during one of our early meetings. My little girl, who was then 17 months, had just been very ill also and we compared doctor and hospital stories. I got a sense of strength and a "standing up for herself" attitude, the "toughness" other students alluded to, from Shelley's discussion of her boy's illness:

We took him in to the doctor--I knew he wasn't good. But the doctor said his fever wasn't that high, and told us to go home--I knew he wasn't right and told him they should put him in the hospital, but they said to go home and watch him. That night at 3:00am he got really bad and we had to take him in and they put him in the hospital right away and he stayed there 3 days--he had some fever or something.

Shelley has occasionally lived off and on with the father of her children, who was then 19. Shelley describes

"I later learned from another girl that Shelley is well respected and somewhat feared in the school. She has a reputation for "being tough--and getten done what she need to get done". However, when I first talked with Shelley as she sat rubbing her back in the rocker "tough" was not an image that came to my mind."
him as "really helpful, really good with our boy." When their boy was in the hospital Shelley said "one of us was always right there with him." Over time as Shelley and I grew to know each other better she discussed her relationship with her "partner" and why she did not want to get married.

Shelley said she cared about him but she just didn't like the feeling "belonging to someone else". Shelley describes herself as a "very independent person who takes care of myself" and this theme of independence runs through Shelley's narratives. One day Shelley told me she and her partner were living together again.

"Is this good?", I asked because she had said they were living together with a wry look upon her face.

Well He's really good with Jake (their son). He's a Daddy's boy definitely. But there are ways I like things to be done with Jake and I still do all the cleaning and cooking but I would not be able to make it through night school without him helping. That was my major reason for moving in together--to make it easier for me to go to school and with this other baby coming. ...But he's real possessive--he wants to control me too much. I really like my time away at school.

Shelley's partner works the third shift so he can watch Jake in the afternoons and evenings before going to work at night. Shelley was glad that "he worked and stuff" but felt

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70Shelley and I used to laugh about what to call "him" for the purposes of this research. He was more than her boyfriend and Shelley also felt that sounded "too possessive", but father of her children sounded pretentious or "corny" as Shelley said, so we agreed upon the term "partner" as long as I made clear "that this doesn't mean that I am tied to him or have to stay with him, okay?"
like her schooling and goals were "just as important." At one point Shelley and her partner were living with his grandmother and it was driving Shelley "crazy."

They are so loud. The kids on the one side are okay but those other kids drive me crazy—and their not my nieces and nephews, I’m not married!

Shelley was working with her welfare case worker to find an apartment—she was anxious to move before her baby was born. Shelley has been with her partner "like as a couple" for "about three years." Shelley said she did not want babies nor plan on having them so soon:

But you feel like you’re in love and there’s nothing better than doing it with your man and we weren’t careful all the time. I was young and didn’t have any responsibilities.

Shelley said that her partner was "really excited, really tripping" when they found out she was pregnant. But she wasn’t. Shelley said she wasn’t sure if wanted to have the baby and she and her partner weren’t really together anymore, "it was more like we’d been hot for each other and it had passed."

...So when I knew I was pregnant I asked him for money for an abortion. But he said he wouldn’t give it to me. So I just hung out; then later he did give me the money but I went to the mall and spent the money on clothes.

When I asked Shelley why she spent the money on clothes and chose not to have an abortion she said she didn’t know, she thought maybe it might work out with her boyfriend. Shelley now feels that having her boy was good for her. Shelley describes herself previously, before having her boy,
as "wild and into trouble." Shelley still maintains relationships with some of the friends she used to run with and that is an issue of past and ongoing contention with her partner:

My friends are in trouble a lot and he (her partner) does not want me to hang with them. But they're my friends from my neighborhood and you don't just drop them. I used to get into a lot of fights.

Shelley describes one occurrence early in her first pregnancy that really "pulled me around:"

...So I was hanging out with my friends and still getting into trouble and he (her partner) was telling me to stop and then I got into this one fight when I was a couple months pregnant and I just thought you can't be doing this anymore.

Shelley also credits her pregnancy, birth of her son and relationship with her partner as important to her "new" interest in school and graduating. Before she was pregnant with Jake she dropped out of school for a time:

I probably would not have come back to school if I had not been pregnant and I am working harder now. Jake gives me something to work for; I gotta take care of him. That's why I'm going to night school so I can finish early.

Shelley's future plans also include more schooling and she plans to attend a local community college after she graduates.

I want to go to ___ Community College and learn something, maybe with computers, so I can get a job. I really want to design fashion, but I know I need a job I can do first.
Shelley did not plan her second pregnancy either and we often talked about accidents with birth control and her fear of having two children close together in age.

...I didn’t want another baby, but he says he does. And after you have one I couldn’t have an abortion. ...I’m scared to have two. I have to finish school but I just want this baby out.

Shelley also shares some definite views on child rearing some of which she attributes to what she’s learned in GRADS but most to what she learned from her grandmother:

...I don’t have patience with anyone else and I was scared of what I would be like with a baby but I have lots of patience with my baby--I know it’s not their fault if they be crying or whatever.

Shelley described one scene she witnessed at a friend’s house which really upset her:

I was at a friend’s and her little girl was crying and she was yelling at her and shaking her and I told her to stop--its not her girl’s fault she and her boyfriend are fighting.

You just can’t treat babies like that, they know.

...I read to Jake every day--but now its getting hard because of my stomach. He’s learning how to talk and he’s into everything (this said with a smile). The teacher said he’s really bright for his age. You’ve got to read and talk and play with them everyday.

Shelley also talked about her relationship with her mother. She has not lived with her mother since she was 12 but does still see her occasionally and talk to her:

We just have never gotten along, but she raised me to believe in myself and to stand up for myself. Everyone says I look just like her, it’s funny. And we sound just alike. We just fought a lot and I couldn’t live with her so I lived with my grandmother. It’s some better now after I had Jake.
Shelley also discussed the problems she had encountered "trying to get back into school and getting to Parkside." Shelley had been at one of the local high schools and had been "in trouble." She talked emphatically about how the teachers at this high school treated her and her friends and about how when she became pregnant, they just would not even deal with her.

They just treated you like you were dumb. Like if you asked questions you were stupid. Y’know I figure they are getting paid to teach me and if they aren’t doing that they aren’t doing their job. They should have helped me understand the stuff when I asked questions. It was like you’re too dumb, you can’t do this. I told them it was their job to teach me.

Shelley had dropped out of school and then when she discovered she was pregnant, she came back "because I knew I had to graduate to do anything for this baby." But she felt like she ran into obstacle after obstacle in attempting to get the requirements she needed for graduation. She felt the teachers would not teach her even though she wanted to learn and tried to do the work.

So Shelley decided to look at alternatives to fulfilling her graduation requirements and decided to go to night school so she could graduate sooner. She was soon called into the office by the principal, a teacher and a counselor:

They told me I couldn’t do it. They told me I was too dumb.

They said that to you--actually said you were too dumb?
Yes, they said I was too dumb and how was I going to handle it. They pulled out shit on everything I had been in trouble for before I was pregnant. I told them it was none of their business—what concern was it of theirs, they weren't doing anything to help me anyway. The principal then said there was some rule against me taking two history courses at one time or something and said they would not allow me to do it. I said they couldn't stop me and he said they could, they could kick me out of school. I said, "Are you kicking me out?" and he said, "yes" and pulled out the paper for me to sign. I said "No way, this is not fair and you cannot talk to me like this without my guardian here" and I left.

What Shelley was experiencing here is an Ohio school policy which does not permit teens younger than age 18 to enter adult education programs. This policy was developed in the interests of promoting compulsory school attendance rules to age 18. Many pregnant teens like Shelley who go to school during the day but also wish to pick up GED courses at night, either to speed graduation up or keep them on track, run into problems getting the necessary approval to do so. Often, the "problem" turns away from one of policy and bureaucracy to "problems" with and of the teen parent (LEAP, 1991, xv) as was Shelley's case.

Shelley lived at that time with her grandmother. Her grandmother ended up calling down to the office and "talking to that principal, but he denied trying to kick me out." Shelley by this time had found out about Parkside with a GRADS program, called and talked to the coordinator and Kate, found out they would not stop her from going to night school and decided she would go Parkside.
Shelley acknowledged that she had been "a problem" in the past but did not understand how now when she was making efforts to "improve myself they are all trying to stop me." Shelley again ran into problems with the principal in her attempt to transfer to Parkside:

I went in and put the paper on his desk and said this is where I need to go, sign here. He said no, I could not go to this school because I was not bad enough. I could not believe it--what did he mean I wasn't bad enough? Just two weeks earlier they had been telling me how dumb and bad I was and now I wasn't bad enough! "How bad do I have to be?" I said. "Look at my grades, I'm not learning here, I'm making D's, no one is helping me--how bad do I have to be?" "You're not failing every subject" he said. I was so angry--I told him his school hadn't done nothing for me and that when I wanted to learn they kept stopping me and that I was going to this (other) school and he could not stop me.

Shelley's grandmother and mother called the principal; "he denied everything" and her transfer papers were signed one week later. Shelley said that most of the teachers at Parkside are "nicer, they care and they help you understand." She is doing well in night school; she made a B on her history test, but because she missed a class when her boy was in the hospital, her grade would drop to a C, "but I know I made the B", she said.

Shelley had a healthy baby girl in April and graduated that June with a 2.95 GPA at the age of 17. She enrolled at a local community college and six months after graduating from high school she was still living with her partner and "really enjoying classes at the college."
Architecture and Bodies

Chapter IV situated a "grid of social regularities"—discourses which construct teen pregnancy—including gender, race, class, sexuality and family values as impacting how GRADS regulates the bodies of teen parents. An analysis of GRADS curriculum identifies the impact of these discourses on GRADS representations of teen mothers. These representations can be interpreted bodily through GRADS interests in producing "good mothers", "good workers", and "good young women." These representations write on the bodies of the girls—regulating who they are and who they should become.

However, as Foucault points out, the power of these discourses, played out through what Scheurich (1994) describes as "grids" or "networks" of regularities, are not only observed in or enacted through "official" avenues but also through and on a personal, body level. "Teacher talk" and "girl talk" explored the influence of what Foucault terms "bio-power"—the impact of the networks of regularities—on their own lives. Teachers and teen girls were represented as presenting paradoxical voices which take on, negotiate and resist regulatory discourses.

As I engaged in a series of site visits of GRADS classrooms I became aware that how the representations and regularities of teen pregnancy were played out seemed bound to the spatial qualities of the GRADS classroom itself.
That is, the differences in the classrooms themselves seemed to impact how GRADS was implemented pedagogically affecting what types of discourses occurred in the GRADS classroom and how these discourses were taken on or resisted.

I did not visit GRADS sites with these types of observations or questions in mind. It was only after several visits to suburban GRADS settings when I felt myself continually being led "downstairs", "around the corner", or "down and back to the left" that I began to question GRADS physical and embodied positioning in the school as speaking its own and impacting a larger discourse about teen girls who are pregnant within schools.

Scheurich (1994) describes Foucault’s notion of governmentality, of regulatory practices, as "a kind of governmental rationality" which is concerned with "an insatiable management of social spaces, social practices and forms" (20). I began to view GRADS classrooms as spaces which were the recipients of this "insatiable management." GRADS classrooms however also were producers of their own "insatiable management" of teachers and girls bodies.

In this way, GRADS classrooms—through the meeting of architecture and bodies—represent a place where macro- and micro- discourses of teen pregnancy meet. Within GRADS classrooms the discourses of the "grid of regularities" constructing teen pregnancy meet the voices, bodies and lives of teen parents and the teachers who implement GRADS.
"Teacher talk" and "girl talk" promoted the voices of teachers and teen girls as they negotiate, take on and resist a larger social construction of teen pregnancy.

This section—"architecture and bodies"—considers further the relationships between the discourses constructing teen pregnancy and how these discourses are embodied in teachers and teen girls. Specifically how the discourses of the "grid of regularities" constructing teen pregnancy are impacted by and filtered through architectural spaces while at the same time architectural spaces take on and are influenced by the regularities is explored.

The focus point for this analysis is how teen girls bodies respond to the regulatory discourses spoken through architectural spaces—how the girls "embody" constructions of teen pregnancy. This "embodiment" is explored both physically—through interpretations of "relaxed" or "regulated" bodies—and internally through the girls own spoken "surveillance" and "control" of their lives.

Architecture operates as a form of disciplinary power that is exercised in its invisibility. We tend not to turn our gaze on spatial and structural practices—accepting for example the "natural" character and design of a school building. Weedon (1987) defines "space as the site for a range of possible forms of subjectivity" (34) through which we define "our sense of ourselves" (21).
Thus the following analysis also seeks to undo the traditional mind/body split that is prevalent in modernist discourse and stories of education. That is, this story begins with the premise that education trains, disciplines, and marks both the mind and the body. Ann Game (1991) writes that she is interested in "practices of space" in terms of the "practices a place makes possible, or closes off" (83). Particularly, how practices of surveillance, self-surveillance and regulatory practices are reinforced through architectural discourses and how these spatial practices are written onto the bodies of students and teachers is considered (Lesko, 1988).

I begin with physical, architectural descriptions of site differences in 10 GRADS classrooms considering how "architecture" impacts implementation in these settings. These descriptions combined with observations and talk of teen girls and GRADS teachers point to the power of architecture and how it is experienced through an embodied inward gaze, a disciplinary and normalizing gaze.

Survey of Site Differences

As I visited GRADS classroom sites I began to notice differences in classroom location, size, accessibility and physical set-up of the rooms. Seven of the GRADS classrooms were contained in traditional, regular classroom environments and three GRADS classrooms were held in home economics classrooms. The regular classroom environments
were traditional in their use of student desks in rows facing a chalkboard and a teachers desk in the front of the room or to the side. The only feature differentiating these classrooms as GRADS classrooms is the addition of a phone in five of the classrooms to aid the teacher and student in making agency contacts or emergency calls.

The home economics classrooms were larger, contained stoves, refrigerators, sinks and sometimes washer and driers, had large tables with separate chairs versus traditional student desks and two classrooms had a couch and "common area." A case example of GRADS implementation in a home economics classroom is presented in the following section. The first section will focus upon GRADS implementation in the more traditional classroom settings followed by a comparison of GRADS implementation in home economics classrooms.

Traditional Classrooms: Stories of Regulated Bodies

The seven GRADS classrooms situated in traditional classroom settings shared several features. One was their location and visibility in their schools. These classrooms were all located down- or upstairs off the beaten path of main hallways. Five of the classrooms were approximately half the size of normal classrooms and none of the seven classrooms were identified as GRADS classrooms. In other words, a visitor to the school would not to be able to
identify the presence of a GRADS classroom in the building without help.

Indeed, in six of the schools I visited I was led to the GRADS classrooms because I was told, "you will not be able to find it on your own." In two of the buildings, students working in the office who were asked to take me to the GRADS classroom did not know where it was and in one building a student and I wandered a corridor as the student said "I know it (the GRADS classroom) is here somewhere."

A GRADS teacher described the invisibility and obscurity of the GRADS classroom in this way:

We have to keep it very quiet that we are here. I am not allowed to hang a banner or flier up saying this is a GRADS classroom. Some of the teachers do not even know I am here. I cannot go into other classes and talk about GRADS--so the girls really have to find me. Sometimes a teacher will tell them about GRADS or a friend who's in the program.

Another GRADS teacher stated:

The fear is that if we are too visible that the community will get upset--kids will go home talking to their parents about the pregnant girls in their school and the parents will call the principal. This hasn't occurred yet but the principal is very clear that he does not want this to happen. So I keep it pretty quiet. That makes it hard because I don't feel like I really belong to this building.

When asked how this "invisibility" affects the implementation of GRADS the teachers responded in a similar manner:

Well you just do what you have to do. I still feel like what I'm doing is important and I make the agency contacts and help the girls as much as I can. But, yeah, I think I am probably missing some girls because
they do not know that help is available to them in the school.

Another teacher states:

You have to start out with a low profile then when your principal, other teachers and school board sees results you'll get support. It is difficult though because there is always the idea that GRADS is endorsing teen pregnancy by making it too easy for them (the girls).

While the GRADS teachers discussed the placement and invisibility of their GRADS classrooms as impacting implementation in terms of numbers of students they served they did not mention the placement and invisibility of their classrooms as affecting program and curriculum implementation. However, the second similarity found in these seven GRADS sites, in addition to issues of location and visibility in the school at large, concerns issues of implementation situating the physical classroom environments as important to the kinds of discourses occurring in the classrooms. Traditional classroom environments evoked similar pedagogy and also similar body discourses.

The seven traditional and invisible classroom sites operated in very traditional teacher-student relationships. The students sat in desks in rows while the teachers stood at the front of the room and "taught." The teachers in these classrooms tended to be the teachers who "followed the APRG closely" and developed their discourse and relations with the girls based upon the suggestions in the program guide. For example the teachers in these classrooms, although situated in working and middle-class suburban
communities, were more likely to describe teen parents (girls) as:71

...hard luck kids. They are just hard luck kids. They haven’t had very much go right in their life and they’ve made a mistake which is now going to affect another innocent life. You have to try to help them deal with their mistakes in a mature and responsible way.

The students responded to these discourses with traditional student behavior. Seldom did the girls interact actively together in the classroom—exchanging stories or friendly gossip. In fact, I observed only one instance of this behavior over a series of 30 visits to these classrooms. The girls tended to remain silent during "lessons" contributing only when called upon by the teacher. The girls in these settings were more likely to describe GRADS as "boring...but it's what you have to do to get help."

The girls in these settings also embodied and spoke their own pregnancies as "mistakes" taking on popular and GRADS notions of teen pregnancy—affected by the "grid of regularities" constructing teen pregnancy. Lesko (1988) found that girls in teen pregnancy programs speak a type of reformation talk—what Lesko calls "rites of redemption."

71It is important to note here that the goal is not to critique these discourses or say they are "wrong"—the teachers I talked with are dedicated, caring professionals who I developed much respect for—but to situate and attempt to understand what impact the regulatory function of architecture may have on the discourse spoken and embodied in these classrooms.
This discourse of redemption (similar to GRADS use of rationality and moral reasoning) was also typified by the girls in the traditional classroom settings:

I made a mistake and did some things I should not have done. I know that now. And now I need to learn how to take care of my baby and be a responsible parent and get a job. ....and Yeah...GRADS will help me do that.

These discourses were embodied through the teacher's interactions with the students and the student's regulation of their own bodies in school. As mentioned previously the teacher/student relationship in these classrooms stayed within traditional parameters. While the teachers showed warmth and jocularity with their students there was little physical interaction.

The girls also regulated their bodies in the classrooms. While in the home economics classrooms girls bodies became relaxed, the girls in traditional classroom settings remained proper and stiff even as they tried to fit into traditional desks which by their second trimester often became difficult to sit in and certainly were uncomfortable. By their last trimester, many of the girls had to sit on the edge of the desk seat and turn sideways to fit within the confines of the desk space.

This was not discussed in the GRADS classrooms. Sometimes as a girl attempted to fit into a desk and made a grunt or a comment, wry smiles would pass around the room and others may stare until she was "comfortable" but that was it. The teachers and girls seemed to expect that the
girls should adapt to their environment not the environment to their changing bodies. A couple girls explained this adaptation in following way:

You’re just not supposed to complain in this school or act like you should be treated different because you are pregnant.

But they treat us like we’re different and you get watched twice as closely. Mrs. ____ (their GRADS teacher) says we have to set a good example, that some people think we should not even be in school.

Yeah, it’s like we shouldn’t be here so you just get watched a lot and you can’t make any mistakes or let anyone know you feel sick—not when you’re pregnant.

I can’t wait to get home at the end of the day and relax on my couch. I think I will do home schooling for my last month—it’s just too hard to be here.

The stories of implementation in these seven school sites tell stories about how space regulates practice. They also allude to how architectural spaces regulate discourse and regulate bodies. While in school, these girls know they are being watched—they are being regulated—and expected to perform in ways which show their gratitude to be at school and demonstrate redemption for their mistakes. As one girl stated:

It’s like when you’re pregnant and in school you have to be quiet or people think you’re bad. They act like something is wrong with you anyway and you can forget about being in clubs or anything—they won’t let you. It’s like you have to pay for your mistake and you better do it quietly or only say the things he (the principal) wants you to say.

I wondered in these sites where the counter voices were. Where were teen girls who were resisting these
discourses? I did not see them in the GRADS classrooms. Girls at five different sites similarly provided the following explanation within the context of general conversations about GRADS:

One of my girlfriend's said "Fuck it!" and left GRADS. She just couldn't stand all the watching and picking on you all the time...so she's doing home schooling and she's got a job and I guess later she'll go to night school.

Such testimonies raise questions about the girls who do stay in GRADS and how much of GRADS "success" measures are related to the program's skill at "fixing" the girls versus the notion that the girls who would resist "fixing" and regulatory practices often leave or do not enter GRADS programs in the first place. This raises questions about who it is that GRADS is actually serving.

The following section describes the differing pedagogical and regulatory practices observed in the home economics classroom settings.

GRADS in Home Economics Classrooms: Stories of Independent and Relaxed Bodies

The three GRADS classrooms which were housed in home economics rooms provided stories of bodies and practices different from the stories described above. The rooms although they varied in size were situated in the main

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Michelle Fine (1991) raises similar questions in her research on high school drop-outs questioning traditional notions of the drop out as inadequate. Fine states that given the "layers of systemic, widespread school failure" the more "compelling" question to consider is why so many students choose to stay in school.
floors of their schools on a main hallway. Two of the rooms had doors opening onto two main hallways. Thus the rooms were visible and often served as "stop-in" spots or "resting" places.

These rooms had GRADS banners hanging on windows or doors acknowledging the presence of GRADS in the building and inside the rooms hung announcements and pictures of recent births. The rooms were certainly more comfortable than traditional classrooms with chairs separate from large tables and two of the rooms had couches. One room had playpens although it did not provide on site child care. The addition of stoves, refrigerators, sinks, end tables, lamps and rugs provided a more homey if often crowded feelings to the rooms.

The teachers in these classrooms were more likely to "do my own thing" in implementing the GRADS program and were less likely to say that the girls in their classes had made "mistakes." Rather these teachers described the girls they worked with in the following way:

They got in trouble and society tells them (the girls) that they're the ones who have to deal with it. They just don't get a break so I try to help them make it against everything else.

and:

Well I don't think they are necessarily bad. I don't think they have thought very clearly--and part of it is they get so wrapped up in boys. But now they have to stop and think of themselves and their babies and they need help to do that.
The teachers in these settings were observed to engage in differing pedagogical strategies to increase student participation and the formal line between teacher and student was much less rigidly drawn. Group discussions, the use of popular culture (for example rap, pop music, or videos) and games were used to introduce topics of relationships, gender roles, sex and birth control. Every time I observed in these settings I witnessed student to student and student/teacher interactions which were friendly and informal. Often I was the voyeur of "gossip" sessions which the teachers sometimes participated in.

It was in these settings, often during "informal" times, that I heard stories of independence\(^7\) and "discourses of desire." The girls in these rooms looked forward to their times together and shared information with each other about pregnancy, boyfriends, sex, birth control and their own sexuality. Often the teachers would let these conversations go on interjecting only to correct misinformation or provide further information.

\(^7\)As mentioned in Chapter V, I would characterize girls voicing their independence from marriage "I don't need me no man." or from regulatory practices "I don't need everyone telling me what to do. I know I need help--but I don't need to be treated like I'm bad or dumb."--as voices of independence. Such statements might be viewed differently by another adult. For instance, one GRADS teacher considered this kind of talk "unrealistic" and from the girls who "cause trouble".
The most emphatic difference noted in GRADS classroom settings however was the differences in bodies in the rooms. As described previously, the girls in the traditional classrooms remained "proper" in their GRADS rooms and had to work to adapt their changing bodies to the limits of the classroom environment. The girls in the home economics classrooms claimed this space as their own--they spewed textbooks and note books on the tables, draped sweaters and coats on the chairs, drew on the chalkboards, admired baby pictures on the walls, and relaxed their bodies onto sofas or into chairs, putting their feet up or heads down.

Here was a space where the pregnant teen could be pregnant. Here she could put feet up, complain about nausea or swollen ankles and get sympathy, a soda cracker or a foot rub. Here girls loosened pants which were too tight, massaged abdomens and backs and compared "stomachs" to "see who's biggest." Here girls shared stories and secrets. Here girls stayed in school until their ninth months and counting often sharing frank and explicit ideas on sex, sexuality, labor and childbirth:

You all are laughing at me and I know this sounds gross but the nurse was telling me to do it and I wanted to have my baby--so I'm in the room rubbing my nipples like not to get off† or something but it can help

†The girls had previously been engaged in an explicit discussion of their own means to sexual pleasure and which guys were "evil" (as in good) and which guys "were short shooters". Nipple stimulation (of girls and boys--"boys get hard ones too and love 'em to be sucked too") had been brought up during this discussion and led this
you have your baby 'cause it makes you have...what is it?

Here the GRADS teacher intervened and answered "contractions" and confirmed to the other girls who were looking skeptical that the girl was right. And the girl continued:

You wait--you'll be so ready to have your baby you'll do anything. "Tanya" be twisting her nipples off by 8 months!

This ease and relaxation of bodies did not mean that there were not "lessons" presented and regulatory practices in place. The GRADS teachers still monitored their student's diets and home lives and still had clear goals of "helping" the students in their programs. As described, however, these "lessons" took place through alternative formats and discussions and often followed the lead of the girls in the classrooms.

"Relaxed" bodies also did not mean more easily regulated bodies. The girls in these classrooms spoke the strongest stories of independence and evoked the strongest messages of self-esteem. The girls acknowledged the importance of the GRADS' classrooms in their lives in the following ways:

I can't wait to get in here and see everyone and just relax.

It's about the only place in the school where I feel comfortable--where you can just let it all hang out.

__________

young woman to describe her experiences during child birth.
Its' (the GRADS room) where I come if I'm feeling depressed or sick or something--just to get away and feel okay about myself or get a hug.

I'm glad we don't have guys in our class. It's the only time you can get away from them teasing us and pulling on you and stuff. Sometimes we have to close our doors to keep 'em out too.

Thus, the GRADS classes housed in home economics rooms also demonstrate that space regulates practices and bodies but in very different ways from the stories of GRADS implementation in the traditional classroom setting. In the home economics classrooms, the girls reacted in more relaxed bodies and coveted their space to do so. Interestingly, these settings also provided more space for counter voices of independence and "discourses of desire" not heard in other GRADS classrooms.

Summary of Chapter IV & V

Chapter IV began with an analysis of discourses surrounding teen pregnancy at the macro level. A network or grid of social regularities--race, gender, sexuality--were identified as important to what we think we know about teen pregnancy. The macro discourse were identified as "official". The gaze of analysis was placed upon these discourses in order to enable an unthinking about what we think we know about teen pregnancy.

Chapter V considered how the social construction of teen pregnancy, including the "regularities" identified in Chapter IV, is lived and negotiated by teen girls who are pregnant and their teachers through the telling of
"classroom stories." The discourses of regularities were tracked and identified through themes which emerged from the teachers and teens. The analysis further considered the impact of the discourses of regularities on the bodies of girls and teachers through a consideration of "architecture and bodies."

Together Chapters IV and V provide a partial mapping of the discourses of teen pregnancy which affect policy and curriculum development, implementation and evaluation. Chapters IV and V have particularly focused attention upon discourses and practices that seem "natural" in an attempt to rethink and unthink current practices in teen pregnancy policy. Chapters IV and V also provide contextual stories of the ways in which "accepted" and "natural" discourses and practices regulate the bodies of teen girls.
CHAPTER VI

EMBODYING INQUIRY: IMPLICATIONS OF RETHINKING AND UNTHINKING FOR POLICY THEORY AND ANALYSIS

If I understand deconstruction, deconstruction is not an exposure of error, certainly not other people's error. The critique in deconstruction, the most serious critique in deconstruction, is the critique of something that is extremely useful, something without which we cannot do anything.

--Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "In a Word"

Statistics, I would suggest, need chaperoning.

--Anne Pugh, "My Statistics and Feminism--a true story"

This study began as an interest in exploring the troubled relationship between policy development and policy implementation. Chapter I presented policy theory and teen pregnancy literature as caught in the dilemmas of their own thinking. Feminist, Foucauldian and postmodern theories were introduced as means of unthinking these dilemmas. Genealogy--as a form of embodied inquiry--was introduced as a method through which this could be accomplished.

Chapter II furthered the problematics of modernist thinking by revealing moral and liberatory discourses at work in both policy and teen pregnancy literature. A case was made that these discourses left spaces--specifically disembodied spaces--which left much unsaid. Feminist,
Foucauldian and postmodern theories particular to the body were presented as literatures which may be helpful to situating, revealing and embodying these disembodied spaces.

Chapter III situated the methodology of this research as genealogical and embodied with the intention of disclosing "the operation of power in places in which the familiar, social, administrative and political discourses tend to disguise or naturalize it" (Shapiro 1990, 1). Thus the data gathered and examined covered a range of document and site analyses, interviews with teachers and students and consideration of media and cultural influences. Also issues of "ethics" and "representation" were primary to the doing and presenting of the research.

Chapters IV and V presented "data" through the telling of "official" and classroom stories. A re-reading and interpretation of the "official" stories evokes the images these discourses produce as aligned with popular media and cultural representations of the "problems" of teenage pregnancy. A "grid of regularities"—gender, race, class, sexuality and family values—was identified which frames the construction and representation of teen pregnancy as a policy issue.

Chapter V presents the classroom stories of GRADS told by the teacher and girls. These stories tell paradoxical tales of teachers and students both taking on and resisting discourses of teen pregnancy. These stories are further
situated within a discussion of "architecture and bodies" considering how the "grid of regularities" are played out at an intersection of the macro- and micro- level in GRADS classrooms.

Now at the end (an end imposed by this document) of reviews, presentations and analyses with multiple stories colluding and perhaps colliding comes the time to consider what has been learned from the telling of these stories? given the current legislative debates on welfare reform, with legislators calling for placing "tough expectations on young, unwed mothers" including requirements that "they (the pregnant girls) live with their parents placing responsibility on the family" and that "they (the pregnant girls) meet tough welfare requirements or their children will be sent to orphanages", how does this research inform policy and programs for teen pregnancy? And more broadly how does an embodied inquiry inform policy theory and program implementation and evaluation in general?

As I look back on what I have attempted to do in this research, what I have learned and what I know, I am struck by a quote from Gayatri Spivak (1993) that I stumbled upon. Spivak, writing about the limits of dialectic, says of feminism:

To call by the name of man all human reality is move number one: humanism; to substitute the name of woman in that mode is move number two; to put
scare-quotes around "woman" is move number three, not a synthesis but a provisional half-solution that always creates problems because it is or is not mistaken for the second move; therefore always looking forward, while making do, toward a fourth move, that never happens but always might. (131)

Spivak's example of "four moves" is helpful to me in thinking through my attempts at moving the field of policy theory and analysis from the first move--from its dependency upon modernity and liberal humanist thought--to a genealogical inquiry of teen pregnancy as a policy issue which situates it as "teen pregnancy"--the provisional half-solution Spivak speaks of.

I have also attempted through a focus upon "bodies" and embodied theory and analysis to move my (re)/(un)thinking to a "fourth move" without knowing what that fourth move may feel, move or be. In this chapter, I will present the "practical" recommendations of my research for teen pregnancy policy and policy theory in general and then use Spivak's quote as an impetus to push the (re)/(un)thinking of policy theory to a fourth move. Chapter VI will begin with a discussion of "practical" policy recommendations for GRADS and teen pregnancy programs at large arising from this analysis. Chapter VI will then however ask what are the dilemmas of providing such policy recommendations?
Asking the above question moves the discussion into Spivak's third move. Chapter VI discusses this question of the dilemmas of policy recommendations by first how embodied inquiry informs policy theory. As Spivak states, however, this third move is "provisional", a "half-solution."

Chapter VI thus goes forward to further deconstruct and destabilize the third move by focusing particularly on an embodied unthinking of policy representation what does embodied inquiry reveal about representation in policy and what are the dilemmas of crisis talk?

Embodied Inquiry: Practical Policy Recommendations Specific to GRADS

Three primary recommendations GRADS implementation arise from this research.

1. GRADS needs to better determine who it is and is not serving.

2. GRADS should further evaluate the differences in implementation across GRADS classrooms.

3. GRADS should consider what it reproduces in its own curriculum evaluation talk. Does it fit who GRADS serves? Does it meet GRADS needs?

The first recommendation—a question of who GRADS is actually serving—requires GRADS to collect or re-consider the information it has to determine who it is the program is actually serving and how the students are being served. This research presented information questioning whether GRADS is serving girls who would be more likely to stay in school regardless of GRADS. GRADS leaves unsaid specific
data of socio-economic class but "talks" as if its students would all be eligible for welfare.

While GRADS initiates a tremendous number of agency contacts utilization of agency and assistance programs is tremendously low by its students (ranging around 10%). It would be useful for GRADS to consider why its students are not availing themselves of these services—is it because they do not know about them, they are difficult to receive, or because they are not eligible? This information would also help GRADS in determining who it is and is not serving—and why it is only reaching approximately 10% of teen parents without high school diplomas.

Collecting this information may require GRADS to change its focus or mode of operation to increase student enrollment or increase aid to students in the program. While GRADS, is best recognized for its high rate of retention and graduation of its students, it is serving a minimal number of pregnant teens in Ohio and may be serving teens who are not who GRADS would depict them as being.

The second recommendation suggests that GRADS evaluate the differences in implementation across GRADS classrooms. GRADS classrooms vary widely in their implementation and format. GRADS teachers bring their own ideas, preconceptions and values to GRADS curriculum (the APRG). Some teachers implemented APRG by the book while others barely opened it. Therefore, while GRADS attributes its
"successes" to its patented and published curriculum there are more than likely other things going on beyond the use of by-the-book "rational decision-making" which contribute to the teen parents' remaining in school.

Certainly the girls confirmed repeatedly that GRADS helps them. But if the girls are receiving minimal support or assistance in the way of health care, transportation and child care, and implementation of the APRG is sporadic, what is happening in the GRADS classrooms that does help them to stay in school? What GRADS may be accomplishing more than anything else is affirming and confirming the pregnant teen's right to remain in school and to have a space in their school in which to do this.

GRADS teachers and students spoke to this issue---stating that if the girls wanted to stay in school GRADS was really the only way to do so, unless "you did it on your own."75 However, GRADS teachers and students spoke differing stories on the "comfort" and affirmation of this access depending upon what type of school they were in and furthermore what type of classroom they were in.

This research presented the notion that differences in architectural spaces imposed differing regulatory practices upon the bodies of teachers and students. For example, the

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75Ohio does implement and provide other teen parent programs but they effectively remove the student from the school environment by way of home schooling or vocational/job placement and training.
teachers and students in suburban or urban high schools serving working and middle class students described themselves as "not fitting in" and as the objects of regulatory practices--having to "keep it quiet" or the feeling of "being watched" all the time. The messages of reform were more prevalent in these schools and the teachers maintained more traditional relationships with their students both in and outside of the classroom.

Yet, although regulatory practices and unfriendly environments abounded in these school settings, the girls still stated that they "needed" GRADS and that it "helped" them. Such statements speak strongly to the need for pregnant teens to have "a space" confirming their right to be in school. It is suggested that GRADS would benefit by further evaluating the differences in implementation across traditional classroom settings to home economics classroom settings. These differences suggest even more strongly that primary to the teen parents "success" and graduation may be a strong and positive affirmation of space and self within the school setting. GRADS is situated perfectly within schools to further provide teen parents with this affirmation.

However, the third recommendation that suggests GRADS questions what it reproduces and represents in its own curriculum and evaluation talk--imbeds GRADS implementation within larger contexts of media and popular culture.
representations of teen pregnancy. GRADS cannot escape and in fact reproduces the larger construction of teenage pregnancy as a problem of young, unwed mothers on welfare. Therefore, it is recommended that GRADS consider issues of representation in its own discourses by critically examining its collection and use of "official data", asking why do we collect the data we collect, what does it tell us and what is it leaving unsaid? Such an examination would require GRADS to "embody" its evaluation data by considering who GRADS is actually serving and to what purposes.

How Does Embodied Inquiry Inform Policy Theory?

Chapter II pointed to the lack of embodiment of policy theory, that is, theories about policy have attempted to remain outside of "messy lives" and develop rational taxonomies of prescriptive intent to explain what kind of policies are developed, where, by who and when. McLaughlin (1990) and Elmore (1983) provide strong critiques of traditional ways of understanding policy development and implementation as ineffectual and at times perhaps even contrary to what the policy originally set out to achieve.

Recent works by Stephen Ball (1990a,b) attempt to address this lack of policy's connection to actual lives by including discussions of "agency" in policy development, implementation and evaluation. The analysis presented in this text informs and furthers recent attempts to find a more equitable relationship between macro- and micro- level
policy development and analysis. These recent attempts include multi-modal and comprehensive approaches to target "at-risk" youth (Dryfoos, 1991; Trudell, 1993); consideration of "new governmental roles" to "enable practices" at the micro-level (McLaughlin, 1991; Oden, 1991); and multi-modal forms of analysis to link macro and micro levels of analysis (Kelly & Maynard-Moody, 1993; McLaughlin 1991).

An embodied analysis points to the importance of multi-modal and comprehensive programs for teen sexuality and pregnancy which take into account and analyze sexuality, gender, race and class within a wider context of power relations. It is proposed by this research that teen sexuality and pregnancy cannot be analyzed without taking the larger social context into account. Ignoring the larger social context recycles incomplete and damaging representations of teen parents--particularly female teens.

Recent work by Dryfoos (1991), Trudell (1993) and Whatley (1992) acknowledge the importance of "embodying" research surrounding teen sexuality by replacing biologically determined sex roles with more flexible, social constructed gender roles; emphasizing female/male similarities rather than differences; recognizing female sexual pleasure and desire; presenting intercourse as one of many possible forms of sexual expression; eliminating heterosexual
assumptions; and establishing common standards of sexual behavior/responsibility for both sexes. (Trudell, 1993, 188)

An embodied analysis also informs recent attempts to "enable practices" at the micro level by suggesting that while macro policy formation may provide a framework for policy implementation, micro implementation varies widely. Thus, the efforts at the macro-level would best be spent in supplying support and resources for change and implementation to occur at the micro level. Elmore (1988) suggests that further emphases on rules and regulations developed at the macro level are unlikely to produce the desired impact on the micro level.

This insight is particularly significant for policies developed to target teen sexuality and pregnancy as such policies have often attempted to be very explicit in their goals, regulations and implementation practices. Teen sexuality and pregnancy policies are confounded further by their often moralistic intent. McLaughlin (1991) suggests a focus upon factors which enable practices at the micro level. The analysis presented in this text suggests that such enabling practices for teen pregnancy policies might include provision of child-care; provision of adequate classroom space and affirmation of this space in school settings; and further identification of what training and support teachers need as well as identification of what teen
parents need in order to take advantage of teen pregnancy programs.

The methodological inquiry utilized in this research also informs recent attempts to link macro and micro levels of analysis. The inquiry of this research took into account multi-level and multi-actor complexities considering the macro discourses of teen pregnancy policy and attempting to identify how these discourse were lived and experienced at the micro level. This inquiry however was complex, detailed and confounding. Its utility therefore as inquiry which can provide clear and concise policy implications is probably limited. McLaughlin (1991) cites the dilemma of attempts of link macro and micro levels of analysis as the "conceptual and instrumental challenge to the third generation of implementation analysts" (194).

Rethinking Policy Implications: Discomfort and Deconstruction

Is anyone feeling uncomfortable here? I am. I am also dissatisfied that my "practical" recommendations and policy implications evolving from an embodied analysis do not reflect the practices of the analysis. The recommendations above call for the collection of more "data" by a program that is already swamped by data. Although I emphasize a change in focus of the types of data to be collected and suggest that the data be critically examined, my recommendations still center around a dependency of data to design, implement and evaluate teen program policies.
Even the implications of this research for policy theory and analysis in general center around reconceptualizing what type of data is collected and how the data is collected (i.e. recommendations to gather information on what enables practices and to engage in multi-modal, multi-actor inquiry). Such recommendations are confounded by a major emphasis of the analysis in this study, that is, the difficulties and problematics of collecting "data" that "represents" the target population.

Can, for example, GRADS collect data that will better "represent" the girls it serves? Given what this research demonstrates as the dilemmas of developing "definitions" of teen pregnancy, do I want to recommend that GRADS engage in more data collection? Pugh (1990) describes these definitional difficulties as:

intrinsic to statistics research in most social settings. Improvements can of course be made--for example, by using more sophisticated techniques or by being more thorough. Yet these improvements would not resolve the central difficulties...I am suggesting that the internal reliability of such studies is always going to be a problem, for life will always be more complex and ambiguous than any possible usable system of coding and classification. (107)
The dependency of policy analysis upon data removed from context to evaluate programs and policies relates to the problematic assumptions and dilemmas of modernity for the field of policy studies. My recommendations which encourage GRADS to consider more closely, in a more sophisticated fashion, who it serves only seem to recycle a dependency and attachment to "data"; a modernist attachment to "something without which we cannot do anything."

While the research presented in this text uncovers the objectification which occurs through data representation and highlights the influence of social regularities on the construction of this data, I am made humble by an attempt to delineate the relationship between the macro and micro level of policy development and analysis. I am working both within and against my field. My discomfort arises from the disjunction between what I want to say and what I am capable of doing.

Spivak (1993) speaks of this disjuncture as the "necessary lack of fit between discourse and example, the necessary crisis between theory and practice, that marks deconstruction" (28). Thus, I return to genealogy which identifies the futility of "seeking an answer" and re-focuses my attention on the need to rethink and unthink the way we think and do policy. Through genealogy, I can situate my research as an attempt to do the undoable, or as Butler says "the improbability." Foucault's advice to "seek
not an answer but a precaution"--to "make grey"--acknowledges the fact that in the case of this research, making policy analysis doable in an embodied or equitable sense defeats the purpose of the attempts at embodiment and equity.

So where are we left? This research points out the inadequacies of current research and theories of policy and teen pregnancy and attempts to embody these arena's by revealing assumptions and constructions. This research also sought to identify and name the silences and absences in policy studies and teen pregnancy research and policies. However, this research is also faced with its own dilemma of how to represent its own findings in a way which will not recycle the inadequacies of current practices.

Genealogical and embodied inquiry requires an "unthinking" of the way policy theory normally approaches and constructs policy problems and interventions. This "unthinking" creates a space through which deconstruction of "something that is very useful" can occur. Thus I will end this chapter with a deconstruction of policy studies which seeks to make it "unintelligible to itself" by "making (its) in-built problems more visible" (Spivak, 1993, 121).

This "unthinking" and deconstruction can affect policy theory in many ways. Two cites of deconstruction which arise from the embodied analysis of this research will be discussed. These two cites include an "unthinking" about
"what are the purposes of policy?" and "how do policy's represent the 'other'?" I engage in this process in an attempt to destabilize the third move that Spivak speaks of.

**The purposes of policy? An Embodied Unthinking**

Embodied and genealogical inquiry questions current assumptions of policy theory. Embodied inquiry questions current practices which establish policy problems through a reliance on scientific and rational methods which then present the policy problem as "natural." "Natural" assumptions about policy problems increase objectification of subjects and lead to misrepresentations of who policies are designed to help.

Genealogical and embodied inquiry take a different approach to policy analysis which attempts to situate a policy problem within a larger social construct and context. Genealogical inquiry reveals the constructed nature of social policy problems by revealing "rituals of truth" and delineates the "grid of social regularities" affecting this construction.

Genealogical inquiry examines the construction of a social problem and considers how the problem came to be viewed as a policy problem. Genealogy further considers what made the problem a problem at the time it emerged? This insight was important to this study as teen pregnancy paradoxically emerged as a "crisis" problem during a time when teen pregnancy rates had dramatically decreased.
Genealogy thus does not accept "official" discourses as given but offers a close examination as to the "hows" and "whys" of policy development.

Genealogy questions current assumptions about the purposes of policy. Current policy theory characterizes policy's goal as "helping" the individual. Genealogy however questions whether this is the function and purpose of social policy. Genealogical inquiry characterizes policy's role and purposes as regulative. While policy theory may accept that its policies are developed to "help" or regulate the persons for whom the policy is developed, genealogy emphasizes the focus of disciplinary power on the larger social population. Therefore, as Scheurich states:

the primary function of policy studies is not, as is typically assumed, the solution of social problems (the conventional approach) or the symbolic performance of "latent concerns," it is the disciplining and normalizing of productive citizens. (29)

Genealogy through its examination of the social construction of policy problems and identification of the "regularities" and discourses which construct the problem reveals policy's dependency upon defining an "other" against which a "norm" is validated. Foucault promotes the idea that prolific talk surrounding a policy problem is not simply occurring out of concern for the problem but rather
serves as a tool—a way of teaching and re-teaching the
general population about what is acceptable and not
acceptable. This process further reifies the "grid of
social regularities" which serves to name and construct
policy problems.

**Unthinking Policy Representation**

The works of feminist and postmodern theorists,
including Foucault, are particularly helpful in considering
the issue of representation in policy development.
Genealogical inquiry clearly situates policy as a regulatory
and constructed practice in our society. As a regulatory
practice policy seeks to represent an "other" against some
traditional norm and develop practices to conform this
"other" to some end.

In the case of this research, the "other" were teen
girls who were pregnant and/or parenting and assumed unwed.
The problem of teen pregnancy was consistently defined
against the norm of a traditional family. The "practices"
involved GRADS development of the APRG and its emphasis on
"rational decision making" and "morally defensible actions"
to re-make the girls as good mothers and paradoxically good
wives and good workers. The data presented in Chapters IV
and V point to the dilemmas and consequences of policy
practices of "othering" in its representation--pointing out
that such representations may not even be based on actual
"facts" and often carry strong moral messages of regulatory
redemption which only reinscribe "official" representations. This dilemma of representation will be examined through a discussion of the implications of "crisis" talk for policy development.

The Dilemmas of "Crisis" Talk

I have wondered time and again about my reading myself as I feel he reads me and my false encounter with the other in me whose non-being/being he claims to have captured, solidified, and pinned to a butterfly board.

Trinh Minh-ha (1989, 48)

Chapter II alludes to the role of "crisis" talk in situating teenage pregnancy as a policy issue (Nathanson, 1991). Some of the dilemmas of "crisis" talk were explicated in Chapter IV revealing how "official" discourses which take on "crisis" talk characterize value laden representations of their subject which leave silences and mis-representations. Media and popular culture further take on and exaggerate these representations leading to confirmed beliefs about, for example, "who a teen parent is". These discourses are then carried into and influence who gets policy attention and in what way.

"Crisis" talk is often used by individuals and organizations who want to make a difference in order to get their cause "on the agenda" and receive the attention necessary to get policies, funding and programming, but what is lost in a cycle of naming a subject of intervention as "a national crisis?" First, obviously, the making of a topic
of intervention, such as teenage pregnancy, into a "crisis"-gaining attention for the issue—often means situating the topic as "deplorable", as a dilemma which "renders the social fabric." "Crisis" making includes tactics of portrayal of the topics of intervention as unable to help themselves and of producing problems with wide-spread social consequence.

"Crisis" evokes images of a rampant problem out of control. A "crisis" threatens the very being of our society in negative connotations. "Crisis" rhetoric relates easily to notions and fears of a problem of "epidemic" proportion with the under lying message that it is contagious and spreading. A "crisis" problem calls for regulatory intervention—policies to both control the epidemic, help the recipient reform his/her ways, and protect the society at large.

Trinh (1991) describes this relationship as the "age-old opposition between the creative intelligent supplier and the mediocre unenlightened consumer" (37). Such relationships assume that social relations, policies, are "determinate, hence endowed with objectivity" (37). The acceptance of policies operating with rational objectivity based upon rational data—"official talk"—is taken for granted in the literature. Policies attempt to represent the world in factual terms so that certain kinds of practices flow 'naturally' from them. Knight, Smith & Sachs (1990) state that policies:
...appropriate scientific methodologies and social science theory in order to create a reality that is rational, objective, seamless, and which taps into the sensibilities of national popular consciousness.

(133)

However, as this research clearly points out, the making of a "crisis" may occur separately from demonstrated rises in numbers signaling the impeding epidemic proportions of a "problem" that is separate from empirical reality. For example, teenage pregnancy was situated as a crisis problem during the 1980s, the same time when actual numbers of births to teenagers had dramatically decreased (Nathanson, 1992). Such examples situate "crisis" talk and policy intervention within a larger consideration of regulatory discourses about societal values and power relationships.

Linda Singer (1993) characterizes current political and policy discussions and decisions as taking place in an "era of epidemic." Singer (1993) seeks to

...address the problematic of epidemic focusing on questions of discipline, pleasure, late-capitalist forms of sexual exchange, prostitution, pornography, medical regimes of regulation, and reproductive freedom...(10).

Singer particularly focuses and returns to "a central concern with the status of women within the era of epidemic" (10).
Singer sites that "epidemic" is no longer a condition, no longer an object of knowledge but has become contemporary knowledge itself. Singer sites that an epidemic is "already a situation that is figured as out of control" (28) which evokes a form of "panic logic" which "seeks immediate and dramatic responses to the situation at hand" (28). Furthermore, "epidemic logic depends on certain structuring contradictions, proliferating what it seeks to contain, producing what it regulates" (29).

Trinh (1991) states that our policies, our social relations, are targeted toward:

the silent common people who become the fundamental referent of the social, hence it suffices to point the camera at them, to show their (industrialized) poverty, or to contextualize and package their unfamiliar lifestyles for the ever-buying and donating general audience "back here," in order to enter the sanctified realm of the morally right, or the social. (37)

Singer characterizes this voyeurism of epidemic logic as "erotic welfare" alluding "both to the sphere of values, ethics, specifically an ethic of benevolence, and to the sphere of political economy and social utility" incorporated in epidemic discourse (28). Singer's attention to the role of "erotic welfare" in regulatory practices particularly affecting women—contemporary discourses on bodies, pleasures, sexualities, reproductive rights, determinations
of what is a family under the law and the juridical construction of bodies in relation to the state—extends an understanding of Foucault’s historical accounts of "sex as a political issue" (Rabinow 1984, 267).

Singer (1993) further affirms Foucault’s understandings of policy as discursive social, regulatory and disciplinary actions which seek to continue current practices even in the guise of liberatory discourse. Singer (1993) states:

Because epidemics justify and are in fact constructed in order to necessitate a complex system of surveillance and intervention, epidemic situations often provide occasions for the reinstitution of hegemonic lines of authority and control. (31)

Singer further provides that the "uninterpreted consequences of the contemporary sexual epidemic" is the ways "in which women’s bodies are being progressively retargeted as sites for intervention by the state, ideological, and commodity systems" (84). Singer evokes Foucault’s notions of "biopower" describing how sexual epidemics provide "access to bodies and a series of codes for inscribing them, as well as providing a discourse of justification" (117).

Singer (1993) firmly situates her discussions of "erotic welfare" and "epidemics" within what Foucault would characterize as power-knowledge discourses. For example,
Singer states that the use of "epidemics" to describe "teenage pregnancy, child molestation, abortion and divorce" provides a "warning."

The use of this language marks all of these phenomena as targets for intervention because they have been designated as unacceptable, while at the same time reproducing the power that authorizes and justifies their deployment. (118)

Singer questions what is produced and represented in this era of sexual epidemics focusing upon the impact of "erotic welfare" discourses on "body management" and lived bodily experiences of "erotic welfare" voyeuristic representations and resulting regulatory policies.76 Fraser (1990) approaches the issue of political theory, representation and body management in ways similar to Singer and Foucault; her work is particularly useful and applicable to the arena of political theory.

Fraser (1990) situates "needs talk" as institutionalized as "a major vocabulary of political discourse" (159). "Needs talk" takes on and produces many of the characteristics and dilemmas of "crisis talk" and "epidemics". Fraser moves beyond giving examples and examining the distribution of "needs talk" by shifting "the

76 See also Susan Bordo’s work (1990, 1993) for fascinating discussions of body performances, specifically women’s, in relation to society’s representation and regulations of bodies.
focus of inquiry from needs to discourses about needs." In this way she focuses attention on the "politics of need interpretation" (160).

Fraser sites four dilemmas with policies based upon "needs talk". First, "needs talk" deflects several important political questions and masks the interpretive nature of needs politics. That is, "they take the interpretation of people's needs as simply given and unproblematic" (162). Second, needs talk covers the fact that who gets to name and define political needs is itself a political stake assuming it is "unproblematic who interprets the needs in question and from what perspective and in the light of what interests" (162).

Third, needs talk takes for granted that current forms of public discourses for voicing needs are fair and adequate occluding "the fact that the means of public discourse themselves may be at issue in needs politics" (162). Fourth, needs talk fails to question or localize the production of needs politics; it thus covers "such important political questions as where in society, in what institutions, are authoritative need interpretations developed, and what sorts of social relations are in force among the interlocutors of co-interpreters" (162)?

Thus political theory is faced with the dilemmas of its own theories and practices. In sum, in attempting to establish public and policy attention on a social issue,
such as teen pregnancy, "crisis talk" and "needs talk" continue to focus regulatory attention on and reinscribe existing power relations specifically across the arenas of gender, race and class.

Fraser (1990) states that in her thinking, at least for the time being, "needs talk is with us for better or worse" (181). She states that in its way needs talk is "neither inherently emancipatory nor inherently repressive. Rather, it is multivalent and contested" (181). While I would agree with Fraser that needs talk is not emancipatory, I have found it through its representations to carry strong regulatory and repressive actions and images specifically on the bodies of and on women concerning social issues of single-mothers, teen parents, female sexuality and reproductive rights.

In this way, I would more strongly align with Foucault, who would situate needs talk as a disciplinary discourse and a form of "biopower", and with Bordo (1988, 1993), Lesko (1990) and Singer (1993) who point to the engendered regulatory practices of discourses such as needs talk. How then can policy discourse be "embodied"—imbued with voices of "agency" (Ball, 1990) and produce policies at the macro-level which relate to effective micro-implementation given political theory's current reliance on "crisis" and "needs" talk and the evident dilemmas of these discourses? Is this even a question worth considering? Can policy theory and
policies only produce gross generalities and representations which further reinscribe and confirm themselves or is it possible for a policy or representation to be disruptive in its positive affirmation of a "new order?"

Singer (1993) suggests that: "the limits of existing political discourse, as well as the urgency of the current situation, call for new forms of sexual political discourse, currency, and struggle" (120). What would this new form of "sexual political discourse" be? How would it feel? What would it reproduce? This research has further situated "the limits of existing political discourse" and while not naming a new form of "sexual political discourse" it has produced a conversation which has opened an arena for destabilizing what Spivak describes as the provisional third move in a field that exists in the first move.
APPENDIX A

TEEN PREGNANCY STATISTICS AND DEMOGRAPHICS
The U.S. has the dubious distinction of leading the industrialized Western world in teen pregnancy, birth and abortion rates. The U.S. teen pregnancy rate is over two times that of Canada and England and over seven times that of the Netherlands (Foster, 1986; Jones, 1985; Sidel, 1990). Contrary to popular opinion, the lower pregnancy and birthrates in other industrialized countries is not associated with higher rates of abortion but, rather lower abortion rates. The U.S. abortion rate alone is as high or higher than the teenage pregnancy rate (abortion plus childbearing) in other Western developed countries (Foster, 1986). These differences cannot be accounted for by different rates of sexual activity, which remain basically the same across Western industrialized nations.

Over one million teenage girls become pregnant each year in the U.S. It is reported that 75% of these pregnancies will result in a live birth, while the remaining will be terminated by abortion or miscarriage. More than half of the teens who become pregnant each year carry their baby full term. Over 90 percent of teens who choose to carry a pregnancy also choose to raise the child themselves (NCHS 1992).

77Percentages for abortions of teenage pregnancies range from 17 to 38 percent (Foster, 1986).
A great majority of teenage pregnancies (82%) are unplanned (AGI, 1991; Forrest & Singh, 1990; Foster, 1986) and three out of five occur to teenagers not using any form of contraception (Forrest & Singh 1990; NCHS 1992). While rates of teenage sexual activity have steadily increased since the 1970s, teenage marriage rates have declined (Foster, 1986).

Surprisingly, among these alarming statistics is the fact that rates of teenage pregnancy and parenthood have been declining since the mid-1970s (Foster, 1986). Between 1970 and 1989 teen pregnancy and birthrates steadily declined (NCHS 1992). Some researchers have attributed this decline in teenage parenting as a result of improved availability, access and use of contraceptives and the legalization of abortion (Foster 1986; NCHS 1992). Nathanson (1991), however, upon further examination of birth rates for women of all ages found that teenage pregnancy rates have followed the patterns of child bearing women of other ages.

Teen pregnancy welfare is estimated to cost over $16 billion annually. It is also estimated that over half of the aid from Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) goes to teen mothers or women who were at one time teen mothers. Two-thirds of all teenagers who give birth are not high school graduates. Nearly half of all teenagers who have children before the age of 18 will not graduate from
high school (Forster, 1986). Higher rates of child abuse and neglect are associated with teenage parents, "particularly unmarried teens", and "by age five, children of teenage mothers are more likely than others to have been admitted to a hospital because of an accident or injury such as burning or poisoning" (Foster 1986, 28). Furthermore, the children of adolescent mothers, are characterized as "often growing up in single-parent households and in poverty, suffer high rates of school failure and behavioral problems" (Furstenberg, et.al. 1987).

**Data Specific to Ohio**

The rate of teen births in Ohio has maintained at approximately 13% since 1985 (CDF, 1994). However, in 1992 births to unmarried teen and repeat births to teen mothers reached all-time highs (CDF, 1994). Two-thirds of teen births in Ohio are to Caucasian teens while nearly a third are to African American teens. CDF (1994) states however that "black teenage parents are younger, less likely to be married, and more likely to have difficulty with their schooling than their white counterparts" (8).

This research was conducted in two Ohio cities which are included in "The Ohio 48"--that is cities with higher than state average rates for poverty, high school drop-outs and teen births (CDF, 1994, 7). The first city/county had a teen birth rate of 370 in 1992--the tenth worst percentage of teen births in Ohio (CDF, 1994, 15). Five of the seven
school districts in this county offer the GRADS program (the program studied in this research) and of an estimated 691 eligible teen parents, only 259 were enrolled in the program (CDF, 1994, 15).

The second city/county studied had 2,155 teen births in 1992--the ninth worst percentage of teen births in Ohio (CDF, 1994, 28). Eleven of sixteen school districts in this county offer GRADS programs. Of an estimated 3,758 eligible teen parents, only 770 were enrolled in the program (CDF, 1994, 28).
APPENDIX B

DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF GRADS
DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF GRADS

This appendix provides a summary of GRADS history, goals, structure and curriculum, and implementation data related to school year 1991-92. Data sources for this information include historical notes on the beginnings of the GRADS program, interviews with state office personnel and printed material on the GRADS program and the GRADS curriculum guide. Additionally, the State Office of Education GRADS director prepares a yearly annual report—one for Ohio and one for national dissemination as part of its involvement with the U.S. Department of Education's National Diffusion Network.

The most recently available published annual report for school year 1991-92 (FY92) was used as the primary data source for much of the data that follows. The data presented—topics and numerical presentations—are taken directly from the annual report.

History

Before attempting to situate the implementation of current GRADS programming it may be helpful to consider the "history" of GRADS. Who started GRADS and why? How were GRADS goals and mission developed, by whom and to what purpose? Luckily the state office overseeing GRADS contains an organized file drawer full of documents relating to GRADS beginnings—grant applications, early evaluation results, and even notes from staff meetings and correspondence with
school districts. The following history of GRADS is a synopsis then of the information from documents and interviews with state office administrators of GRADS.

GRADS was implemented in Ohio schools for the first time in 1980-81 and served 60 students in three joint vocational high schools (JVS). GRADS was originally funded by CETA grants through vocational education programs and was developed by staff in the vocational education and curriculum and instruction at the state office of education.

In its 1980-81 mission statement, GRADS explains why vocational home economics is an appropriate "home" for teen parents: "The dual role emphasis of homemaker and wage earner has historically been a major emphasis in vocational home economics". Additionally, vocational schools and programs were viewed as having an impressive track record related to working with direct employment and skill training of students.

GRADS was developed with a clear view of preparing the teen mother for her dual role as "parent and wage earner". In this way GRADS saw school-age mothers as constituting a "target group with critical needs". GRADS situated schools as integral to preparing teen mothers for employment because "schools are no longer able to expel pregnant students". Part of this GRADS focus on employment included emphasis on a curriculum which attempted to demonstrate to students that
"public assistance is not the only route for young people faced with the responsibility of a child."

An "employment oriented component" of the curriculum focused on such topics as: "Why work?", "The need for a diploma", "Employment yesterday and today" including discussions of "women at work" and "non-traditional jobs for women", the "Reality of the work world", and "Assessing skills, abilities and experience". GRADS developed the curriculum goals that it still uses today (see following Goals section) and initially utilized pre- and post-test scores to evaluate program effectiveness in each of its areas.

GRADS originally conceptualized GRADS programs being implemented by a "role model" to teen mothers--someone who "manages both employed and parent roles". As this proved difficult, the use of the "role model" was re-classified as an hourly or part-time position. A role model was described as: "a young employed mother selected because of her dual role of employee and mother and because of her ability to communicate with young people".

The "role model" would interact one hour each week with a GRADS participant through home visits, semi-social, or school or work visits. Thus it was determined that each teen mother in GRADS would receive four hours per week of GRADS programming: 2 hours in classroom instruction; 1 hour with a "role model"; 1 hour individually or in small group
with GRADS teacher; and 1 hour per month in family oriented social interactions.

Pre- and post- tests were used to evaluate students learning in the employment component as well as other areas. The pre- and post- tests were value laden, whose questions seem to be asking opinions yet are described as having only one correct answer. For example GRADS students were asked to "choose the best type of child care for your infant or preschooler" and also to choose the "poorest type" from the following choices:

- relative, close friend in your home
- babysitter in your home
- day care center in your neighborhood
- relative, close friend in their home, or
- babysitter in their home

The current state coordinator of GRADS was not sure what the answers to the questions about child care would be but did state that GRADS encourages teen parents to place their children in state licensed child care homes or agencies.

The questions on the tests concerning "women and work" are particularly interesting as they point to the kinds of attitude change towards women working that GRADS was attempting to change. For example, student's were asked to mark the following as true or false:

___ The reason most women are employed is that they need money.
The reason most women are employed is that they want a fulfilling, rewarding life.

Being a good mother does not depend on your work status.

Women's earnings are equal to men's.

Before a mother takes a job she should first be able to handle all household chores, care of her child(ren) and care of herself.

The girls were also similarly tested on their attitudes toward welfare programs. These questions asked "Do you feel that it is just as good to go on welfare as it is to work?" and providing situations such as: "Which would you choose--work for $80 a week or welfare for $60 a week?". Remaining test questions covered areas of "child development", "self esteem" and "where to go in the community for help".

GRADS first two year evaluations with 110 GRADS participants and 20 control group participants (teens who were pregnant but not in GRADS) found little change in participants and control group responses from pre- to post-tests (GRADS participants increased by a mean of 7 correct responses; control participants by a mean of 3 correct responses). Additionally, test evaluations demonstrated little difference in the types of responses made by the GRADS participants and the control group. The only significant difference was noticed in two questions regarding attitudes toward working mothers to which GRADS participants responded positively in their post-tests, while the control group remained negative.
In a letter to their funding source the state department of education cited that the program also had difficulty implementing its "role model" component. The letter states: "We had not forecast the difficulty in finding role-models who were in similar socio-economic levels, an aspect we felt necessary for positive interrelationships". Although evaluation of GRADS first year of implementation demonstrated minimal results as best, vocational education continued funding GRADS during the 1981-82 school year and expanded to seven sites.

GRADS began an intensive process of increasing GRADS programs by contacting Ohio's district superintendents to explain to them the goals and benefits of GRADS. The only requirement of the district was to: provide a minimum enrollment of 8 teen girls who were pregnant or parenting; be willing to consider flexible scheduling; encourage the girls to remain in school and discourage the use of home tutors in excess; and complete vocational education paperwork for funding purposes. GRADS required teachers to be certified in vocational home economics or consumer and homemaking and take a charge to "neither reward nor punish the student related to her pregnancy and/or parenthood status".

However, Ohio school districts remained hesitant about implementing a program for teen mothers--"For various reasons the JVS superintendent did not feel this movement
would be appropriate"—and by 1986 GRADS had only 36 programs in the state. How did GRADS retain its viability given its minimal evaluation data and low number of involvement? First, home economics teacher and their teacher association played a major role in increasing the number of GRADS program sites in Ohio. Often it was the home economics teachers within a school district who had heard about GRADS who would then pursue getting a GRADS program in their district based on the number of teen pregnancies in their district. Thus, GRADS became a grassroots movement promoted by home economic teachers.

Secondly, for a variety of reasons, although GRADS was not receiving much attention within Ohio, the coordinator of GRADS during 1980-1987 developed GRADS materials to receive national funding and recognition. This culminated in the copyright and publication of GRADS' Adolescent Parent Resource Guide in 1989 and GRADS inclusion into the U.S. Department of Education's National Diffusion Network to disseminate GRADS nationwide.

In 1982-83 GRADS also set a goal to develop a strong data base supporting GRADS programs and to establish positive contact with Ohio legislators. While GRADS pre- and post-test evaluations showed minimal impact GRADS found that their program produced a high retention and graduation rate. Thus GRADS began to collect a data base on retention, graduation and employment to promote program effectiveness.
In 1983 GRADS received legislative recommendation to school districts as a program to "deal with the issues of teen mothers promoting graduation and employability".  

In 1982, a move had been made to move GRADS out of JVS sites that did not provide consumer homemaking programs. This resulted in the placement of many of the following GRADS programs in existing high schools. GRADS also decreased its program requirements from 4 hours per week to a minimum of 90 minutes per week (1982), stopped the delivery of pre- and post- tests (1984), and removed the use of "role models" and "family oriented social interaction" as weekly requirements to suggestions of activities the teacher could incorporate into GRADS programming (1984).  

From 1986-1990, GRADS continued to increased its program placements and numbers of teen parents (at some point during 1986 the language in GRADS documents moves from the use of "teen mother" to "teen parent") served with rapid growth occurring from 1988-1990. GRADS has continued to sustain its growth in Ohio and is currently being implemented in 10 other states.  

Goals and Curriculum  

GRADS stated mission is to promote the personal growth, educational competence, and economic self-sufficiency as socially responsible members of society of pregnant and parenting teens. GRADS stated objectives are:
1. To increase the likelihood that participants will remain in school during pregnancy and after child birth, and stay to the point of graduation.

2. To help participants carry out positive health care practices for themselves and their children both prenatal and postnatal stages.

3. To provide participants with knowledge and skills related to child development and positive parenting practices.

4. To prepare participants for the world of work.

5. To encourage participants to set goals toward balancing work and family.

GRADS is designed to serve male and female students in grades 7-12 in public and private comprehensive middle/junior high schools, senior high schools, and vocational schools or career centers in urban, suburban and rural areas. The daily structure consists of students attending a GRADS class daily for a minimum of 200 minutes a week and receive credit.

The GRADS program is centered upon the use and implementation of its curriculum—the Adolescent Parent Resource Guide (APGR). The APGR was completed in July, 1989 by state office of education staff and is used in all of Ohio’s GRADS programs as well as by the out-of-state adoptions sites. The APRG is organized around four themes:
1. Positive Self
2. Pregnancy
3. Parenting
4. Economic Independence

The four themes are further broken down into 23 to 30 units each containing specific written lesson plans for the GRADS teacher to follow. The APGR is an extensive and complete curriculum program which can easily occupy three full file drawers in filing cabinet. The APRG states the importance of practical reasoning skills to "recognize and emphasize the practical approach to the complex problems of adolescent parents", develop "critical and creative thinking skills, enabling teen families to gain control of their lives", and to encourage "action to bring about change, rather than passive acceptance of existing social conditions" (APGR, v-vi).

Who GRADS Serves and Where

In Ohio, FY92, 241 teachers in 417 school districts served 10,594 students in GRADS programs. GRADS is implemented in 64% of Ohio's school districts in 95.5% of Ohio counties (only four counties in Ohio, out of 88, do not implement GRADS programs). The 417 school districts implementing GRADS represent the following types of school districts: city (130), local (210), exempted village (31), joint vocational school district (45), and other (1).
GRADS is housed in 572 school buildings in Ohio. The majority of GRADS programs are housed in high schools (444, 77.5%), while the remaining are housed in middle/junior high schools (63, 11%), JVS/Career centers (58, 10.1%), alternative schools (7, 1.2%), or other (1, 0.2%). Many students enrolled in GRADS are also enrolled in other vocational education programs: 2746 (25.92%) students were enrolled in occupational/job training programs and 825 (7.79%) students were enrolled in Occupational Work Experience (OWE) programs.

During the school year 1991-92 GRADS enrolled 10,594 students of which 9,428 (89%) were females and 1,166 were males (11%). Four hundred and fifty (4.25%) female students were enrolled with their second pregnancy and 57 (0.54%) with their third pregnancy. Nine hundred and seventy-seven (9.2%) of the students were married.

GRADS reported ethnic enrollment for 10,348 students during school year 1991-92. This white, non-hispanic students represented the majority of students served (67.51%, 7152 students). African-American students represented 29.16%.

78This enrollment number differs from the previously reported number of 10,594 students. The apparent discrepancies in GRADS reporting of data is not mentioned in the document from which these figures were obtained. As is problematic in much teenage pregnancy reports, the GRADS Annual Report does not state how it is defining issues of pregnancy, birth, multiple pregnancy, retention nor does the report state how the information was gathered. This leads to "coding" of the data in ways which often lead to discrepancies between the statistics reported as in this case.
(3093) of GRADS students served; Hispanic students 2.71\% (287); and Asian-American and American Indian 0.20\% respectively (21 students each). Socio-economic status of students enrolled in GRADS was not reported.

GRADS serves students in the seventh through twelfth grades although the majority of GRADS students are in the ninth through twelfth grade. For example, 3,373 (34.66\%) of GRADS students are in the twelfth grade; 2,859 (26.98\%) are in the eleventh grade; 2,035 (19.21\%) in the tenth grade; 1,700 (16.05\%) in the ninth grade; 267 (2.53\%) in the eighth grade; and 60 (0.57\%) in the seventh grade.

Thirty-seven percent of the FY92 GRADS students were scheduled in daily classes. The students meeting less than daily attended seminar workshops--148 programs conducted a minimum of 2 seminar workshops during FY92. GRADS retention and graduation rates range from 94\% for seventh graders to 89.65\% for twelfth graders with the lowest retention rate occurring for ninth graders--80.03\%. Overall for school year 1991-92 the retention/graduation rate was 85.78\% with a dropout rate of 14.22\%. Of the 1310 students who dropped out of school, 862 of these students were over 18 years of age. Over 80\% (2,968) of the seniors enrolled in GRADS received diplomas or GEDs.

**Birth Rates and Birth Weights.**

GRADS collects and reports on birth outcomes for its students. For the school year 1991-92 3844 live births were
reported, 42 still births, and 296 miscarriages. Abortion rates were not reported.

Agency Linkages.

As described earlier GRADS seeks to provide access for agency linkages for the pregnant or parenting teen. GRADS FY 92 Reports states that "241 GRADS teachers made 36,333 agency contacts". These agency contacts provided the following support benefits for GRADS students in the areas of child care, transportation, health/nutrition and financial assistance.
APPENDIX C

RESEARCH TIMELINE
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<td>Pilot Study at &quot;Parkside&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>March 1992 - October 1992</td>
<td>Continued data collection at Parkside</td>
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<tr>
<td>June 1992</td>
<td>Completed data collection and member checks with girls graduating from Parkside</td>
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<tr>
<td>January 1993</td>
<td>Interviewed State Office Administrator</td>
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<tr>
<td>February 1993</td>
<td>Member checks with available girls and teacher at Parkside</td>
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<tr>
<td>February 1993</td>
<td>Received permission to do site visits</td>
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<tr>
<td>February - June 1993</td>
<td>Conducted GRADS site visits</td>
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<tr>
<td>August - October 1993</td>
<td>Evaluated GRADS curriculum guide (APRG)</td>
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<tr>
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REFERENCES


