Katedra Anglistiky a Amerikanistiky

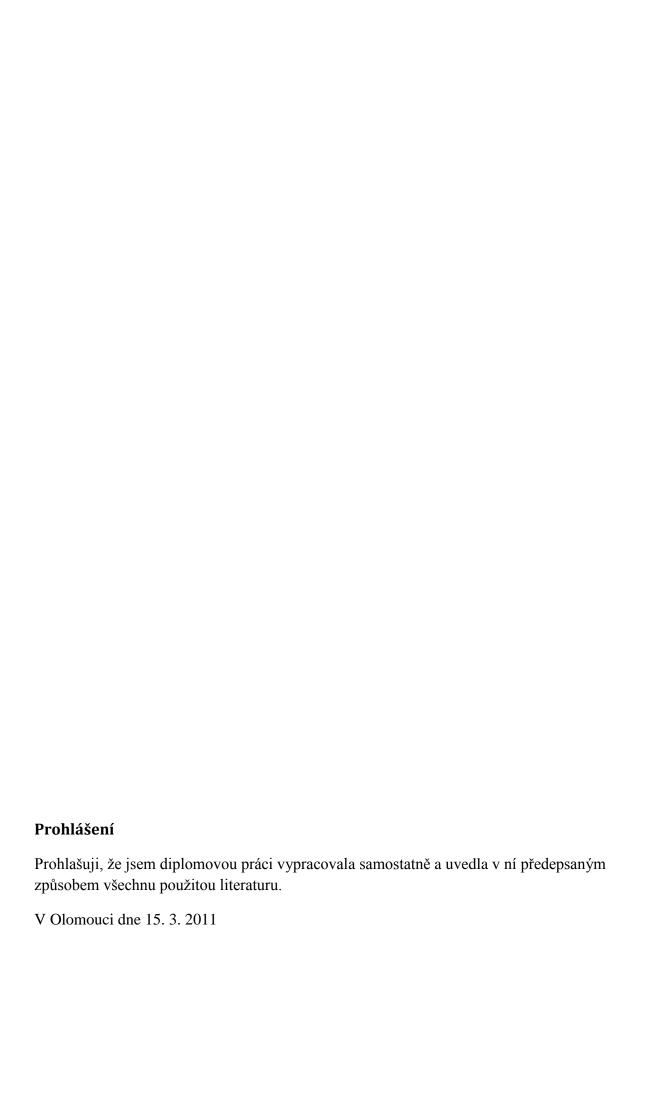
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The Problem of Teenage Pregnancy in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland: East Sussex and case study in Hastings

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Olomouc 2011





Contents

1	. Introd	uction	1
2	. Defini	ng teenage pregnancy	3
3	. How tl	he problem of teenage pregnancy came into existence	6
	3.1. Ma	arriage and Pregnancy	6
	3.2. Ed	ucation and Career	9
	3.3. Co	nservative Government and Media	12
	3.3.1	Teenage Pregnancy	13
	3.3.2	Media	15
	3.3.3	Teenage Pregnancy as a Problem	15
4	. Who a	re teenage mothers?	17
	4.1. Th	e vulnerable groups of young women	18
	4.1.1	Education	18
	4.1.2	Family and Financial Difficulties	21
5	. East S	ussex: Hastings, Eastbourne, Lewes	22
	5.1. Ea	st Sussex	22
	5.1.1	Hastings, Eastbourne, Lewes	23
	5.1.2	Deprivation in East Sussex	23
	5.1.3	Questionnaire results	35
6	. Conclu	ısion	37
7	. Summ	ary	39
8		dix	
9	. Works	s Cited	49

1. Introduction

Teenage pregnancy is a phenomenon which has attracted a lot of attention in the last few decades. This issue concerns not only politicians and social commentators, but also the general public. As such, it has also become a frequent topic of all kinds of research and especially articles in newspapers and magazines, which often exaggerate the whole issue. As a result, teenage pregnancy has become viewed as a major social problem mainly in countries with higher rates of (single) teenage mothers. It might be surprising that the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (UK) belongs among the countries with higher rates of teenage pregnancy. The occurrence of teenage mothers in the UK is actually the highest in Western Europe and follows the pattern of other Anglophone countries. Therefore, sociologists, politicians and healthcare professionals focus on finding the main causes of the issue and try to establish an effective prevention. Since the concern about teenage pregnancy is growing, it has been labelled as a problem, rather than a social phenomenon.

There has been a substantial decrease in the number of pregnant teenagers since 1980s in Western Europe. Unlike in other countries in this area, the rates of teenage pregnancy have been decreasing very slowly in the UK. As a result, there is a need to identify the most vulnerable groups of young women and determine why such groups exist at all. The revolution in contraceptive methods caused by the Pill (1961) and also the Abortion Act (1967) should have enabled girls to take control over their sexual life and decide when to start a family. However, the result of this innovation in the UK was not as significant as it was expected. Sociologists have identified some groups of girls who are more likely than their peers to become teenage mothers. The key indicator seems to be the poverty of the area they live in, family relationships and education. However, the welfare programmes and the governmental action aimed at the prevention of teenage pregnancy began later than in the other countries of Western Europe.

The Conservative government was replaced by the Labour Party in 1997, and the attitude towards the problem of teenage mothers and welfare state in general began to change. The difference in approach was especially evident in the 1999 publication of Teenage Pregnancy in 1999 by then Prime Minister Anthony Blair. The report provided an overview of recent developments in teenage pregnancy rates and defined the teenage pregnancy strategy with its targets. However, these targets which should have been accomplished by 2010 were not met.

The question is whether the strategy was too ambitious or was not followed properly. Nevertheless, the official authorities made a great effort to cut down the numbers of teenage mothers.

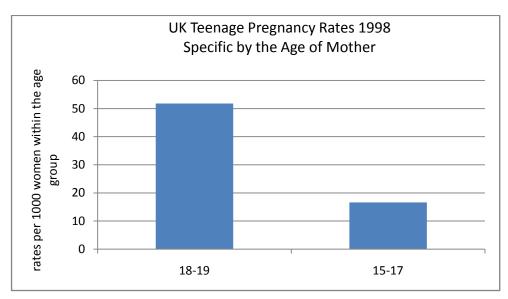
The UK consists of four major areas (England, Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland), which are quite independent in the case of policy and government programmes regarding teenage mothers. For example, even the financial support available for high-school or university students with children varies in each area. The programmes may also vary depending on local authorities, and it is sometimes impossible to state a general pattern for the whole UK. The rates of teenage pregnancy vary from region to region too. The statistics for Wales and England regarding teenage pregnancy are often depicted as one unit.

Apart from the general information regarding teenage pregnancy in the UK, this thesis will focus on England, with the main subject being Hastings, East Sussex. In order to establish why Hastings is one of the towns with the highest rates of teenage pregnancy in the UK, the thesis also covers two other towns in East Sussex – Eastbourne and Lewes. These towns are comparable to Hastings in population and lie in the same county. However, Hastings has the highest occurrence of teenage parents. The comparison in social and economic indicators between these three towns should reveal which of the factors contribute to the high rates in Hastings. Moreover, results of a small survey done in Hastings by the author of this thesis regarding mainly the public concern about teenage pregnancy are attached in the end.

2. Defining teenage pregnancy

Before commenting on the problem of teenage pregnancy, it is essential to define the issue. Teenage pregnancy indicates that the mother is between the ages from 13 to 19 years old. It is then important to distinguish between younger and older teenagers. Older teenagers, who are 18 and 19 years old, are technically considered adults and this should be taken into account. As suggested by Ann Phoenix mostly it is primarily older teenagers who give birth. This claim is confirmed by 1998 statistical data regarding England and the UK as a whole:

Chart 1a

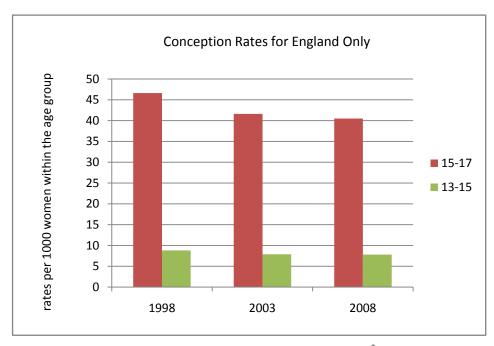


Data taken from UNICEF²

¹ Phoenix Ann, Young mothers? (1991; Cambridge: Polity Press).

² UNICEF, 'A league Chart of teenage births in rich nations', Innocenti Report Card No.3, July 2001. UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre, Florence, 9.

Chart 1b



Data taken from the Department for Education³

The data from England show a slight decrease in the conception rates of both teenage girls under 16 and under 18. The decrease is, however, very small and is one of the reasons why teenage pregnancy causes such a concern.

Teenage pregnancy is viewed especially harmful in case of mothers under 16. It is because these young women are still physically and mentally developing. However, as the majority of teenage mothers are over 16, the assumption that teenage pregnancy should be considered as a great problem loses its relevance. One should bear in mind when statistics are cited regarding teenage pregnancy, they refer solely 14-year-olds, but primarily to older teenagers who are almost legally adults. The problem is that when a very young girl becomes pregnant, the media will discuss it much more than in the case of older teenage mothers. The media uses statistics referring to all teenagers in these stories to shock their audience, making it appear as if the story of the young girl represents a trend, when it is, in fact, the exception to the trend. Moreover, due to the rare occurrence of teenage pregnancy in case of teenagers under 15, the statistics regarding this group are usually included in the over 15 data. Therefore, the distinction between older and younger teenagers is very important.

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³ United Kingdom. Department of Education. "Under-18 and under-16 conception statistics". *Children and young people*. Web. Department of Eduction. n.d.

< http://www.education.gov.uk/childrenandyoungpeople/healthandwellbeing/a0064898/under-18-and-under-16-conception-statistics>, 10.12.2010.

When it comes to the term "pregnancy", there are more ways to further define the term. The pregnancy itself can be wanted or unwanted, planned or unplanned etc. The general notion about teenage mothers is that they become pregnant either unintentionally or in order to obtain state benefits, which means that they plan they pregnancy. Several researches suggest that many teenagers become pregnant intentionally for reasons apart from obtaining government benefits. Their reasons are mainly personal and stem from their life experiences or family situation. The reasons for getting pregnant will be discussed in later chapters. The statistical data does not take into consideration the further distinctions into these categories.

Some statistical data deals with live births only, but some with the number of conceptions, no matter whether the mother continues with the pregnancy, undergoes abortion, chooses to put the child up for adoption or miscarries. The statistical data in this thesis will deal mostly with births. There is only one exception that depicts the conception rates in the chapter about the Teenage Pregnancy Strategy and East Sussex.

3. <u>How the problem of teenage pregnancy came into existence</u>

Teenage pregnancy was not always seen as a problem. Lisa Arai⁴, Anne Daugerre⁵ and Angela McRobbie⁶ (cited by Ann Phoenix) state that teenage pregnancy came to be viewed as a major social problem in the 1980s. The reasons are connected with the general development of the values and way of life of society.

3.1. Marriage and Pregnancy

Firstly, it was a shift in the society's opinion about having children and getting married. Until the 1980s, pregnancy was still strongly associated with marital status. It was not a problem when a teenage woman was pregnant if she was married at the same time. Both Selman and Arai suggest this tendency:

"The high levels of teenage births in the late 1960s and 1970s cause less concern, because half the births were to women who were married before conceiving and single pregnant teenagers either had a back street abortion, married before birth or had their child adopted."

"...Public and policy concern shifted from the marital status of mothers-to-be to their age, and the problem of teenage pregnancy came into being."

Therefore the fact that a teenage woman became a mother was not a problem by itself. Changes in society led to a shift in the view of the importance of marriage for pregnant women causing teenage pregnancy to be viewed as a problem. This is mainly due to the fact that these lone parent families became dependent on state benefits and were often criticised by other working citizens.

Thus the number of children born out-of-wedlock began to increase. These children born to single or cohabiting women had to face negative reactions from society. Although, there have been efforts to eliminate negative attitudes, social stigma is often very hard to suppress. The policy aimed at illegitimacy resulted in a few important laws.

⁴see Arai Lisa. *Teenage Pregnancy: The making and unmaking of a problem* (2009; Bristol: The Policy Press), 4. ⁵see Daugerre Anne, and Nativel Corinne ed. *When Children Become Parents Welfare state responses to teenage pregnancy* (2006; Bristol: The Policy Press), 67.

⁶see Phoenix Ann. Young Mothers? (1991; Cambridge: Polity Press), 1.

⁷ see Selman Peter. "Teenage Pregnancy, Poverty and the Welfare Debate in Europe and the United States". N.p. n.d. Web. < http://www.cicred.org/Eng/Seminars/Details/Seminars/PAUVRETE/ACTES/Selman.PDF>, 25. 11. 2010, 144.

⁸ see Arai Lisa. *Teenage Pregnancy: The making and unmaking of a problem* (2009; Bristol: The Policy Press), 3.

These acts were as follows: Legitimacy Act of 1926, 1959 and finally the Family Reform Act of 1987. The last Act of 1987 "removed all remaining legal distinctions between children born to married and unmarried parents". As a result, out-of-wedlock births were not stigmatised in the legal terminology any more. Following the new laws, society also started to change its perception of single motherhood. This trend does not apply only to teenagers, but to attitude of women towards pregnancy and marriage in general. The decrease in births within marriage can be demonstrated by the following graph:

Births Outside Marriage 45 40 35 percentage of births Births outside 30 marriage to 25 women under 20 20 15 Total births 10 outside marriage 5 0

Chart 2a

Data taken from the Office for National Statistics 10

1982 1983 1984 1985 1986 1987 1988 1989 1990

The rates of out-of-wedlock births clearly show the increasing tendency that caused the concern about single mothers. The problem with teenage motherhood was especially that they often lacked the necessary background and resources to raise a child.

However, the data from the recent years show that the numbers are no longer increasing as dramatically.

⁹ see UK Parliament. "Marriage: legitimacy and adoption". *Relationships*. UK Parliament. n.d. Web.

http://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/transformingsociety/private-

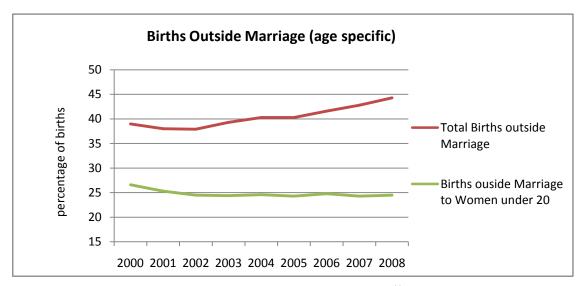
lives/relationships/overview/legitimacyadoption/>, 27.1.2011.

¹⁰ Data cover England and Wales only.

Office for National Statistics. "Births: Live births outside marriage, age of mother and whether sole or joint registration 1964-2004". "Birth Statistics. Web.

,12.12.2010">http://www.statistics.gov.uk/statbase/xsdataset.asp?vlnk=4192&More=Y>,12.12.2010.

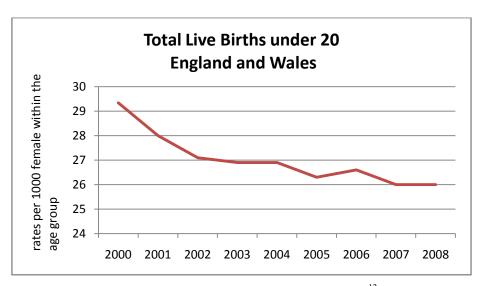
Chart 2b



Data taken from the Office for National Statistics¹¹

The recent statistics clearly show that the number of out-of-wedlock births is not increasing as sharply as in the past. This improvement is more evident in the under 20 category, in which the numbers are fluctuating, rather than increasing. When the total birth rates to mothers under 20 year olds of age is considered, it is evident that the numbers are actually decreasing with the exception of 2005-2006 period. Concerning this tendency, the new governmental approach appears to bring at least some positive results.

Chart 3



Data taken from the Office for National Statistics¹²

Office for National Statistics. "Chart 3.1b – Live births (rates): age of mother and occurrence within/outside marriage, 1998-2008." *Birth Statistics*. Web. http://www.statistics.gov.uk/downloads/theme_population/FM1-37/FM1_37_2008.pdf, 12.12.2010.

¹¹ Data cover England and Wales only.

Overall, comparing the Charts for out-of-wedlock births and under 20 births, it is evident that the problem of teenage pregnancy lies especially in the numbers of single mothers. Although the rates of teenage pregnancy, which is around 20 per 1000 females within the age group, is still very high in comparison with other Western European countries, e.g. Norway, where rates are fewer than 10 per 1000 females. Further comparison with other countries will be presented in next chapter.

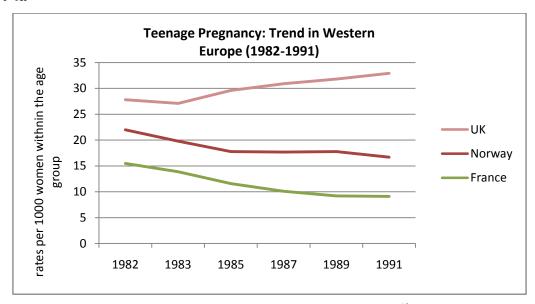
3.2. Education and Career

Secondly, a new trend of women pursuing their own professional careers also became an important change in the society. This trend seems to be universal and does not strictly apply to the UK. It was (and still is) mainly a tendency appearing in western societies and is connected with the emancipation of women and their desire for individual success. Education has become a necessity for everyone who wants to become successful in their career. These increased demands are put on both women and men. However, the effect on women has been much more evident. The new trend has led to postponement of marriage and family life. It is an important influence especially in the case of women, whose future could be different from that of their mothers and grandmothers. They could compete with men in jobs and therefore their role was not only taking care of household and children anymore. As a result of this development, the numbers of teenage mothers started to decline in Western Europe. The downward trend was, however, not so evident in the UK. On the contrary, the rates were still increasing.

¹²Data cover England and Wales only.

Office for National Statistics. "Chart 3.1b – Live births (rates): age of mother and occurrence within/outside marriage, 1998-2008. "*Birth Statistics*. Office for National Statistics. 8 Dec. 2009. Web. http://www.statistics.gov.uk/downloads/theme_population/FM1_37_FM1_37_2008.pdf, 13.12.2010

Chart 4a



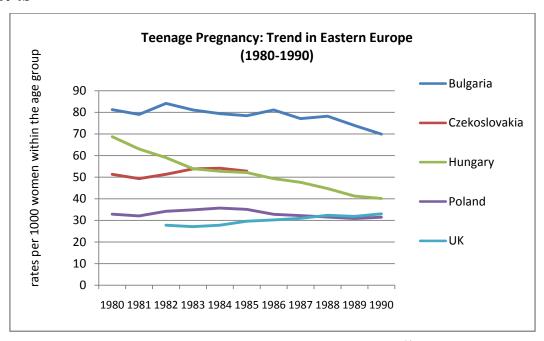
Data taken from United Nations Statistics Division¹³

It is clear from the graph that unlike France and Norway, as representatives from Western Europe and Scandinavia respectively, teenage pregnancy in the UK showed even slight increase despite the general shift in women's role in the society and family.

The possible comparison with other European countries must be carefully considered since Eastern Europe (including former Czechoslovakia) was under Soviet influence and due to economic, political and social circumstances it constitutes completely different background. The rates of pregnant teenagers were generally higher than in other European countries. In this respect the shift in capitalist society which was discussed earlier in this chapter, seems to make the distinction in the social trends and the role of careerism. The appropriate data from United Nations Statistics was taken in order to illustrate the pattern of Eastern cultures.

¹³ see United Nations Statistics Division. "Live-birth rates specific for age of mother, by urban/rural residence: 1948-1997". *United Nations: Demographic Yearbook, Historical Supplement.* United Nations. n.d. Web http://unstats.un.org/unsd/demographic/products/dyb/DYBHist/HistTab06.pdf, 17.12.2010.

Chart 4b



Data taken from United Nations Statistics Division¹⁴

It appears that generally higher teenage pregnancy rates are typical of former Eastern Bloc. In this case, unlike in comparison with Western countries, the UK shows the lowest rates of teenage pregnancy, though there is an increase in rates in the late 1980s. Likewise the tendency in Western European countries, also these eastern representatives show a downward trend in the teenage conception rates.

Considering the comparisons between other Western European countries, it is no surprise that teenage pregnancy became to be viewed as a problem. It was further emphasized by the Conservative government and the negative publicity. The government and the publicity constitute another two reasons why teenage pregnancy came to be viewed as a social problem.

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¹⁴ Statistical data for Czechoslovakia are not available after 1985. Statistical data for the UK are not available for 1980 and 1981.

see United Nations Statistics Division. "Live-birth rates specific for age of mother, by urban/rural residence: 1948-1997". *United Nations: Demographic Yearbook, Historical Supplement.* United Nations. n.d.Web. http://unstats.un.org/unsd/demographic/products/dyb/DYBHist/HistTab06.pdf, 17.12.2010.

3.3. Conservative Government and Media

The Conservative government defined society and its values during the 1980s. The Conservative values gave emphasis on common family values and norms. Moreover, Margaret Thatcher encouraged free market economy and the notion that each citizen should take care of himself and that the state should not interfere too much into the market forces. These economic powers often treat people unfairly and one must be tough to achieve higher social standard. If, for example, young women come from socially deprived family it has been generally very hard for them to do better and enter the higher social class during their life. Having few opportunities and possibilities together with the vision of their own future without much improvement, made them behave and think differently from other teenagers. Since the Conservative government did not help sufficiently to allocate the resources more equally, these young women had to face even more difficult obstacles.

As Christine Carter McLaughlin and Kristin Luker point out in their conclusion to the problem of teenage mother in the USA:

"Young poor mothers are not caught in a 'culture of poverty' as conservative commentators in the US would have us believe: they are caught in a *cycle of poverty*." ¹⁵

This phenomenon can describe the situation in the UK as well. This argument may be demonstrated by the fact that the rates of teenage pregnancy, which is connected to impoverishment, does not decrease so dramatically as in other countries of Western Europe. The British welfare system and social help does not seem to encourage or enable lower social classes to improve their position. As a result, their social conditions and life prospects do not change, and the young girls follow their parents' paths. Thus the *cycle of poverty* could be the reason why teenage girls intentionally become mothers and the rates of teenage pregnancy do not decrease so dramatically. It is simply because they do not have many opportunities for anything better. The difficulty of improving the social status among the lower social classes can also be demonstrated by the following quotation from Arthur Marwick's *British Society since 1945* when commenting on the conditions of social classes in Britain in 1990s:

"... there is an ambiguous sense of that classic notion of being working class being equivalent to serving a life-sentence from which there is little hope of escape." ¹⁶

¹⁵see Daugerre Anne, and Nativel Corinne ed. *When Children Become Parents Welfare state responses to teenage pregnancy* (2006; Bristol: The Policy Press), 38.

¹⁶ see Marwick Arthur. *British Society since 1945* (2003; London: Penguin Books), 383.

The welfare system and the government's approach may have actually contributed to the generally higher rate of teenage pregnancy. If this were true, it would help to explain the relatively moderate decrease in the pregnancy rates of teenagers.

In addition to the governmental programme, the existence and increasing number of single teenage mothers have caused a negative reaction of the Conservative government and public as well. The Conservatives used negative rhetoric aimed at teenage mothers, as young women, who became intentionally pregnant in order to obtain welfare payments and council housing. These young mothers were seen as too weak to adapt to the changing society and unable to take care of themselves like other responsible citizens. These accusations suggesting that they become pregnant in order to obtain a council housing and money for free were explicitly stated by some government members:

"...how do we explain to the young couple who wait for a home before they start a family that they cannot be rehoused ahead of the unmarried teenager expecting her first, probably unplanned child?" ¹⁷

With this type of speech from government officials, it cannot be surprising that teenage mothers had to face the accusations from society as a whole eventually.

There was also the publication *The Emerging British Underclass*¹⁸ by Charles Murray that caused great reaction from many sociologists and researchers. Murray claims that the tendency of teenage motherhood stems from the fact that the welfare payments made the lone motherhood bearable for lower social classes. Overall, all these points might have contributed to the construction of teenage pregnancy as a problem.

3.3.1 Teenage Pregnancy¹⁹

The 1999 publication of Teenage Pregnancy as a report by the Social Exclusion Unit signified a revolution in the approach to the problem of teenage pregnancy. The report itself caused strong reactions from various people who took part or were interested in the problem. The report gave a general overview on the issue of teenage pregnancy, stated the facts about its negative results, and established two main targets that should have been accomplished in 10 years. One of them is the following:

¹⁸ see Murray Charles. *The Emerging British Underclass* (1990; London: The IEA Health and Welfare Unit) ¹⁹ see Great Britain. Social Exclusion Unit. *Teenage Pregnancy*. Cm 4342. (1999; London: The Stationary Office).

¹⁷ see Selman Peter. "Teenage Pregnancy, Poverty and the Welfare Debate in Europe and the United States". N.p. n.d. Web. < http://www.cicred.org/Eng/Seminars/Details/Seminars/PAUVRETE/ACTES/Selman.PDF>, 10. 12. 2010, 142.

Reducing the rate of teenage conceptions, with the specific aim of halving the rate of conceptions among under 18s by 2010.²⁰

However, the change in the actual rates did not meet the target. By 2008, the rates were:²¹

Chart 5

Conception Rates (per 1000 female under 18)					
England Wales Scotland					
1999	44,8	50,8	43,2		
2008	40,5	44,3	40,4		

The greatest improvement is observable in case of Wales. Even though, the rates were far from being halved in 2008. It is highly improbable that they would decrease to the level it was hoped for in 1999.

The critics of the report pointed out that the data presented was exaggerating the problem and did not actually correspond with the reality. Regarding the actual numbers in 2008, it appears that the goals were unrealistic.

The second main goal was:

Getting more teenage parents into education, training and employment, to reduce their risk of long term social exclusion.²²

This goal wass supposed to be achieved by reorganisation and the establishment of Teenage Pregnancy Unit. Together with Teenage Pregnancy Independent Advisory Group, these two departments were regularly publishing reports and guidance for people engaged in helping young parents. However, by 2010, these two offices were reorganised and the problem of teenage pregnancy is now the subject of the Department of Education and the Department of Health.

²⁰ see Great Britain. Social Exclusion Unit. *Teenage Pregnancy*. Cm 4342. (1999; London: The Stationary Office), 8.

²¹ Rates for Northern Ireland are not available.

see NHS National Services Scotland. "Teenage Pregnancies by year and age of mother at conception". *Sexual Health.* ISD Scotland. n.d. Web. < http://www.isdscotland.org/isd/2071.html#excel_tables_and_charts>, 20. 12. 2010.

see Office for National Statistics. "Conceptions to women aged under 18 - annual numbers and rates".

Conception Statistics, England and Wales. Office for National Statistics. n.d. Web. http://www.statistics.gov.uk/statbase/product.asp?vlnk=15055> 20. 12. 2010.

see United Kingdom. Department of Education. *Under-18 and under-16 conception statistics*. Department for Education.Web. http://www.education.gov.uk/childrenandyoungpeople/healthandwellbeing/a0064898/under-18-and-under-16-conception-statistics, 10.12.2010.

²² see Great Britain. Social Exclusion Unit. *Teenage Pregnancy*. Cm 4342. (1999; London: The Stationary Office), 8.

Some of the successes and failures of the Teenage Pregnancy Strategy will be further mentioned in the following chapters.

3.3.2 **Media**

Finally, it was the media that helped to encourage the hostility towards young mothers. The media is one of the most powerful means of shaping the public opinion. The features about teenage mothers that began to appear in newspapers, magazines or televised reports emphasised the issue and created the perception of it being a problem. The tabloid newspapers often chose dramatic headlines causing shock and surprise to the readers. Even today, the newspapers use shocking or misleading headlines to attract the attention of their readers. The purpose of these newspapers is to sell their product, and dramatic headlines sell more papers. This way of advertising also influences the public opinion and it is often in negative way.

One of the examples can be found also in one of the cited books, which has a title "When Children Become Parents". The use of the expression "children" evokes the picture of an under 15-year-old girl having a baby. As it was pointed out earlier, this is usually not the case.

3.3.3 **Teenage Pregnancy as a Problem**

Considering all the facts, it is also important to determine from which point of view one can define teenage pregnancy as a problem. Since many teenage mothers plan their pregnancy, it does not seem to be a problem from the mothers' point of view. On the other hand, there are some concerns about the proper mental and physical development of young mothers and their children. As it is stated in Teenage Pregnancy:

Teenage parents tend to have poor ante-natal health, lower birth weight babies and higher infant mortality rates. Their own health and their children's is worse than average. Teenage parents tend to remain poor and are disproportionately likely to suffer relationship breakdown.²³

The breakdown of the relationships may result from the fact that the parents are very young and are usually not married. Moreover, both parents usually come from very unstable social and family background and their life is not as planned as it is in case of older parents.

²³ see Great Britain. Social Exclusion Unit. *Teenage Pregnancy*. Cm 4342. (1999; London: The Stationary Office), 23.

The lack of ante-natal care may result from the fact that mostly the teenage mothers want to keep their pregnancy in secret from their parents. Since they fear that attending any form of professional help would reveal their secret, they do not seek any help at all.

Another problem mentioned by the young mothers is that they often feel to be treated in a wrong way by the staff. Many girls suggest that the staff treat them with disrespect and behave with obvious detachment. To support this claim two quotations were chosen that appeared in guidance materials for workers dealing with maternity:

I never went to antenatal classes again because all the women seemed to be older and I was getting looked down on.

I went, but no one spoke to me. It felt like they were looking down their noses at us. 24

It is evident that this problem of wrong attitude towards teenage parents still exists although the teenage pregnancy strategy was introduced in 1999. Even though it was already 10 years at the time when these girls gave their opinions, the healthcare professionals were still not ready to support the young parents adequately. Therefore, there is little doubt that the young parents do not utilize the available ante-natal care to the extent that more mature parents would.

Regarding the public concern about teenage mothers, it was influenced by the negative campaign started by the Conservative government and enhanced by the media. The notion of the issue being a problem appears to mainly rise from the fact that the public accused teenage girls of becoming pregnant in order to obtain the council housing and state benefits. Some authors (Ann Phoenix, Lisa Arai) claim that according to their research, there is no such incentive among the young girls and that some are even not aware of the support they can ask for. On the other hand, considering the questions about the reasons for getting pregnant, they would certainly hesitate to confirm such negative accusations. Therefore, it is arguable whether these answers are truthful. As a result, determining the relevance of this accusation may be very subjective. Nevertheless, the public opinion seems to be rather on the side of the Conservatives' accusations.

Apart from the mental and physical development and the public concern, there is also the problem of the government's expenditure. This point of view represents the main concern in the USA, but does not seem to be so widely discussed in the UK.

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 $^{^{24}}$ see Department of Health. "Getting maternity services right for pregnant teenagers and young fathers - 2nd edition, 2009." Publ ications. Department of Education . Nov. 2009. Web.

http://education.gov.uk/publications/standard/publicationDetail/Page1/DCSF-00673-2009, 25.1. 2011.

There is also an opposite trend in the western society that constitutes a problem and concern for many sociologists: the postponement of pregnancy among women and the ageing of population. In this respect, teenage pregnancy could possibly be regarded as a desirable trend and not a problem.

What also has to be considered is the fact that children of teenage mothers are one of the vulnerable groups likely to become teenage parents as well. As such, the generations would be perpetually dependent on the state and would not contribute to the national income. From this regard, teenage mothers belong to the same group as pensioners and disabled, who are not working and only receive the transfer payments from the state.

Thus, to sum up, teenage pregnancy could be seen as desirable trend from the sociological point of view, but not from the economic point of view. As economy plays the major role in our society and especially now, when the world economies are breaking down, the negative attitude seems to be gaining the ground and the problematic view of teenage pregnancy is further enhanced.

4. Who are teenage mothers?

In order to find a solution to any problem, it is essential to identify why, where and when the problem emerged. The question of when teenage motherhood came to be viewed as a problem, rather than actually becoming a problem, was discussed earlier. The reasons and places of the highest occurrence will be discussed in the following chapter.

The reasons or incentives for young women to become mothers have been much discussed in literature and as a result, there is a general consensus about them. Also the places or areas in the UK with the highest occurrence have been described. One of these areas is also Hastings in East Sussex, which will be examined more closely in a separate chapter. The emphasis shall be put on public concern about teenage mothers and the general economic characteristics of the area, as poor socio-economic conditions are regarded to be one of factors contributing to the high rates of teenage pregnancy.

4.1. The vulnerable groups of young women

The evidence of teenage pregnancy suggests that there are specific groups of young women who are more vulnerable and more likely to become teenage mothers. Generally, these girls come from economically deprived areas. They usually experience financial difficulties when they grow up, have problems at school (bullying or truancy) or problems in their family lives (divorce, drugs, abuse etc.) and they are often children of teenage parents as well.

4.1.1 Education

The problems at school result in the fact that most of the teenage mothers have only the basic education until they are sixteen and most do not continue with school attendance once they become pregnant. Therefore, their chance of getting a high-paying job and improving their social status decreases. Kathleen E. Kiernan investigated the importance of education during the teenage years and its influence on future prospects of the parents. She explored the educational achievements at the ages of seven and sixteen of both girls and boys. The percentage shows the proportion of those who became teenage parents later in their life. The results of this longitudinal study were as follows²⁵:

Chart 6

Educational Score and Teenage Parenthood	Teenage mothers	Teenage fathers
Low scores 7 and 16	19%	15%
High scores 7 and 16	3%	4%
Low 7, high 16	5%	8%
High 7, low 16	18%	13%

The data shows that low educational scores may lead to higher chances of teenage pregnancy. The tendency is especially evident in the case of girls. For example, 19% of girls (cohort of 1751 girls) who had low educational scores at the age of 7 and 16 later became teenage mothers. Their lower score may discourage young people from further education. Since they do not see any point in gaining more education, or applying for any higher job positions, pregnancy offers an alternative option.

²⁵ see Kiernan Kathleen E. "Becoming a young parent: a longitudinal study of associated factors". *British Journal of Sociology*. Vol. 48, Issue 3 (September 1997): 406-428. [ezdroje.upol.cz. Knihovna Univerzity Palackého, Olomouc, CZ. 22 December. 2010], 427.

This could be prevented by changing the approach to education in schools, but this step may be very complex, including additional financing. One possible method to reach teenagers (which is already taking place) is a system of peer education or discussion. Teenagers, who are well known for rebelling against authority figures and the educational system, could possible by educated by people with whom they are more likely to identify.

The role of educational problems is also confirmed by a report done by Suzanne Cater and Lester Coleman. Their study showed that most of the teenage mothers had problems at school before becoming pregnant. This was not only due to truancy and bullying, but also because of lack of respect from teachers or the school in general. Another factor appears to be the absence of encouragement from their parents.

Nobody made me go [to school]. A welfare officer came round for a while, but they gave up on me pretty quickly. Maybe they should have tried a bit harder to get me to go, 'cos now I can't get a job that I wanna do, but I didn't really get that at the time. (female, aged 15)²⁶

According to this quotation, the problem may also arise from the lack of support from the professionals. The wrong attitude from professionals was seen in the case of healthcare services. Since this study was done in 2006, it seems that the Teenage Pregnancy Strategy, which should have, among other problems, focused on vulnerable group of girls, was still not followed properly. There is also evidence that this teenage girl wanted to get a better job, but did not realize it at the time she was younger. Therefore, these young women could also be given more opportunities to study after they have a child and find out that they want to continue with their education in order to get a better job.

The problem is that if the young mothers are single, it may be difficult to find a person responsible enough to take care of their child. Furthermore, the time spent devoted to education does not provide any income, and if there is no one in the family who would take care of the child, the young mothers have to pay for the baby-sitting.

Where a strong family structure exists, these issues are less of a problem. For example in Italy, the family relationships are so strong that the problem of teenage pregnancy is almost not there. It is because the family is always there to help the young mother and she does not become dependent on state benefits.²⁷

²⁶ see Cater Suzanne, Coleman Lester. 'Planned' teenage pregnancy: Perspectives of young parents from disadvantaged backgrounds (2006; Bristol: The Policy Press), 24.

²⁷ see Daugerre Anne, and Nativel Corinne ed. *When Children Become Parents: Welfare state responses to teenage pregnancy* (2006; Bristol: The Policy Press), 139-160.

Moreover, the family also helps to take care of the child and the young girl can take part in further education without the problems that the girls in the UK have to face.

Concerning the school attendance and higher education for young parents, the government provides many ways to claim financial support. Even when the support is available to many groups of students, not only single mothers, these mothers are the priority for the distribution of support. These programmes are not uniform throughout the UK, and eligibility is determined by where the student is studying, rather than where the student comes from. Means of support are usually accessible in England, Wales, Northern Ireland and Scotland, though the conditions for receiving the support may vary. For example, *Education Maintenance Allowance* (EMA), which was closed for students in England, is available for students in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland.²⁸

Another example is *Care to Learn*, a programme in England which provides financial support for mother under 20 to cover expenses connected with studying and baby-sitting, as long as the mother is not receiving a wage while studying.²⁹ There is also the *Childcare grant* for higher education.³⁰ This applies to mothers under 20 and is aimed at financial support regarding the expenses of childcare. The childcare provider must fulfil certain conditions, so that the grant can be claimed. In general, the easiest way how to choose a good childcare provider is through the Ofsted organisation³¹ which brings together childcare providers and ensures that they are true professional. Another possibility is the *Access to Learning Fund*³², which is open to other students in addition to young mothers. However, if a young mother receives other financial aid for childcare, she is not eligible for this programme. This fund applies to students in England only and is accessible through the college or university. Among other possible methods of financial support for students are the *Bursaries*, which are also possible to be claimed through the college or university.

²⁸ see UK Government. "EMA in Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales". *Education and Learning*. Cabinet Office n.d Web.

http://www.direct.gov.uk/en/EducationAndLearning/14To19/MoneyToLearn/EMA/DG_067575, 30. 1. 2011. 2011. Web. http://www.direct.gov.uk/en/EducationAndLearning/14To19/MoneyToLearn/Caretolearn/index.htm 30. 1. 2011.

³⁰ see UK Government. "Childcare Grant and other help for students with children". *Education and Learning*. Cabinet

Office. n.d.Web. http://www.direct.gov.uk/en/EducationAndLearning/UniversityAndHigherEducation/StudentFinance/Extrahelp/DG_171503, 30.1.2011.

³¹ see Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills. *Ofsted*. N.p. n.d. Web. http://www.ofsted.gov.uk/ 20.1.2011.

³² see UK Government. "Access to Learning fund: extra help if you need it". *Education and Learning*. Cabinet Office. n.d. Web

 $< http://www.direct.gov.uk/en/EducationAndLearning/UniversityAndHigherEducation/StudentFinance/Extrahelp/DG_171615>, 27.1.2011.$

To conclude, there is a wide range of financial support available for young parents who want to continue with their education even after their baby is born. There is a website run by the government, which clearly explains the options young people have, the conditions they have to fulfil and how to apply. The question is, whether these young people are aware of the possibilities they have and whether they are willing to take part in higher education. One of the things that could be done in this case is to make these possibilities widely known by various means. If companies can promote their product's sale, the same could be done by government in order to encourage the accessibility and use of educational support among teenage parents.

4.1.2 Family and Financial Difficulties

Family background and financial difficulties may also contribute to the chances of becoming a teenage mother. One of the most influential factors is the situation when the mother of the girl was a teenage mother herself. Also, the girls from split families are more likely to plan their pregnancy since they want to demonstrate that they can be better mothers than their own. Another reason is to get away from home and start a new, better life with their baby. Family background also has a significant influence on education as it was suggested in the previous chapter.

Financial difficulties in the family experienced during the childhood also contribute to the risk of becoming a teenage parent. The previously described *cycle of poverty* appears to dictate the lives of young mothers. Once the family gets into financial troubles, it is very hard to get away from these difficult circumstances. Moreover, if the family is not supporting in educational matters, the possibility of getting a high-paying job and breaking from the cycle is much lower.

Thus the vision of becoming a teenage mother dependent on welfare payments represents one of the future alternatives. This assumption about welfare payments led to such publications as was the *Emerging British Underclass* by Charles Murray. Also Ann Phoenix found out in her study that the jobs these girls could get only with their basic education would not bring much more (sometimes even less) money into their family budget.

Therefore, there actually could be some cases of teenage mothers who become pregnant in order to obtain the benefits. It does not, however, indicate that teenage mothers have children to avoid working at all. If they choose to have a child for economic reasons, it may be because their education is not sufficient to enable them to get a decent job.

Although deprivation and family background play a major role in the life of young women and men, education seems to be the most important factor that determines their future possibilities. Education may enable them to escape from the socio-economic deprivation they live in and start their family after having a sufficient financial background.

5. East Sussex: Hastings, Eastbourne, Lewes

Although teenage pregnancy is considered a universal problem throughout the UK, the actual rates within the UK may vary considerably. Since the numbers and rates for Northern Ireland are not available, only Great Britain may be examined more closely. The district of Hastings this thesis is focused on is situated in East Sussex. Hastings has one of the highest rates of teenage pregnancy in Britain. This high rate can be also demonstrated by comparison with other areas in East Sussex. Eastbourne and Lewes were chosen to provide this comparison. These three towns are comparable in the size of the population; moreover Eastbourne is a coastal town as well as Hastings. If the district borders are taken into account, they all represent coastal areas. However, they vary in many other respects, especially social and economic conditions. Generally, Lewes shows the best results in economic and social indicators and Hastings, on the other hand, has the lowest scores in East Sussex. Eastbourne occupies the middle position between Lewes and Hastings. Therefore, the economic and social indicators were as well as the pregnancy rates of the three towns will be compared. The results should reveal whether there truly is a connection between economic conditions and teenage pregnancy rates.

5.1. East Sussex

The county of East Sussex belongs to the South East region (together with the counties of Kent, Surrey, East Sussex, West Sussex, Hampshire, Isle of Wight, Berkshire, Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire).³³ There are a few indicators that could contribute to the higher occurrence of teenage pregnancy. Therefore, the following chapters will provide a review of these indicators in East Sussex in general and the districts of Hastings, Eastbourne and Lewes.

³³ see South East England Development Agency, "Profile of the South East, 2010". *Search Publications*. SEEDA. n.d. Web. http://www.seeda.co.uk/news-and-publications/publications/search, 1. 3. 2011, 4.

Further comparison of particular figures with England, South East region and the Greater South East Coast (the area of the Greater South East Coast includes the shire Counties of West Sussex, Kent, Essex, Suffolk and Norfolk) will be depicted in order to illustrate and emphasise the economic and social conditions in East Sussex and Hastings.

5.1.1 Hastings, Eastbourne, Lewes

The last census took place in the UK in 2001. Unfortunately, the next census is taking place in March 2010 and the results will be thus released too late to be included in this thesis. However, the estimates are available on the "East Sussex in Figures" website, maintained by the East Sussex County Council. Although these figures are not as precise as an official census, the statistics are accurate estimates and will be used in the following charts.

5.1.1.1 Population

Chart 7

<u> </u>			
Basic Population Characteristics	Population Estimates in 2010	20-64 Age group (Working age group)	Males
Hastings	86 979	57,9%	48,5%
Eastbourne	98 493	53,6%	47,5%
Lewes	96 396	54,5%	48,1%

The Chart shows the basic distribution of population regarding gender and working age group. Hastings has the highest proportion of people in the economically active age group. However, the number of employment opportunities and the level of qualification in this age group are very important in each district. This aspect will be discussed further in the text.

5.1.2 **Deprivation in East Sussex**

Economic conditions play a major role in the higher rates of teenage pregnancy. Among the 34 counties in England, East Sussex occupies the seventh position regarding deprivation³⁴ (1 being the most deprived) and first place among the South East region. To measure the level of deprivation, the Index of Multiple Deprivation is used and it covers seven areas — Income, Employment, Health, Education, Crime, Barriers to Housing and Services, and the Living Environment.

³⁴ see East Sussex County Council. "Deprivation levels and trends across East Sussex: Understanding the Index of Multiple Deprivation 2007". *East Sussex in Figures*. East Sussex in Figures. Jan. 2008. Web. http://www.eastsussexinfigures.org.uk/webview/index.jsp?mode=area&submode=result&areaname=Hastings&areatype=">http://www.eastsussexinfigures.org.uk/webview/index.jsp?mode=area&submode=result&areaname=Hastings&areatype=">http://www.eastsussexinfigures.org.uk/webview/index.jsp?mode=area&submode=result&areaname=Hastings&areatype=">http://www.eastsussexinfigures.org.uk/webview/index.jsp?mode=area&submode=result&areaname=Hastings&areatype=">http://www.eastsussexinfigures.org.uk/webview/index.jsp?mode=area&submode=result&areaname=Hastings&areatype=">http://www.eastsussexinfigures.org.uk/webview/index.jsp?mode=area&submode=result&areaname=Hastings&areatype=">http://www.eastsussexinfigures.org.uk/webview/index.jsp?mode=area&submode=result&areaname=Hastings&areatype=">http://www.eastsussexinfigures.org.uk/webview/index.jsp?mode=area&submode=result&areaname=Hastings&areatype=">http://www.eastsussexinfigures.org.uk/webview/index.jsp?mode=area&submode=result&areaname=Hastings&areatype=">http://www.eastsussexinfigures.org.uk/webview/index.jsp?mode=area&submode=result&areaname=Hastings&areatype=">http://www.eastsussexinfigures.org.uk/webview/index.jsp?mode=area&submod

The overall deprivation as well as the rates of the particular areas of deprivation may vary substantially within East Sussex. East Sussex can be further divided into 327 LSOAs (Lower Super Output Areas), each covering approximately 1 500 people³⁵. It is important to note that within these 327 LSOAs:

Almost all the very deprived LSOAs in East Sussex are in coastal towns. 14 out of the 15 East Sussex LSOAs in the most deprived 10% nationally (on the IMD2007) are in Hastings, and one in Eastbourne.³⁶

This general information about the situation in East Sussex already suggests that Hastings shows distinctively higher deprivation than other areas in East Sussex. The complex view on the situation in East Sussex can be demonstrated by the following map³⁷:

³⁵ see East Sussex County Council. "Deprivation in East Sussex Indices of Deprivation 2007". *East Sussex in Figures*. East Sussex County Council. Jan. 2008. Web.

areatype=>, 22. 2. 2011, 5.

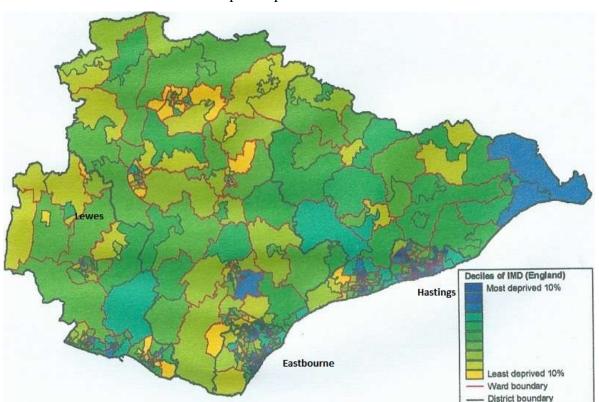
³⁶ see East Sussex County Council. "Deprivation levels and trends across East Sussex: Understanding the Index of Multiple Deprivation 2007". *East Sussex in Figures*. East Sussex County Council. Jan. 2008. Web.

areatype=>, 22. 2. 2011, 10.

³⁷ see East Sussex County Council. "Index of Multiple Deprivation 2007 - East Sussex SOAs". *East Sussex in Figures*. East Sussex County Council. Jan. 2008. Web.

< http://www.eastsussexinfigures.org.uk/webview/index.jsp?submode=catalog&catalog=http://esfigures01s.escc.gov.uk:80/obj/fCatalog/UserGuides&mode=documentation&top=yes>, 6. 3. 2011.

Chart 8



The Map of deprivation in East Sussex

The blue colour represents the most deprived areas (as indicated in the legend). One can easily observe that the blue colour is visible mainly in the coastal areas. Hastings and Eastbourne areas have both areas of dark blue colour, unlike the Lewes district. Also the area of Rye, which is the blue area in the right corner, represents deprived conditions. The northern parts of East Sussex do not contain any blue colour at all (with one exception), suggesting that the north of East Sussex is wealthier than the South. This could be the result of good industrial structure focusing on prosperous businesses, or the proximity to London.

An important indicator related to deprivation and relevant to this thesis is the number (percentage respectively) of children living in poverty. As teenage pregnancy is typically associated with poor economic conditions, the percentage of children living in poverty could be compared to the percentage of teenage conceptions. The figures are depicted in Chart 9 (the latest data is from 2008):

Chart 9

Dependent Children Living in			
Poverty	2006	2007	2008
East Sussex	17,2	17,7	17,7
	17 610	18 255	18 275
Hastings	28,0	28,8	28,8
	5 315	5 470	5 505
Eastbourne	21,6	22,4	21,2
	4 020	4 215	4 010
Lewes	14,1	14,3	14,4
	2 620	2 685	2 700

The rates represent the proportion of dependent children living in poverty ("children in poverty are defined as those who are living in families who are in receipt of Child Tax Credit (CTC) whose reported income is less than 60% of the median income, or who are in receipt of Income Support (IS) or income-based Jobseekers Allowance (JSA)"³⁸) to the number of children in general. Hasting occupies quite clearly the first position in this negative indicator, followed by Eastbourne. Moreover, the rates in Hastings are double the rates in Lewes.

The rates of teenage conceptions are presented in Chart 10³⁹:

Chart 10

Teenage Conception Rates (1998-2008)	1998-2000	2001-2003	2004-2006	2005-2007	2006-2008
Hastings	65,1	47,8	59,5	58,9	58,2
	291	231	311	311	307
Eastbourne	50,6	42,9	46,2	47,3	50,4
	199	206	229	235	249
Lewes	40,9	33,7	29,8	30,0	31,5
	197	162	155	155	162

³⁸ see East Sussex County Council. "Dataset: Children living in poverty, 2006-2008 - super output areas". *East Sussex in Figures*. East Sussex County Council. 5 Mar. 2010. Web.

< http://www.eastsussexinfigures.org.uk/webview/index.jsp?mode=area&submode=result&areaname=Hastings&areatype=>, 1. 3. 2011.

³⁹ see East Sussex County Council. "Dataset: Teenage pregnancy by three year periods, 1998-2008 – districts". *East Sussex in Figures*. East Sussex County Council. Mar. 2010. Web.

areatype=>, 1. 3. 2011.

Rates are per 1 000 females within the age group 15-17.

Likewise the rates of children living in poverty as well as the rates of teenage conception are much higher in Hastings. After a substantial drop in rates in 2001-2003, the proportion of teenage conceptions increased again. However, the recent trend seems to be different in Hastings than in the other two districts. Both Eastbourne and Lewes districts show a slight increase in rates but there seems to be some improvement in case of Hastings. Nevertheless, Hastings still occupies the worst position and again the rates are nearly double the rates of Lewes.

The following chart depicts the index for deprivation. Again, lower scores indicate a higher rate of poverty. Unfortunately, data after 2005 was not available at this time⁴⁰.

Chart 11

Economic Deprivation Index	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Hastings	39	39	41	40	40	38	40
Eastbourne	122	126	121	113	111	103	98
Lewes	215	220	226	221	216	216	208

The numbers represent the rank of average score within the 327 districts in the county (1 being the most deprived). The pattern remains the same with Hastings having the worst score and Lewes occupying the best position among the three. However, while the ranks of Hastings and Lewes are oscillating, Eastbourne shows a clear economic decline relative to the other districts in the county. Considering the trends in teenage conceptions (though the Economic Deprivation Index is not available for later periods), a similar development can be observed in these two areas. In Eastbourne, the rate of teenage pregnancy increases as the deprivation index falls. In Hastings and Lewes, the teenage conception rates fluctuate in a similar manner as the economic deprivation index scores. Therefore, one of the conclusions can be made that deprivation could be an element contributing to numbers of teenage conceptions. In Eastbourne, the situation is getting worse in both statistics, and Hastings occupies the worst position among the three. The thing that has to be considered as well is the starting point for all three districts. Generally, the areas that score poorly have more room to improve.

⁴⁰ see East Sussex County Council. "Dataset: EDI 2008, Economic deprivation index, 1999-2005 – districts". *East Sussex in Figures*. East Sussex County Council. 4 Sep. 2009. Web.

< http://www.eastsussexinfigures.org.uk/webview/index.jsp?mode=area&submode=result&areaname=Hastings&areatype=>, 1. 3. 2011.

The next chapter will provide a closer look on the particular areas concerning deprivation and key influences on the young women and public in general.

5.1.2.1 Education

Education represents one of the most important contributors to teenage conceptions and pregnancy. Therefore, the number and availability of schools and further education is very important. Also the quality of teaching in these schools may play its role in the proportion of teenage mothers. However, it is very difficult to determine the quality of education.

Chart 12

Number of Schools	Hastings	Eastbourne	Lewes
Maintained Schools			
Primary (5-11/7-11)	21	16	13
Secondary (11-16/11-18)	5	6	2
Approximate capacity (Primary/secondary)		5473/4997	2315/ 1969
Children 5-15 Age Group	11 293	11 372	11 949

Since the most vulnerable group of young women comes from a economically disadvantaged family background, the number of maintained schools is more relevant. Hastings has the highest number of primary schools with the largest capacity. Comparing the number of children in the age group and capacity available, the difference can be observed in case of Lewes.

To make a conclusion, the number of independent schools has to be considered as well (there are none in Hastings, 2 Preparatory and Senior level schools in Lewes and there are 3 Preparatory and 2 Senior schools in Eastbourne). The capacity of the Lewes independent schools is still not sufficient to cover the gap (542 pupils on both levels). As a result, the children have to commute to further distance or attend a boarding school. Though Hastings has the largest capacity in schools, the quality of teaching also has to be considered (e.g. number of pupils in the class or for one teacher). Since it is very hard to measure, any conclusions resulting from the numbers available could be doubted. Nevertheless, the Chart can give the reader a basic view on the educational opportunities for children in Hastings, Eastbourne and Lewes.

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⁴¹ see Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills. "Independent Schools". *Find and inspection report for: schools*. Web. Ofsted. n.p. http://www.ofsted.gov.uk/Ofsted-home/Inspection-reports/Schools, 22. 12. 2010.

One of the areas of interest in the *IDM2007* publication by East Sussex County Council was also the comparison of education attainment and results within East Sussex. Thus, the following quotation can provide at least some information about the quality of teaching⁴²:

There is wide variation in pupil attainment across the County: For example, 39% of pupils across Hastings gain 5 or more grades A*-C, compared with 66% across Rother. In two Districts across East Sussex (Lewes and Hastings), fewer pupils receive 5 or more GCSE grades A*-C than the national and regional averages.

Both Hastings and Lewes are among the districts with lower grades and schools performance among children. This could be the result of overcrowded or low-quality schools in case of Hastings and low-quality or too distant schools in Lewes. In any case, the pupils in Lewes and Hastings perform worse when compared to England as a whole. As described in the first part of the thesis, poor school performance connected with truancy and bullying could lead to higher rates of teenage pregnancy.

Moreover, in the case of Hastings and Lewes, there was no improvement in the schools attainment between 2004 and 2007 when the IMD research took place:

...some areas within East Sussex have seen a decline in pupil attainment in recent years, with the proportion of people gaining 5 or more GCSE grades A*-C falling by more than 4% across Lewes between 2004 and 2006, and the average point score at Key Stage 2 dropping by 1.5% across Hastings over the same period.⁴³

As the quotation suggests, there was even decline in the scores reached by children in Hastings and Lewes with Lewes showing higher percentage.

The webpage *East Sussex in Figures*, maintained by the East Sussex County Council, also provides data regarding the access to further education for young people aged 16-19 within the particular district. Thus the percentage represents the proportion of people with the access to further education within 30 minutes by various kinds of transport.

⁴² see East Sussex County Council. "Deprivation levels and trends across East Sussex: Understanding the Index of Multiple Deprivation 2007". *East Sussex in Figures*. East Sussex County Council. Jan. 2008. Web. http://www.eastsussexinfigures.org.uk/webview/index.jsp?mode=area&submode=result&areaname=Hastings&areatype=">http://www.eastsussexinfigures.org.uk/webview/index.jsp?mode=area&submode=result&areaname=Hastings&areatype=">http://www.eastsussexinfigures.org.uk/webview/index.jsp?mode=area&submode=result&areaname=Hastings&areatype=">http://www.eastsussexinfigures.org.uk/webview/index.jsp?mode=area&submode=result&areaname=Hastings&areatype=">http://www.eastsussexinfigures.org.uk/webview/index.jsp?mode=area&submode=result&areaname=Hastings&areatype=">http://www.eastsussexinfigures.org.uk/webview/index.jsp?mode=area&submode=result&areaname=Hastings&areatype=">http://www.eastsussexinfigures.org.uk/webview/index.jsp?mode=area&submode=result&areaname=Hastings&areatype=">http://www.eastsussexinfigures.org.uk/webview/index.jsp?mode=area&submode=result&areaname=Hastings&areatype=">http://www.eastsussexinfigures.org.uk/webview/index.jsp?mode=area&submode=result&areaname=Hastings&areatype=">http://www.eastsussexinfigures.org.uk/webview/index.jsp?mode=area&submode=result&areaname=Hastings&areatype=">http://www.eastsussexinfigures.org.uk/webview/index.jsp?mode=area&submode=result&areaname=Hastings&areaname=ha

⁴³ see East Sussex County Council. "Deprivation levels and trends across East Sussex: Understanding the Index of Multiple Deprivation 2007". *East Sussex in Figures*. East Sussex County Council. Jan. 2008. Web. http://www.eastsussexinfigures.org.uk/webview/index.jsp?mode=area&submode=result&areaname=Hastings&areatype=">http://www.eastsussexinfigures.org.uk/webview/index.jsp?mode=area&submode=result&areaname=Hastings&areatype=">http://www.eastsussexinfigures.org.uk/webview/index.jsp?mode=area&submode=result&areaname=Hastings&areatype=">https://www.eastsussexinfigures.org.uk/webview/index.jsp?mode=area&submode=result&areaname=Hastings&areatype=">https://www.eastsussexinfigures.org.uk/webview/index.jsp?mode=area&submode=result&areaname=Hastings&areatype=">https://www.eastsussexinfigures.org.uk/webview/index.jsp?mode=area&submode=result&areaname=Hastings&areatype=">https://www.eastsussexinfigures.org.uk/webview/index.jsp?mode=area&submode=result&areaname=Hastings&areatype=">https://www.eastsussexinfigures.org.uk/webview/index.jsp?mode=area&submode=result&areaname=Hastings&areatype=">https://www.eastsussexinfigures.org.uk/webview/index.jsp?mode=area&submode=result&areaname=Hastings&areatype=">https://www.eastsussexinfigures.org.uk/webview/index.jsp?mode=area&submode=result&areaname=Hastings&areatype=">https://www.eastsussexinfigures.org.uk/webview/index.jsp?mode=area&submode=result&areaname=Hastings&areatype=">https://www.eastsussexinfigures.org.uk/webview/index.jsp?mode=area&submode=result&areaname=Hastings&areaname=hastings&

Key Stage 2 includes children in the 7-10 age group.

The weighting of access to further education takes into consideration the length of journey and the resulting willingness of the young people to undergo the journey.

Chart 13⁴⁴

Access to Further Education	Distance variable	Composite mode %	Public transport/Walk %	Cycle %	Car %
Hastings	30 minutes	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
	Weighted by access to FE colleges	68,4	69,6	56,1	85,2
Eastbourne	30 minutes	75,4	73,1	100,0	100,0
	Weighted by access to FE colleges	47,2	48,5	34,6	85,1
Lewes	30 minutes	70,6	70,2	75,0	100,0
	Weighted by access to FE colleges	46,8	49,5	19,4	82,4

The Chart shows that likewise the availability of primary and secondary education, also in case of further education Hastings has the best results. Similarly, the pattern is the same in Eastbourne and Lewes. However, the Chart takes into consideration the distance only. Another aspect that is certainly important is the school fees. Since Hastings and Eastbourne were categorised as more deprived areas, the school fees may be more difficult for the family to pay.

Nevertheless, regarding the earlier chapter about the financial help to students, there are ways how to deal with this problem. A possible area of further research involves the awareness of young mothers of the availability of financial assistance in England.

5.1.2.2 Qualification

Considering the previous data on access to education on all 3 levels, one could expect Hastings to have the highest number of people with a higher level of qualification, followed by Eastbourne and Lewes. However, as the reader could notice in the section about the GSCE scores, the results are actually not following the logical implications. The remaining question about the final achieved qualification is answered in the following data.

Despite the lower school attainment and the GCSE scores, there is a positive trend in case of the people in the working age with low or no qualification in East Sussex in general:

⁴⁴ see East Sussex County Council. "Dataset: Access to Further Education colleges, 2007-2009 - super output areas". *East Sussex in Figures*. East Sussex County Council. 26 Nov. Web.

, 30. 12. 2010.

Between 2001 and 2006 the proportion of adults with no or low qualifications fell by 18% across East Sussex (from 35% to 29%). 45

The Chart below depicts this trend in detail, comparing the situation in the three districts with the conditions in the South East, England and the Greater South East Coast. 46

Chart 14

Achieved Qualification	Hastings	Eastbourne	Lewes
Working Age Adults Qualified to below level 2	worse score in comparison with all areas	better score only in comparison with England	better score in comparison with all areas
Working Age Adults with degree level qualifications	worse score in comparison with all areas	worse score in comparison with all areas	better score in comparison with all areas
Improvement	Yes	Yes	Yes
Improvement compared to SE, England, Greater SE Coast	Yes	Yes, similar pattern as in Greater SE Coast	Yes

The Chart shows that the three areas are experiencing improvement in qualifications as it was suggested by the previous quotation. Lewes has by far the best position among the three with no category being worse than England, South East or the Greater SE Coast. On the other hand, Hastings's score means the worst position, though it shows improvement as well. Although Hastings seems to have the best opportunities regarding availability of education it represents the worst scores of adult qualifications. Lewes, despite having the worst position in access to education, gains the best position in terms of qualification. A possible explanation for this trend might be that other circumstances are playing a major role in determination and possibility to attend further education. There are at least two other circumstances which have been discussed earlier in the introductory part: family background together with the financial situation of the family (encouraging young people to further studies, financial support etc.) and economic deprivation of the districts.

⁴⁵ see East Sussex County Council. "Deprivation levels and trends across East Sussex: Understanding the Index of Multiple Deprivation 2007". *East Sussex in Figures*. East Sussex County Council. Jan. 2008. Web. http://www.eastsussexinfigures.org.uk/webview/index.jsp?mode=area&submode=result&areaname=Hastings&areatype=">http://www.eastsussexinfigures.org.uk/webview/index.jsp?mode=area&submode=result&areaname=Hastings&areatype=">http://www.eastsussexinfigures.org.uk/webview/index.jsp?mode=area&submode=result&areaname=Hastings&areatype=">http://www.eastsussexinfigures.org.uk/webview/index.jsp?mode=area&submode=result&areaname=Hastings&areatype=">http://www.eastsussexinfigures.org.uk/webview/index.jsp?mode=area&submode=result&areaname=Hastings&areatype=">http://www.eastsussexinfigures.org.uk/webview/index.jsp?mode=area&submode=result&areaname=Hastings&areatype=">http://www.eastsussexinfigures.org.uk/webview/index.jsp?mode=area&submode=result&areaname=Hastings&areatype=">http://www.eastsussexinfigures.org.uk/webview/index.jsp?mode=area&submode=result&areaname=Hastings&areatype=">http://www.eastsussexinfigures.org.uk/webview/index.jsp?mode=area&submode=result&areaname=Hastings&areatype=">http://www.eastsussexinfigures.org.uk/webview/index.jsp?mode=area&submode=result&areaname=Hastings&areatype=">http://www.eastsussexinfigures.org.uk/webview/index.jsp?mode=area&submode=area&su

⁴⁶ see East Sussex County Council. "Deprivation levels and trends across East Sussex: Understanding the Index of Multiple Deprivation 2007". *East Sussex in Figures*. East Sussex County Council. Jan. 2008. Web. http://www.eastsussexinfigures.org.uk/webview/index.jsp?mode=area&submode=result&areaname=Hastings&areatype=">http://www.eastsussexinfigures.org.uk/webview/index.jsp?mode=area&submode=result&areaname=Hastings&areatype=">http://www.eastsussexinfigures.org.uk/webview/index.jsp?mode=area&submode=result&areaname=Hastings&areatype=">http://www.eastsussexinfigures.org.uk/webview/index.jsp?mode=area&submode=result&areaname=Hastings&areatype=">http://www.eastsussexinfigures.org.uk/webview/index.jsp?mode=area&submode=result&areaname=Hastings&areatype=">http://www.eastsussexinfigures.org.uk/webview/index.jsp?mode=area&submode=result&areaname=Hastings&areatype=">http://www.eastsussexinfigures.org.uk/webview/index.jsp?mode=area&submode=result&areaname=Hastings&areatype=">http://www.eastsussexinfigures.org.uk/webview/index.jsp?mode=area&submode=result&areaname=Hastings&areatype=">http://www.eastsussexinfigures.org.uk/webview/index.jsp?mode=area&submode=result&areaname=Hastings&areatype=">http://www.eastsussexinfigures.org.uk/webview/index.jsp?mode=area&submode=result&areaname=Hastings&areatype=">http://www.eastsussexinfigures.org.uk/webview/index.jsp?mode=area&submode=result&areaname=Hastings&areaname=ha

5.1.2.3 Employment

In relation to qualification, the three districts also vary in percentage of people working in particular socio-economic levels of occupations. ⁴⁷

Chart 15

Employment Rates based on the Socio- economic classification 2001	Higher professional and managerial occupations	Lower supervisory; technical and semi- routine occupations	Routine occupations	Long-term unemployed or never worked
Hastings	4,9	20,1	9,1	4,5
Eastbourne	5,7	19,3	8,3	2,6
Lewes	8,5	17,3	7,1	1,8

The distribution of work force approximately follows the pattern of the quality of education, Hastings having the highest percentage of people working in routine occupations. The characteristic of work affects the income that the worker receives. The income represents the financial source for the households and thus creates their wealth.

Chart 16

Gross weakly earnings (£) 2006-2010	Full-time all	Male	Female
Hastings	413	488	394
Eastbourne	495	518	447
Lewes	459	490	415

The gross weakly earning are the lowest in Hastings and, unlike in other comparisons, Hastings is followed by Lewes and Eastbourne occupies the first position. What is interesting about these figures is the difference in earning between males and females. The biggest gap can be observed in case of Hastings. This fact could be another discouraging factor for young women to take part in employment or further education.

Finally, the last important factor regarding employment is the rate of unemployment. Unemployment rate is one of the key economic indicators related to the health of economy in particular country, or region in this case. ⁴⁸

⁴⁷Working class group defined by the age of 16-74.

see East Sussex County Council. "Dataset: Socio-economic classification in 2001 - super output areas". *East Sussex in Figures*. East Sussex County Council. 30 Nov. 2007. Web.

areatype=>, 1. 3. 2011.

⁴⁸ see East Sussex County Council. "Dataset: Unemployment estimates, 2004-2010 – districts". *East Sussex in Figures*. East Sussex County Council. Jan. 2011. Web.

http://www.eastsussexinfigures.org.uk/webview/index.jsp?mode=area&submode=result&areaname=Hastings&areatype=">http://www.eastsussexinfigures.org.uk/webview/index.jsp?mode=area&submode=result&areaname=Hastings&areatype=">http://www.eastsussexinfigures.org.uk/webview/index.jsp?mode=area&submode=result&areaname=Hastings&areatype=">https://www.eastsussexinfigures.org.uk/webview/index.jsp?mode=area&submode=result&areaname=Hastings&areatype=">https://www.eastsussexinfigures.org.uk/webview/index.jsp?mode=area&submode=result&areaname=Hastings&areatype=">https://www.eastsussexinfigures.org.uk/webview/index.jsp?mode=area&submode=result&areaname=Hastings&areatype=">https://www.eastsussexinfigures.org.uk/webview/index.jsp?mode=area&submode=result&areaname=Hastings&areatype=">https://www.eastsussexinfigures.org.uk/webview/index.jsp?mode=area&submode=result&areaname=Hastings&areaname=

Chart 17

Unemployment estimates 2005-2010 (June)	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Hastings	6,2	6,5	6,8	7,6	8,0	8,8
Eastbourne	4,6	6,7	6,2	5,8	6,9	7,5
Lewes	3,9	3,9	4,6	4,0	4,9	6,1

The fact that unemployment is rising in each district is hardly surprising since the whole world is undergoing an economic recession. Hastings claims the highest unemployment rate, with exception of June 2006 when Eastbourne occupied the first position. The gap between Hastings and Lewes is especially striking. This vast difference was also evident in the Chart depicting the socio-economic classification. Taking into consideration the unemployment rate together with the median earnings, the difference among the three districts becomes more evident.

5.1.2.4 Housing

The affordability and sufficient supply of housing constitutes another problem in the community. As it was discussed in the chapter about the media and government influence on the public opinion about teenage pregnancy, some commentators assume that young women become pregnant in order to obtain a house. This is probably one of the main sources of the negative perception of teenage mothers. The council housing means a good way to obtain a flat and this may have several reasons. It can be from the young mothers' personal reasons: to get away from family influence or not having enough money to buy a flat on their own. Another reason may be that the housing facilities in that particular area are insufficient and lone mothers have the priority in the queue for the council flats. However, the researchers who asked teenage mothers about this reason for getting pregnant received negative answers, claiming that some girls were not even familiar with the possibility of obtaining a council flat. Both points of view are subjective, and it is difficult to find the answer. At least, a closer look on the housing situation in Hastings, Eastbourne and Lewes is depicted in the following chart. The data may suggest the housing conditions and the real need to get a better position in dealing with the housing needs (2005 data).⁴⁹

⁴⁹ see East Sussex County Council. "Dataset: Housing needs survey results, 2005 – district". *East Sussex in Figures*. East Sussex County Council 16 Mar. 2010. Web.

, 6. 2. 2011.

Chart 18

Housing	Total annual need for social housing	Total supply from re-lets	Average annual new units delivered	Scale of need compared to supply in years
Hastings	1,049	453	41	15
Eastbourne	849	480	64	6
Lewes	566	336	32	7

The last column depicts the number of years that would take to cover all the needs for social housing, based on the current number of new units and re-lets. The results are clear in case of Hastings, which has insufficient capacity of housing. This could be connected to the higher rates of teenage conceptions and pregnancy, as these mothers claim the social housing, or it could be the result of overall deprivation of this district. However, if one looks at the numbers which stand for affordability of housing, the conditions in the three districts are not so substantially different⁵⁰:

Chart 19

Housing affordability	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Hastings	7,81	7,83	8,34	7,94	5,96	6,49
Eastbourne	7,06	7,58	6,52	6,41	6,15	7,19
Lewes	8,43	7,25	7,22	9,32	7,23	7,30

The numbers stand for the time in years it would take for a person to make enough money to buy a house (semi-detached, detached) based on mean gross earnings in each district. The trend in the three districts varies throughout the five-year period. For example, affordability of housing in Hastings improved significantly in 2008, while it improved only modestly in Eastbourne and became significantly less affordable in Lewes. Since Lewes is less deprived area, the price for a house is expected to be higher (Hastings 182 098£, Eastbourne 220 595£, Lewes 212 367£ for semi-detached house), but so is the average income (Hastings 28 040£, Eastbourne 30 702£, Lewes 29 091£ - full-time annual earnings for males). Nevertheless, the highest income as well as the most expensive housing is in Eastbourne. This could be the result of its position by the sea, which could enhance its attractiveness and housing prices.

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⁵⁰ see East Sussex County Council. "Dataset: House price/earnings affordability ratios, 2002-2010 – districts". *East Sussex in Figures*. East Sussex County Council. 16 Mar. 2010. Web.

, 6. 2. 2011.

However, the ratio speaks for the best situation regarding the housing affordability being in Hastings in 2010. Nonetheless, the ratios are fluctuating and the situation may get very different in the future periods.

Considering the two statistics and taking into account the unemployment rates, the Hastings district has the highest unemployment rates, the social housing insufficiency is two times higher than in Eastbourne and Lewes, but the affordability of housing has showed the best results in the last two years. Therefore, there is a big proportion of people in need who cannot afford their own house and claim the social housing or re-lets and one of the results can be the lower prices of houses in the Hastings district. Still, since the number of claimants is so high, there is no doubt that the general public may see these people as teenage mothers or other people who are not eager to work or to do their best to improve their social status and rely on the state to help them.

5.1.3 Questionnaire results

I had a chance to conduct a small survey in the town of Hastings regarding teenage pregnancy and the public concern connected with it. The questionnaire consisted of 12 questions and the respondents were 15 inhabitants of Hastings. Most of the respondents (10) belonged to the age group 30-50. The main aim of the survey was to find out whether the general public was aware of the problem of teenage pregnancy in the UK and in Hastings. Additionally, I was also interested whether these people personally consider teenage pregnancy a problem, which may be caused by the negative (political) campaign. Since the number of respondents was not so high, only the results which were chosen by clear majority will be provided.

All the respondents stated that they were aware of the problem of teenage pregnancy in the UK. There were three other answers that were chosen by 12 respondents. 12 people stated that:

- they personally consider teenage pregnancy a problem.
- they are aware that Hastings is one of the areas in Britain with the highest occurrence of teenage mothers.
- Hastings is a rather deprived area.

These results may suggest that the general public certainly is informed or aware of the problem of teenage pregnancy and that the knowledge is observable on both national and regional level. Since I did not include the question regarding the personal reasons for viewing teenage pregnancy as a problem, it is difficult to state any findings concerning this tendency. The possible arguments may be connected with shaping public opinion through media, or personal experience. One of the most prevailing factors in the negative campaign was the housing issue. Since the data about housing in the three districts put Hastings in the worst position meaning insufficient social housing capacity, the "jumping-the-queue" opinion may be applicable in this case. Another positive aspect (as some claim) of becoming a teenage parent are the welfare benefits. In order to support the theory about these two views, the respondents were also asked whether they agree with some commentators saying that young girls become pregnant in order to obtain council housing and welfare payments. The result was also quite convincing as 10 of 15 people confirmed the theory.

Finally, there were also 4 questions regarding personal experience with teenage mothers. From these, 3 questions could be mentioned as one answer was chosen by the majority. 8 respondents stated that they knew 1-3 teenage mothers. All of these 8 people also stated that these girls were not from an affluent family and 7 stated that the teenage mothers they know are taken care of by the state sufficiently and are doing well. However, the researchers often claim that teenage mothers live in terrible conditions, with no central heating at home, little money etc. These statements are based on face to face interviews at mothers' homes, so the interviewers can experience the conditions of their home as well. Nevertheless, since teenage mothers are often accused of making the use of the welfare state system, there is an evident reason why to put themselves in the position of poor people with insufficient income and living in bad housing. Therefore, there are two sides present in this argument and it is hard to decide which of them the right one is.

Overall, the results of the questionnaire confirmed the theory about public awareness of teenage pregnancy and mainly their negative attitude towards teenage mothers. Moreover, it also confirmed that Hastings is a deprived district not only in figures, but also according to its inhabitants.

6. Conclusion

There is no doubt that teenage pregnancy is regarded as a problem in the UK. However, there are numerous and even unspecified reasons why this issue concerns so many people today, including politicians, the general public and sociologists around the world as well as in the UK. The perception of teenage pregnancy as a problem has emerged despite the overall decrease in its rates. This thesis tried to identify at least a few factors that resulted in the categorization of teenage pregnancy as a problem. Among these are the shift of the close connection between pregnancy and marriage, emphasis on education and career success. Conservative government with its negative attitude and campaign against teenage pregnancy and last but not least, the media. All of these factors help shape public opinion and have created the feeling that teenage pregnancy is something harmful not only for the women's development, either physical or mental, but also for the society as a whole. Therefore, these harmful effects are said to stretch from moral to financial aspects.

One group of commentators criticise these women, who become pregnant and live on welfare benefits, but there is also a different group of people defending these girls and providing them with as much support as they can. Many sociologists and activists claim that teenage mothers are the victims of the current system and caught in the *cycle of poverty*. The government does not give these vulnerable women enough possibilities to improve their situation, including housing conditions and education resulting in better paying jobs.

These two groups take opposite points of view and therefore also suggest opposite solutions. The latter group accuses government of having a bad approach and the former accuses young mothers of not being able to adapt to the contemporary system of society including further education and ambitions for having a well-paid job. As a result, defenders promote increase in benefits and support and on the other hand, the others encourage cutting down the benefits in order to make the potential teenage mothers aware that this kind of income would be insufficient for them. However, as Selman⁵¹ pointed out, the countries with more generous welfare system generally have lower rates of teenage pregnancy.

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⁵¹ see Selman Peter. "Teenage Pregnancy, Poverty and the Welfare Debate in Europe and the United States". N.p. n.d. Web. < http://www.cicred.org/Eng/Seminars/Details/Seminars/PAUVRETE/ACTES/Selman.PDF>, 10. 12. 2010, 139.

As it resulted from the more detailed study of the various factors contributing to teenage parenthood in the three East Sussex districts, the deprivation seems to play the major role in the life of young people. Since they have to face many difficulties and opportunities are rare, the idea of becoming a teenage parent seems to be easy way to become independent regarding their won parents and employment. Therefore, I would suggest that it is both the current system that causes the vulnerable groups remain vulnerable, and it is also the chance of gaining the welfare benefits which enables the women to become young mothers. However, cutting down the benefits alone would not necessarily mean reducing the number of teenage parents. On the contrary, it could put young mothers into even worse financial conditions and make the escape from the *cycle of poverty* more difficult.

Considering the problem in Hastings, there was a problem with the quality of teaching and also achieved level of qualification. Therefore, there should be a change in the approach towards teaching at schools, making it more appealing or explaining the children why they should keep on studying, with emphasis on the jobs they could once have and money they could earn. Since the problem is often one of the parental support as well, social workers should talk more to parents if their children are having problems with their education. Another important point is that high proportions of low-skilled industries are situated in Hastings. This means that even though the young people achieve higher qualification, there must be more job opportunities for them as well. One could observe the lack of housing capacity in Hastings, so these graduates could engage in the construction of new houses, not only manually, but also as designers, architects or supervisors.

Finally, the problem of teenage pregnancy in the UK is very complex since the contributing factors are present in many aspects of everyday life and development of a young woman. The notion of the problematic part of teenage pregnancy should also be considered, whether one means its effect on the society or the effect on the young women because for some of these young women, pregnancy can be desired and helpful step. Reducing the number of pregnant teenagers is possible, and it actually is happening. Further financial and moral support is needed, to enhance the improvement. Accusing teenage mothers of abusing the welfare system and reducing welfare payments did not have positive results. The conditions in Hastings showed that the problem does not lie in the number of schools or the commuting distance. It is mainly the deprivation and family support and situation that influence most the woman's decision. This finding could serve as the basic springboard for further action.

7. Summary

Ve Spojeném království Velké Británie a Severního Irska (dále jen Spojené království) se už několik desetiletí dostává do popředí zájmu nejen sociologů a lékařů, ale také politiků problém těhotenství mladistvých. Důvodem této pozornosti je zejména fakt, že míra mladých matek je zde nejvyšší v Evropě. Zatímco v ostatních státech došlo během 80. let 20. století k výraznému poklesu počtu mladistvých matek, ve Spojeném království tomu bylo naopak. Vedle této skutečnosti se na chápání těhotenství mladistvých jako problému podílely i další faktory.

Mezi tyto další faktory lze zařadit změnu v pojetí sňatku a těhotenství. Do 80. let nebylo těhotenství mladistvých žen žádnou výjimkou. Rozdíl však byl v tom, že tyto ženy byly již vdané a nepředstavovaly tudíž zátěž pro stát, který by jim musel vyplácet sociální podporu. Pokud tedy hovoříme o problému těhotenství mladistvý matek, jedná se z tohoto hlediska spíše o problém těhotenství svobodných mladistvých matek.

Dalším faktorem bylo prosazování vzdělání a úspěšné kariéry. Mladí lidé začali odkládat budování rodiny v závislosti na délce studií a vytvoření dostatečného finančního zázemí. Ne všichni se však začali řídit tímto novým trendem. V porovnání s minulostí byla ovšem tato skupina mladých lidí nyní menšinou a byla často obviňována z neochoty pracovat, budovat kariéru a z nepřizpůsobivosti novému systému, za kterým stál zejména kapitalismus. Vzdělání všeobecně začalo hrát velice důležitou roli pro pozdější povolání. Přestože je ve Spojeném království zavedeno školné, existuje mnoho programů podpory sociálně slabým studentům, stejně jako speciální programy pro svobodné matky. Problémem v tomto případě však může být i špatná informovanost cílové skupiny. Jedním z východisek by tedy mohla být rozsáhlejší kampaň, zvyšující povědomí o možnostech finanční podpory studentů.

Na trend rozvíjejícího se kapitalismu navazoval další faktor, kterým byla konzervativní vláda Margaret Thatcher. Právě tato vláda kladla důraz na tradiční hodnoty spojené s budováním celistvé rodiny a zároveň na schopnost jednotlivce postarat se o sebe bez pomoci státu. Výsledkem bylo redukování pomoci mladým matkám a jejich osočování z nezodpovědnosti a nedospělosti v naději, že dojde ke zlepšení situace. Zejména toto osočování však vedlo k vytvoření negativních postojů veřejnosti vůči této skupině mladých žen. Obrat v přístupu vlády Spojeného království nastal v podobě zvolení Anthonyho Blaira a jeho nová vláda *New Labour*.

Velice významnou publikací vydanou touto vládou byla Teenage Pregnancy, která se věnovala představení celého problému, včetně statistik úmrtí novorozeňat mladých matek, zranění, pomalejšího vývoje těchto dětí vzhledem k dětem matek starších a negativních dopadů tohoto fenoménu vůbec. To samozřejmě vzbudilo velkou reakci ve všech kruzích podrobili publikaci velké kritice. společnosti. Mnozí Autoři byli obviňováni zejména ze zveličování celého problému a z uvádění mnohdy zavádějících informací. I tato vláda pod vedením Anthonyho Blaira se tedy díky této publikaci podílela na chápání těhotenství mladistvých jako problému. Na rozdíl od vlády Margaret Thatcher však vláda Anthonyho Blaira představila mladé matky jako oběti systému, kterým je třeba pomoci. Tato vláda viděla problém zejména v negativním dopadu jak na mladé matky, tak i na jejich děti, na společnost a také ve finanční zátěži státu. Výsledkem bylo tedy opět negativní vnímání tohoto fenoménu ze strany veřejnosti.

K této negativní kampani velkou měrou přispěla rovněž média. Titulky v novinách se vždy snaží upoutat pozornost, a to se v tomto případě nabízelo citováním těch případů, kdy matkami byly třináctileté dívky a podobně. Tyto velmi mladé matky jsou však spíše výjimkou, ale média tímto vzbudila všeobecný dojem, že se naopak jedná o zcela běžnou záležitost. Dalším oblíbeným terčem bylo osočování mladých matek z úmyslného otěhotnění s cílem získat státní podporu a vlastní byt. Reakce byly opět různé. Zastánci mladých matek provedli mnoho výzkumů a nesetkali se s tím, že by některá z matek uvedla tento důvod. Otázkou samozřejmě je, nakolik byly tyto dívky upřímné. Vzhledem k tomu, že v tomto případě je jednodušší věřit variantě médií, negativní postoj veřejnosti byl opět převažující.

Kontroverzní stránku v případě mladistvých matek představuje rovněž finanční zátěž pro stát. Vyplácení sociální podpory je trnem v oku zejména pracující veřejnosti. Tento finanční úhel pohledu je charakteristický zejména pro Spojené státy americké, ne však natolik pro Spojené království. Zde představuje větší problém údajné úsilí mladých matek získat státní byt. Nicméně výzkumy na toto téma nic neprokázaly, naopak vyšlo najevo, že tyto byty jsou často v neodpovídajícím stavu pro matku a dítě.

Můžeme tedy celkově říci, že Spojené království zaostalo za ostatními evropskými státy v efektivnosti snižování míry těhotenství mladistvých, přestože na většinu států Evropy (po revolučním roce 1989) působily stejné faktory ve smyslu zrodu kapitalismu, tlaku na vzdělání a kariéru. Výsledkem bylo osočování mladých matek a vytváření ještě horších podmínek v podobě nepřátelství veřejnosti.

Další část textu se věnuje prostředí, které charakterizuje skupinu těch dívek, jenž se nejčastěji stávají mladými matkami. V této oblasti byly rovněž provedeny mnohé výzkumy, včetně dlouhodobých studií. Z jedné této studie vyšlo najevo, že velký podíl na brzkém mateřství mají studijní výsledky. Jedním z rizikových faktorů je tedy vzdělání. Stejně tak bylo zjištěno, že mnoho mladých matek má problémy se šikanou a docházkou. Tímto se vyvrací jedna z domněnek, že těhotenství mladých dívek má negativní dopad na jejich výsledky ve škole. Problémy se vzděláním totiž těhotenství spíše předcházejí. Za touto skutečností často stojí i fakt, že rodiče nepředstavují žádnou, nebo pouze minimální podporu dítěte ve vzdělání.

Rodinné a finanční zázemí jsou tedy dalšími rizikovými faktory. Mladé matky zpravidla pocházejí z neúplných rodin, nebo z rodin, kde matka otěhotněla rovněž před svými dvacátými narozeninami. Na rozdíl například od Itálie, kde jsou rodinné vazby velice důležité, navíc Britové zdaleka takto pevné rodinné vztahy neudržují. Proto mnohem častěji dochází k finanční závislosti na státu. K těmto skutečnostem se ještě přiřazuje další aspekt, a to zpravidla chudoba rodiny. Společně s minimální podporou ve vzdělání a tudíž i následně malou nadějí na lépe placenou práci vyplývá, že státní podpora se jeví jako rovnocenný příjem, který by dívky dostávaly za práci. Z tohoto úhlu pohledu poté vznikají domněnky, že dívky plánují těhotenství z důvodu státní podpory a obdržení státního bytu. Problém však nemusí zákonitě ležet v jejich morální, či jiné charakteristice, ale v systému, který jim příliš neumožňuje utéci ze začarovaného kruhu, kterým je chudoba (*cycle of poverty*) a minimální vyhlídky.

V rámci Velké Británie se výrazně liší samotná čísla, která se týkají těhotenství mladistvých (Severní Irsko konkrétní data nepublikuje). Jednou z oblastí s nejvyšším výskytem mladých matek je Hastings, v hrabství East Sussex. V rámci tohoto hrabství je proto práce zaměřena na město Hastings a pro lepší ilustraci i na města Eastbourne a Lewes. V těchto městech (popřípadě oblastech) jsou zohledněny především faktory, které byly v předchozí obecné části uvedeny jako rizikové.

Hastings, Eastbourne a Lewes jsou města, popřípadě oblasti, která jsou v počtu obyvatel srovnatelná. Eastbourne a Hastings se navíc nacházejí na pobřeží. Přístup k moři by mohl být výhodou. Tuto domněnku však vyvrací fakt, že Lewes převyšuje jak Eastbourne, tak Hastings ve většině ekonomických ukazatelů. Obdobně lze charakterizovat míru těhotenství mladistvých. Lewes vykazuje nejnižší čísla, následuje Eastbourne a Hastings v této statistice obsazuje jednoznačně první místo. V roce 2007 byla vydána publikace, která se zaměřila na měření míry chudoby v rámci hrabství East Sussex s konkrétními čísly i pro jednotlivé oblasti. Těch je celkem pět, a to Lewes, Hastings, Eastbourne, Rother a Wealden.

Měření chudoby je založeno na relativním poměru mezi jednotlivými hrabstvími, kterých je v rámci Anglie 34. Dále je také vzájemně porovnáno 327 LSOAs (Lower Super Output Areas). LSOAs slouží jako administrativní jednotky a obsahují přibližně 1 500 obyvatel.

V rámci tohoto měření míry chudoby zastává Hastings 40. místo, Eastbourne 98. a Lewes 208. (číslo 1 označuje nejhorší situaci). V celkovém součtu všech ukazatelů chudoby se tedy Hastings řadí na nejhorší místo mezi těmito třemi městy.

Aby bylo možno lépe určit, co způsobuje vyšší míru těhotenství mladistvých v Hastings, je třeba jednotlivá data porovnat mezi těmito čtyřmi městy. Tímto je možné najít pravděpodobné příčiny vysoké míry mladých matek, typické pro konkrétní oblast. V rámci již zmíněné publikace, zabývající se měřením míry chudoby, se jedná o tyto aspekty: příjem domácností, zaměstnanost, zdraví, vzdělání, zločinnost, dostupnost bydlení a služeb a podmínky pro život. Důraz je pro potřeby této práce kladen zejména na příjem domácností, dostupnost bydlení, zaměstnanost a vzdělání. Z nichž zaměstnanost a vzdělání je přímo tím, co podle výzkumů výrazně ovlivňuje vyšší procento mladých matek. S dosaženým vzděláním, tedy kvalifikací, následně souvisí zaměstnanost v různých odvětvích a dále i případný příjem domácností. Právě příjem domácností tvoří základnu pro možnost podpory dítěte například při studiích, lze z něj odvodit bohatství rodiny a je tedy rovněž podstatným aspektem. Nezaměstnanost pak představuje jeden z hlavních ekonomických ukazatelů.

Vzdělání je velmi důležité už na tom nejnižším stupni. Jeden z výzkumů ukázal, že dívky s horšími studijními výsledky v 7 a 16 letech, popřípadě s dobrými výsledky v 7 a špatnými v 16 letech se v 19%, respektive 18% staly mladými matkami. Nejhorší výsledky v dosažení a známce ve zkoušce GCSE má Hastings, následován městy Eastbourne a Lewes.

Rovněž je zajímavé porovnání množství škol v jednotlivých oblastech s jejich přibližnou kapacitou. Výsledek je poměrně překvapivý. V oblasti Hastings se nachází nejvíce škol s celkově nejvyšší kapacitou. Nejhorší se v tomto ohledu ukázal Lewes. Je však pozoruhodné, že právě děti v Lewes dosahují nejlepších výsledků. Vysvětlením tedy může být kvalita výuky. Ve sféře vyššího vzdělání má opět nejlepší podmínky Hastings.

Z hlediska dosažení kvalifikace má Lewes lepší výsledky než Hastings a Eastbourne. K dispozici je také srovnání s oblastí Anglie, jižní Anglie (Kent, Surrey, East Sussex, West Sussex, Hampshire, Isle of Wight, Berkshire, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire) a Greater South East Coast (West Sussex, Kent, Essex, Suffolk a Norfolk). Už tento ukazatel může napovědět, že ačkoliv mají mladí lidé v Hastings nejlepší dostupnost vyššího vzdělání, není využíváno v nejvyšší možné míře. K horší kvalifikaci jistě přispívá i fakt, že děti dosahují horších výsledků už během povinného základního vzdělání.

Na dosažené vzdělání navazuje výběr povolání v odvětvích, kde je potřebná vyšší či nižší kvalifikace. V tomto ohledu je výrazný rozdíl mezi Hastings a Lewes. Například procentuální zaměstnanost v sektoru vyžadujícím vysokou kvalifikaci pro manažerské pozice, je pro Hastings 4,9% a pro Lewes 8,5%. Osoby, které nejsou trvale zaměstnány, nebo nikdy zaměstnány nebyly, pak představují v Hastings 4,5% a v Lewes 1,8% práceschopného obyvatelstva. Eastbourne stojí opět na střední pozici. Tato čísla mohou být ovlivněna nejen již zmíněným vzdělání, ale také pracovními možnostmi, které region nabízí. Úroveň nezaměstnanosti činí v Hastings 8,8%, v Eastbourne 7,5% a v Lewes 6,1% (odhady pro rok 2010). Rozdíl mezi Hastings a Lewes je opět docela značný, a to 2,7%. Na základě těchto ukazatelů je v Hastings buď nedostatek pracovních míst, nebo jsou k dispozici pracovní místa v sektorech, které neodpovídají profilu vzdělání obyvatel.

Velice důležitým ukazatelem je rovněž průměrný plat v oblasti. Týdenní výpočet průměrného platu výjimečně staví na první místo Eastbourne, následuje Lewes a Hastings. Proč Eastbourne nabízí vyšší finanční ohodnocení, může být i to, že je zde více lidí zaměstnáno v soukromém sektoru. Ten často znamená vyšší finanční odměnu. To je však již jiná problematika.

Poslední oblastí, v rámci ukazatelů chudoby, je dostupnost bydlení. Zde se nabízí dva pohledy. A to vyhovující kapacita nabízeného bydlení a finanční dostupnost. Poptávka po bydlení v Hastings zdaleka převyšuje nabídku a podle statistických údajů z roku 2005 by trvalo 15 let, než by se při momentálním tempu nabídky bydlení uspokojila veškerá poptávka. V případě Lewes a Eastbourne je tento ukazatel poloviční (6, respektive 7 let). Na druhou stranu finanční dostupnost bydlení je nejpříznivější v Hastings a nejméně příznivá v Lewes. Hraje zde roli průměrný příjem domácností a průměrná ceny za nákup nemovitosti. Přestože Lewes je celkově ekonomicky silnější region, nejvyšší příjmy a nejdražší domy jsou v Eastbourne. Atraktivita pobřežní oblasti Eastbourne nejspíše zvyšuje cenu zdejších nemovitostí. Pro mladé matky, které jsou podezřívány z toho, že plánují těhotenství za účelem obdržení bytu je faktor dostupnosti bydlení velice podstatným. V případě Hastings se toto tvrzení, vzhledem k nedostačující nabídce nemovitostí, nedá úplně vyloučit.

Poslední část se vztahuje k malému výzkumu za pomocí dotazníku, který byl proveden speciálně pro tuto práci v Hastings. Cílem bylo zjistit zejména povědomí obyvatel Hastings o existenci problému těhotenství mladistvých jak ve Spojeném království, tak i v Hastings. Dále také jejich osobní mínění na definici tohoto fenoménu jako problému a názor na osočování mladých matek z využívání státní podpory, ať už finanční či ubytovací.

Průzkum zahrnoval celkem 15 respondentů. Většina z nich byla z věkové skupiny 30-50 let. Vzhledem k menšímu počtu účastníků jsou níže uvedeny pouze otázky (celkem jich bylo 12), na které byla odpověď naprosto většinová.

Všichni respondenti uvedli, že jsou si vědomi existence problému těhotenství mladistvých ve Spojeném království. 12 z nich uvedlo, že si je vědomo také špatné situace v Hastings. Rovněž 12 lidí uvedlo, že oni sami považují vysokou míru mladých matek za problém. Z této skutečnosti lze usuzovat, že o všeobecnou představu o tomto problému se nejspíše postarala média. Dále 12 osob uvedlo, že považuje Hastings za spíše ekonomicky chudší oblast, což potvrzují i oficiální čísla a statistiky. 10 respondentů uvedlo, že souhlasí s názory, osočujícími mladé dívky z využívání státní podpory a dotací na bydlení. V tomto případě by bylo jistě zajímavé rozšířit okruh dotazovaných a zhodnotit výsledek ve větším rozsahu. Přesto, i v tomto rozsahu průzkumu, jsou dvě třetiny poměrně vysokým číslem.

8 dotázaných potvrdilo, že oni sami mají ve svém okruhu známých mladé matky (7 uvedlo 1-3 mladé matky a 1 osoba 3-6). Zcela jednoznačně dále uvedli, že tyto dívky jsou z chudých rodin. Jejich životní podmínky založené na státní podpoře jsou navíc údajně dostačující. Zde se rozcházejí v názoru s těmi, kteří na základě výzkumu uvádějí, že dívky žijí ve velice špatných podmínkách. Ohodnocením tohoto výsledku může být zkresleno jednak malým počtem respondentů i značnou subjektivností při hodnocení kvality podmínek pro život.

Závěrem lze říci, že tato práce přinesla otázku, kde hledat problémovost těhotenství mladistvých. Zdá se, že negativní reakce jsou způsobeny především osočováním mladých matek ze strany jak médií, tak i samotné vlády Spojeného království. Naopak sociologové, zdravotníci a jiní, se snaží dívky spíše ospravedlňovat a podporovat. Vzhledem k tomu, že chyba nejspíše nastává ze strany vnějších faktorů jako je chudoba, problémy v rodině a ve školním prostředí, není na místě tvrzení, že mladé matky jsou neochotné absolvovat řádné vzdělání a nastoupit do zaměstnání. V pubertálním věku na ně působí celá řada negativních faktorů, se kterými je mnohdy těžké se vypořádat. Vyšším sociálním vrstvám se tyto faktory vyhýbají.

Špatná situace v Hastings je zřejmě zaviněna kvalitou vzdělání, ekonomickou silou oblasti a strukturou nabízených pracovních míst. Pro zlepšení situace by bylo zapotřebí zkvalitnění nebo zatraktivnění výuky ve školách a také zvýšení povědomí o možnosti podpory financování vzdělání svobodných matek. Pracovní příležitosti v oblasti tvoří z velké části manuální práce a práce s nižší požadovanou kvalifikací. Zvýšením míst s požadovanou vyšší kvalifikací by také mohlo být motivem pro další vzdělávání.

Vzhledem k nedostačujícímu počtu nemovitostí, by potřebná podpora výstavby, mohla vytvořit nová pracovní místa a zároveň uspokojit poptávku po nemovitostech. Tyto aktivity však vyžadují finanční investice. Vzhledem k tomu, že se svět stále nachází v ekonomické krizi, je toto řešení náročné na investice spíše otázkou do budoucna.

8. Appendix

Questionnaire by Kateřina Stojarová designed for the purpose of this thesis.

1. Have you heard about teenage pregnancy being a problem in the UK?

	a) YES	
	o) NO	
2.	If the answer is YES, where did you hear about it?	
	n) Television	
	o) Internet	
	e) Newspaper	
	d) Magazine	
	e) Other	
3	Do you personally consider teenage pregnancy a problem?	
٥.	a) Yes	
	o) No	
	e) I don't care.	
	.) I don t care.	
4.	Do you agree with some commentators saying that young girls become pregnant in ord	der
	to obtain council housing and welfare payments?	
	a) Yes	
	o) No	
	e) I don't know.	
5	Do you know that Hastings belongs to one of the areas in Britain with the high	est
٥.	occurrence of teenage mothers?	·CSt
	a) Yes	
	o) No	
	<i>y</i> 110	
6.	Considering the previous question, would you say that you meet teenage mothers	in
	Hastings?	
	a) All the time.	

	b) Frequently
	c) Sometimes
	d) Never
	e) I don't know.
7.	Do you think that Hastings is a town of higher or lower social classes?
	a) Hastings is rather deprived area.
	b) Hastings is affluent area.
	c) Hastings is nothing exceptional in this regard.
	d) I am not sure.
8.	Do you know any teenager mother in Hastings?
	a) I know none.
	b) I know 1-3 teenage mothers.
	c) I know 3-6 teenage mothers.
	d) I know more than 6 teenage mothers.
9.	If you do know any, would you say that she is taken care of by the state?
	a) Yes, she is doing well.
	b) No.
	c) I don't know.
10.	. Would you say that she/they planned her/their pregnancy?
	a) Yes.
	b) No.
	c) I don't know.
11.	. Is she/are they from an affluent family?
	a) Yes.
	b) No.
	c) I don't know.
12.	. Please, choose the age group you belong to:

- a) 12 to 18.
- b) 18 to 30.
- c) 30 to 50.
- d) 50 and older.

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Annotation

The thesis on The Problem of Teenage Pregnancy in the UK with focus on East Sussex and case study in Hastings has 6 major parts. The first part deals with the general introduction to the problem; it is followed by the necessary definition of teenage pregnancy and its further understanding. The third part identifies the main factors that contributed to its categorisation as a problem looking more closely at the tendency regarding marriage and pregnancy, education and career, two UK governments and media. Next part of the thesis is concerned with identifying the vulnerable groups of young women who are more likely to become teenage mothers, focusing on education, family and financial circumstances. This part is the last of the general introduction. The fifth part examines the situation in East Sussex and provides detailed study of the associated factors in Hastings, Eastbourne and Lewes. These factors include education, achieved qualification, employment and housing in the particular districts. Additionally, there are also the results of a small survey done in Hastings by means of a questionnaire, which aims mainly at the public concern with teenage pregnancy. Finally, the conclusion sums up the whole thesis and adds implications and suggestions for further action.