THE USE OF VISUAL RESEARCH METHODS
IN THE
SOUTH AFRICAN RESEARCH CONTEXT

LINDA LIEBENBERG

Dissertation presented for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

at the University of Stellenbosch.

Promoter(s): Prof Johann Mouton

April 2005

Declaration

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this dissertation is my own original work and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it at any university for a degree.

Abstract

South African society presents a complex and diverse environment to social scientists. Within immense economic stratification; a multitude of cultures and classes; languages and their dialects; and varied racial groups, researchers attempt to produce information that contributes constructively to policy, programs and a host of services. Beneath the surface also lay complex power issues informed by both political and cultural histories. Many contexts in which researchers find themselves continue to be marginalised and oppressed due to factors such as illiteracy and low-levels of education, age, gender and poverty. These groups often include women and children, in particular adolescents. Qualitative visual methods may provide researchers with a tool by which to address many of the concerns raised in the literature surrounding research carried out under such conditions. Visual methods may remove inherent power imbalances, as well as traditional barriers, such as culture and language, that stem from more 'conservative' research methods. Images may allow participants to vocalise the taken-for-granted in their lives in an empowering manner. The recognition and use of visual images in research with marginalised and oppressed groups is being increasingly recognised by the larger research community. A preliminary overview of the available literature highlights existing disagreement surrounding the theoretical underpinnings of visual methods. This is particularly seen in the various and confusing levels of abstraction presented in the literature. The primary aim of this study is therefore, to gain clarity and understanding as regards the methodological and epistemological underpinnings of visual research methods within the social sciences. As such, a comprehensive literature review has been conducted. A second aim of the study is to set out a typology of methods that would be relevant for use in marginalised communities. The third aim of the study is empirical in nature and aims to highlight the role and/or possibilities of visual research methods within the South African social sciences research context. This is achieved by means of a case study which explores how motherhood is experienced by five teenagers in a sub-economic community outside of Cape Town. It does this by providing participants cameras with which to visually express their understanding and experiences of motherhood. Processed photographs in this case study have been analysed by means of informal discussion, directed by the images, with the participants themselves. These discussions were recorded and transcribed. The results of the interviews were then analysed using grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The results emerging from this have been compared with relevant literature. In this way, results are also triangulated, adding to their reliability (Lucchinni, 1996). Consequently, results of this case study provide a comparative component by which to assess the applicability of visual methods in the South African research context. Both the literature review as well as experiences of the case study also form the basis of suggestions for further exploration.

Opsomming

Die Suid-Afrikaanse gemeenskap bied 'n komplekse en diverse omgewing aan sosiale wetenskaplikes. Binne hewige ekonomiese stratifikasie; 'n verskeidenheid kulture en klasse; tale en dialekte en diverse rassegroepe, poog navorsers om inligting te verskaf om 'n konstruktiewe bydrae te maak aan riglyne, programme en 'n legio dienste. Onder die oppervlakte lê daar ook komplekse magstryde afkomstig van beide 'n kulterele en politieke geskiedenis. Vele omstandighede waarin navorsers hulself vind word steeds oorheers deur marginalisasie en onderdrukking as gevolg van faktore soos ongeletterdheid, lae vlakke van opvoeding, ouderdom, geslag en armoede. Hierdie groepe bestaan dikwels uit, onder andere, vroue en kinders. Kwalitatiewe visuele tegnieke mag navorsers van die nodige metodes voorsien waarmee verskeie probleme wat in die literatuur uitgelig word aangaande hierdie navorsing, aangespreek kan word. Visuele tegnieke mag inherente magsongelykhede, sowel as tradisionele struikelblokke, soos kultuur en taal wat afkomstig is uit meer 'konserwatiewe' navorsingstegnieke, verwyder. Uitbeeldings mag deelnemers toelaat om die vanselfsprekende in hul lewens in 'n opbouende wyse te vokaliseer. Die identifisering en gebruik van visuele uitbeeldings in navorsing met gemarganaliseerde en onderdrukte groepe word tot 'n toenemende mate erken deur die uitgebreide navorsingsgemeenskap. 'n Voorlopige oorsig van die beskikbare literatuur beklemtoon bestaande onenigheid met betrekking tot die teoretiese fondamente van visuele tegnieke. Dit is veral duidelik sigbaar in die uitgebreide en verwarde vlakke van abstraktheid wat in die literatuur voorgestel word. Die primêre doelwit van hierdie studie is dus om groter helderheid en insig met betrekking tot die metodologiese en epistemologiese grondbeginsels van visuele metodes, soos dit in die sosiale wetenskappe voorkom, te verkry. Met hierdie doel voor oë is 'n uitgebreide literatuurondersoek onderneem. 'n Tweede doel van die studie is om 'n tipologie van metodes uiteen te sit wat relevant kan wees in gemarginaliseerde gemeenskappe. 'n Derde doel van die studie is empiries van aard en beoog om die rol en/of moontlikhede van visuele tegnieke binne die Suid-Afrikaanse sosiale wetenskaplike navorsings konteks te beklemtoon. Dit word bereik deur middel van 'n studie wat ondersoek hoe moederskap ondervind word deur vyf tieners in 'n sub-ekonomiese gemeenskap in die buitewyke van Kaapstad. Dit word uitgevoer deur deelnemers te voorsien van kameras waarmee hul begrip en ondervindings van moederskap visueel uitbeeld. 'n Verdere analise van hierdie studie is deur middel van informele besprekings uitgevoer met die deelnemers, begelei deur die uitbeeldings. Sodanige besprekings is opgeneem en getranskribeer. Die resultate verkry vanuit die onderhoude is daarna geanaliseer deur middel van begronde teorie (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Die resultate wat hieruit afkomstig was, is vergelyk met relevante literatuur. Op hierdie wyse is resultate bevestig, wat ook verder tot hul betroubaarheid gespreek het (Lucchinni, 1996). Die gevolg is dat die resultate van hierdie studie 'n vergelykende komponent verskaf waarmee die toepaslikheid van visuele tegnieke in die Suid-Afrikaanse navorsingskonteks gemeet kan word. Beide die literatuurstudie, asook die ondervindings vanuit die gevallestudie vorm die basis vir aanbevelings vir verdere ondersoek.

To Mom:
Your love forms
the foundation
of my every success.

Acknowledgements:

The infinite wisdom of the five brave young women who selflessly shared their stories.

Prof Johann Mouton for his enduring guidance and support.

Dr Lou-Marie Kruger for always being an inspiration.

Gabriel De Bliquy for believing in the beauty of everyone's images and generously assisting in the production thereof.

My wonderful friends Barbara, Marion, Mike, Victor and Wanda who contributed in so many meaningful ways.

Mom and Dad for putting every dream within reach.

And to Janus, none of this would mean anything with out you to share it with!

I would like to thank the following institutions for their invaluable financial support: The Harry Crossly foundation, and The Stellenbosch University's merit bursary fund.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Part One: Theoretical discussion

the films I make are all part of a path towards a goal I've set for myself: to try to understand the human experience ... but at the same time, ... to give a voice to people who have none. ... There are millions of human beings ... all over the world, who have no representation, no pressure groups, no economic power.... And I thought that if I gave them a chance to communicate to us their plight, and we learned how other people live, we would be better able to understand, rather than strengthen our basically separatist or racist notions of all the "other" world around us. In other words, I wanted to put at the disposal of those people the most sophisticated ... medium of communication in the world, and record what they want to tell me, with no preconceived ideas, no pressure to get what *we* would see in the situation, with no paternalistic attitudes towards them – and yet, not being objective, but rather subjective and involved. Let us try to think in *their* terms as much as possible, and be clued by them all the way. ... I think that when one is willing to *listen*, he learns far more then he bargained for

(Preloran, 1997: 106).

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Images allow us to make statements which cannot be made by words, and the world we see is saturated with sociological meaning. Thus it does not seem peculiar to suggest that images enlarge our consciousness and the possibilities for our sociology

(Harper, 1998: 38)

1.1 Why this study

1.1.1 The need for innovative research methods in developing contexts

South African society presents a complex and diverse environment to social scientists. Within immense economic stratification; a multitude of cultures and classes; languages and their dialects; and varied racial groups, researchers attempt to produce information that contributes constructively to policy, programs and a host of services. Many communities and groups with which researchers work continue to be marginalised and oppressed due to factors such as illiteracy and low levels of education, age, gender and poverty. These groups often include women and children, in particular adolescents (Daniels, 2003; Fussell & Greene, 2002; Laird, 2003; Nsamenang, 2002; Pillay, 1998).

This research environment is compounded by the 'biologically situated researcher' (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998: 23). Denzin and Lincoln (1998: 23) explain that many researchers enter the research process 'from inside an interpretive community that incorporates its own historical research traditions into a distinct point of view'. Researchers impose these perspectives on the 'other' who is studied, within a research context that is already heavily impacted upon by the politics and the ethics that surround the research (Kotze & Kotze, 1996). Researchers who have been educated in a system that subscribes to dominant western models of thought very often attempt to enforce their 'best fit' practices onto contexts that they believe they understand. The truth is that they ordinarily do not understand these contexts, and the recommendations that flow from these studies are seldom the 'best fit' for that community. Addressing similar issues in feminism, Olesen (1998: 305) states that 'the topic of women's lives has become increasingly differentiated' and that it has 'become clear that western feminist frameworks would not work in many third world contexts because "differences could not simply be absorbed into dominant frameworks"' (Kirby, 1991: 398, in Olesen, 1998: 304). We have to acknowledge individual experiences within unique, multiple South African contexts, as they truly are, and as they are truly lived.

Desjarlais, Eisenberg, Good and Kleinman (1995) show that many previously (and presently) disadvantaged groups within the larger spectrum of low-income communities, such as those found within the South African population, lack adequate, effective and empowering services. These authors argue that '[b]asic epidemiological data on the prevalence and distribution of mental and behavioural health conditions is still lacking for many low-income countries. Data is also lacking for particular age groups' (1995: 284). Examples of these groups include farm labourers, especially women and adolescents; youth within high-risk environments and children living on the streets; and unemployed women in sub-economic communities (Desjarlais et al., 1995; Nsamenang, 2002). Furthermore, there are profound differences within each of these groups regionally (Desjarlais et al., 1995). As such, each of these groups experience unique realities that cannot be addressed by means of conventional western models of research and intervention (Laird, 2003). Sound research findings enable communities and countries to manage and spend their resources and funds more effectively by identifying relevant problem areas, existing resources and meaningful solutions. Furthermore, irrelevant or ineffective services can be modified, and effective primary prevention programs established. Many research methods used in marginalised communities today however, remain disempowering and compound the lack of voice already experienced by community members (Smith, 1999). Research methods that would effectively highlight the realities and needs of such population groups would acknowledge unique and newly developed cultures, as well as the traditional culture from which new ones emerged. Language barriers that result not only from a variety of languages and dialects, but also from language proficiency and ability to verbalise one's reality would be accounted for. Such methods would recognise the taken-for-granted and provide ways in which to highlight and better understand those instances. Conducting research, especially cross-cultural research, within the communities of these groups may therefore be particularly challenging.

Studies based solely on broad generalisations however have already shown to be fruitless, contributing to the cycles of poverty and disempowerment that currently prevail (Desjarlais et al., 1995; Laird, 2003). Desjarlais et al. (1995), Laird (2003) as well as Kotze and Kotze (1996) highlight the need for more efficient research methods. The critical question though, is 'not *whether* to do research, but rather *what kind* of research to carry out. Which research questions should receive priority? What kinds of epidemiological, ethnographic, clinical science, and health services data are needed as a first step?' (Desjarlais et al., 1995: 279). These authors also note that research regarding low-income countries such as South Africa, requires focused attention allowing for unique projects that provide for individual community needs. Following on this, it is recommended that focused ethnographic studies precede epidemiological and intervention studies, providing descriptions of local problems,

2

perspectives, social realities and resources (Cheetham, Fuller, McIvor & Petch, 1992; Desjarlais et al., 1995). Ethnographic studies become cost-effective in the long run because they produce vital data to make research development more culturally appropriate. Successful interventions are community-based and built on local institutions, traditions, and values, where community members have substantial control over the research process. This is reiterated by researchers such as Parker (1992), who believes that increased focus on qualitative methodologies may provide for more efficient research findings, where existing institutions may be supported or challenged, and unequal distributions of power in society may be better exposed.

Mouton and Muller (1998) however, highlight the limited use of qualitative methods within social sciences research in South Africa. This conflicting situation resonates with criticisms against social science research in general. Critique includes those who claim that sociology is losing its humanness in that there is too much focus on figures and statistics, rather than on individuals and diverse societies. Authors such as Comstock (1994), Henny (1986) and Reason (1994) say for example, that broad statistical survey research has distanced research from those studied, and by implication research findings from community services and policy.

Such critique may be especially true in instances of cross-cultural research where findings may serve to perpetuate discriminatory and oppressive practices (Kotze & Kotze, 1996). In her critique of methodologies, Smith (1999) accuses social researchers of voyeuristically studying indigenous societies, not fully understanding individual communities, yet holding the 'power to define' (1999: 58). Smith points to the 'cultural system of classification and representation' (1999: 44) that underlies research findings, and which is based on views regarding human nature, morality and virtue; conceptions of space and time, and of gender and race. Dominant ideas about these constructs determine what counts as real. Consequently, even sympathetic outsiders often fail to fully appreciate the complexities of specific oppressed groups. As Narayan (1992: 264) says, 'it is easier and more likely for the oppressed to have critical insights into the conditions of their own oppression than it is for those who live outside these structures'. Furthermore, 'authorities' and outside 'experts' often have the final say in the validity of indigenous claims to cultural beliefs, values, ways of knowing and historical accounts (Kotze & Kotze, 1996; Nsamenang, 2002). Research findings encapsulated in these constructs and systems of classification are then incorporated into existing systems of power and domination, often through vigorous debates that ultimately silence and continue to make invisible the presence of marginalised groups such as women

and youth (Smith, 1999). It is in this way that the process of generating descriptions of the 'other' has very real consequences for marginalised communities.

More traditional approaches to research have also been criticised for ignoring the self-determining nature of the individuals being studied. Authors such as Stanley and Wise (1993) and Smith (1999) argue that the value of personal experience is often over looked by researchers, having important consequences for those researched. The lived realities of individuals are located within their own communities' systems of knowledge, culture, and power (Smith, 1999). Traditional research methods however exclude participants from the decision making process, alienating the participant from the inquiry process and from the knowledge that is subsequently generated, there-by 'invalidating any claim the methods have to the science of persons' (Reason, 1994: 325). Voices of research participants must therefore be included in the research process in such a manner that the impact of historically located contexts are brought to the fore.

Oppressive methods and dislocated trust are further issues raised in the literature. Authors such as Laird (2003), Nsamenang (2002), Oakley (1981) and Stanley and Wise (1993) have criticised research that treats participants as subordinates. These authors highlight how disempowering research methods usually result in researchers missing much valuable data. It is inconceivable that research participants will provide researchers with honest, open and revealing responses when treated with the same disdain and sense of hierarchical power as that of their oppressors. As Oakley (1981: 56) correctly observes, '[i]nterviewees are people with considerable potential for sabotaging the attempt to research them'. Without a relationship of mutual trust being established between interviewer and interviewee this will usually be the case. These researchers often speak to the value of equal relationships and empowering methods in their own work. Again, Oakley (1981: 41) says that 'it becomes clear that in most cases, the goal of finding out about people through interviewing is best achieved when the relationship of interviewer and interviewee is non-hierarchical and when the interviewer is prepared to invest his/her own personal identity in the relationship'.

Based on critique such as this, research is becoming increasingly reflexive, with a 'multi-voiced text that is grounded in the experiences of oppressed peoples' (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998: 28). More and more, human experience as opposed to abstract systems is the focus of social science studies, where the body, emotions, and the senses are viewed phenomenologically, together with an increased focus on representation. Banks (1998: 9) believes that 'new ethnographic approaches are historically grounded and politically aware, recognizing the colonial or neo-colonial underpinnings of the relationship between

4

anthropologist and anthropological subject, recognizing the agency of the anthropological subject and their right as well as their ability to enter into a discourse about the construction of their lives'. This shift correlates with a call for a critical method that treats people as active subjects in the construction of their worlds and experiences, a method based on dialogue (Comstock, 1994; Reason, 1994). Comstock (1994) and Reason (1994) remind us that the fundamental aim of social research is to make communities aware of the taken-for-granted and common place – especially those aspects of society that contradict and maintain oppressive structures. They believe that research participants become liberated through the awareness that the research process is able to bring about. By engaging participants in a reflexive process of self-understanding, research can meaningfully contribute to social reform. Such an approach includes research participants as co-researchers in the research process where they actively contribute to generating ideas, designing and managing the project, and drawing conclusions from the experience.

Other researchers also consider research to be an essential means of enabling oppressed groups to reclaim the value of their own experiences, as well as giving the subjective situation of marginalised groups greater visibility in both the social sciences as well as broader society (Narayan, 1992; Oakley, 1981). Narayan (1992: 265) argues that because of oppressed groups' social and historical positioning, researchers should take 'seriously the claim that these groups have an "epistemic advantage" [over researchers and policy makers]… from having knowledge of the practices of both their own contexts and those of their oppressors'. The challenge facing social researchers then, is to engage in the use of research methods that would take many of the realities of the marginalised groups being studied into account. As Rogoff (1998: 23) says,

> To be able to assemble a group of materials and a variety of methodological analyses around an issue that is determined out of cultural and political realities rather than out of traditions of learned arguments, seems an important step forward in the project of reformulating knowledge to deal responsibly with the lived conditions of highly contested realities, such as we face at the turn of this century.

It is with this in mind, that Reason (1994) advocates an emerging worldview that is more holistic, pluralist, egalitarian and essentially more participative. Such a view is fuelled by holistic, systemic approaches such as feminism and critical pedagogy.

Taking the historical and current context of research settings such as South Africa into account, it is important for researchers to provide communities with a sense of ownership and empowerment, both in order to gain accurate knowledge and to aid in the process of reparation within the country. Qualitative visual methods may provide researchers with a tool by which to address many of the concerns raised in the literature. Visual methods may

5

remove inherent power imbalances, as well as traditional barriers, such as culture and language, that stem from more 'conservative' research methods. Images may allow participants to vocalise the taken-for-granted in their lives in an empowering manner. They may also bring the kind of focus to research results that are called for by authors such as Desjarlais et al. (1995), Kotze and Kotze (1996) and Smith (1999).

<u>1.1.2 Visual Research Methods as a research option</u>

The value of incorporating visual images in research with marginalised and oppressed groups is increasingly being recognised by the larger research community. Authors such as Banks (1989) and Harper (1989) believe that visual methods raise the voice of the researched over that of the author. Researchers attest to the value of incorporating images in interviews, arguing that they facilitate the interview process (Daniels, 2002; Harper, 1989; Schwartz, 1989), bringing a greater depth to the topics discussed and there-by enhancing the quality of data gathered (Daniels, 2002; Gloor & Meier, 2000; Harper, 1989; Schwartz, 1989). The literature highlights that through use of the visual, researchers can discover and demonstrate factors that may be subtle or easily overlooked (Harper, 1989; Schwartz, 1989). Various studies have demonstrated how marginalised peoples can use visual media to depict and better understand their worldview (Becker, 1986; Beloff, 1985; Braden, 1983; Chaplin, 1994; Collier, 1967; Press, 1991; Worth & Adair, 1972). As Kellehear (1993), Prosser (1998a) and Weiser (1983) assert, photographs serve as signifiers of a culture, highlighting values and expectations within groups as well as that of individuals. Research incorporating images can therefore provide important information regarding the cultural reality of the population group being studied.

The emergence of visual culture as a subject disrupts and challenges any attempts to define culture in purely linguistic terms. It is, in fact, proposed that today's fragmented culture is best imagined and understood visually (Mirzoeff, 1998). This field of inquiry provides an opportunity to reconsider some of today's most complex problems from yet another angle. The visual transcends pre-conceived notions of life, reflecting greater representation and contextual knowledge. As Rogoff (1998: 14) says, '[m]uch of the practice of intellectual work within the framework of cultural problematics has to do with being able to ask new and alternative questions, rather than reproducing old knowledge by asking the old questions'. Vision and visual culture offer researchers the opportunity to create a new space within which research participants can express new and fresh views on their lived experiences (Prosser & Schwartz, 1998; Rogoff, 1998). Through the use of images, experiences and meanings become tangible and may be understood in ways that other conventional forms of communication may not allow for. Photography can produce data that engages viewers in a

reflective process that enlarges our sociological understanding of cultural realities (Harper, 2003).

Authors such as Ball and Smith (1992), Barndt (1997) and Orellana (1999) explain that photographs have no meaning in and of themselves; they take up meaning from the contexts in which they are inscribed or which we inscribe to them. The sense viewers make of images depends fundamentally upon cultural assumptions, personal knowledge, and the context in which the picture is presented. How images are seen and read, is shaped by the values, beliefs, assumptions, and experiences that both the photographer and viewer bring with them. It is for this reason that we give cameras to participants themselves, because 'the quality of the "visually arresting" derives meaning from the culture of the photographer rather than the culture of the photographed' (Harper, 1986: 26). Consequently, it must be emphasised that photographs are not unequivocal records of reality, pointing to the importance of researcher-participant interaction in the research process. It is via the collaboration that images inspire, that we gain insight into different cultures (Harper, 2002). As Pink (2001: 59) explains, in

> [c]ollaborative photography … the intentions and objectives of researchers and informants combine in their negotiations to determine the content of the photographs…. Sometimes that photographs informants request challenge the assumptions behind the ethnographer's original intentions and initiate a shift in the anticipated use of photography.

It is perhaps for these reasons that visual methods work well with certain groups, such as street youth, where trust and communication may become problematic, increasing the possibility of cultural misunderstandings and misrepresentations (Collier, 1967; Young & Barrett, 2001). By using methods where participants actively participate in the data gathering and interpretation, and have control over what is brought into the research setting, the researcher allows participants to lead the research process themselves, demonstrating that they are trusted and respected as autonomous others. Niesyto (2000: 139) further argues that the use of subjective forms of representation such as image construction provides exactly those people who have difficulties with verbal or written tasks, with 'adequate possibilities of expression'. Additionally, image-based methods allow for an understanding of power relationships outside of the small social units being studied, considering individual work within the context of larger frames of power (Harper, 1998). Indeed, it is unequal relations of power, and the critical analysis there-of at local level, which is central for many visual researchers (Chaplin, 1994). Since the 1960s in particular, there has been a marked increase in collaborative filmmaking projects in developing communities where research projects have tended to become more political in character, involving consideration of and

even demands for reparation and claims to rights in efforts to improve social conditions (Blyton, 1987; Henley, 1998).

The role that images could and perhaps even should play in social sciences research is reflected in the broader role that vision and the visual play in societies at large. Postmodernist theory purports that the visual is fundamental to our experience and how this is represented (Ball & Smith, 1992; Heywood & Sandywell, 1999; Morphy & Banks, 1997). Today's world is saturated by oral, textual as well as visual information and meanings (Mirzoeff, 1998; Rogoff, 1998). As Mirzoeff (1998: 3, 4) says, 'visual culture … is not just a part of your everyday life, it *is* your everyday life. … human experience is more visual and visualized than ever before'. In this regard, Pink (2001: 71) believes that '[c]onversation is filled with verbal references to images and icons. People use verbal description to visualise particular moralities, activities and versions of social order (or disorder)'. Images now have a profound role in society, impacting on the opinions, attitudes, ideas and behaviour of individuals and the definitions of broader societies (Chaplin, 1994; Ball & Smith, 1992; Beloff, 1985; Blyton, 1987; Rogoff, 1998). Niesyto (2000) for example, emphasises the influence of media on perception and expression in today's world, and how recognition of this should impact on research design. He (2000: 138) cites studies in which the authors 'refer to the increasing significance of visual media for the youth's perceptions of the reality, the large variety of modes of expression (especially non-verbal modes), as well as those processes of analyzing and elaborating which are connected to the making of video self-productions'. Furthermore, many authors believe that disciplines of words are based on what is observed visually (Ball & Smith, 1992; Chaplin, 1994; Pink, 2001). Accordingly, the assertion is made that the visual, and by implication the image, has a direct impact on theory, methods and data in social sciences research (Ball & Smith, 1992; Heywood & Sandywell, 1999; Morphy & Banks, 1997). As such, various authors argue for the inherent role of the visual in research methods in general. Based on this, Chaplin (1994: 2) claims that 'the distinction between social analysis and visual representation is becoming less clear-cut, and … social analysis is beginning to make more use of visual representation, and indeed should make more use of visual depictions'.

1.2 Preliminary readings: Visual research methods

Jon Prosser (2001: 3) writes in his introduction to *Visual sociology* that 'visual research is thriving'. In the editorial to the newly renamed journal *Visual studies* (previously *Visual sociology*), Prosser (2002: 1) explains that 'for visual researchers these are exciting times. Our numbers are expanding, the potential avenues for publishing our work increasing, and

non image-based researchers are recognizing the significance of the visual in their own studies. With expansion has come a divergence in approaches to visual investigations; a richness and variety which is to be welcomed and celebrated'. His words reiterate the varied application of these burgeoning methods. The proliferation of literature available on the subject, for Prosser, is indicative of the recognition and esteem visual methods is gaining within the wider research community. He believes that most of this growth has occurred during the last two decades of the 20th century and that visual methods have moved beyond the disciplinary boundaries of sociology and anthropology broadening 'the scope and nature of visual research' (2001: 3). Harper (1994) regards visual sociology primarily as a sub-field of qualitative sociology, stemming from anthropology and visual ethnography as well as documentary photography, and its developments peripheral to academia. He defines visual sociology as 'the recording, analysis and communication of social life through photographs, film and video' (1994: 403). Banks (1998) sees visual anthropology and visual sociology in broader terms, claiming that they have both come to be seen, in their own right, as the study of visual forms and visual systems in their cultural context. As he and Morphy (1997: 1) state '[a]t the most general level there is a duality of focus: on the one hand visual anthropology concerns the use of visual material in anthropological research and on the other it is the study of visual systems and visible culture – it both produces visual texts and consumes them'. Banks (1995) explains that visual anthropology and visual sociology explore society by producing images, and/or constructing visual representations; examining pre-existing visual representations; and by collaborating with participants in the production of new visual representations. Generally, visual sociologists are concerned with the appearance of things, and most of them attempt to explain what lies behind those appearances via sociological principles. Curry (1985: 6) believes that when the linkages have been made between the appearance of something and a sociological explanation, then, 'visual sociology has been done'. Both fields encompass film, photography, 'tribal' or 'primitive' art, television and cinema, and computer media (Banks, 1998). This study will focus primarily on the use of images as a communication tool. I propose that images constructed at the very least in consultation with participants can allow for a deeper and more meaningful conversation surrounding the research topic. Because visual methods are inductive by nature, I focus on their use to elicit responses from participants.

Visual methods are a means of including the participant in research that is reflective of open-ended interviewing, but where the process is stimulated and guided by images (Harper, 1998, after Collier, 1967). A method such as photo-elicitation (Collier, 1967), where the researcher and participant discuss photographs in the interview process, provides participants with power by situating them as authorities on the subject matter, their lives, and

allows them to assume the role of teacher in the research experience (Henny, 1986). Prosser and Schwartz (1998) believe that visual methods ask of researchers to not only approach fieldwork in a more pragmatic manner, but to also consider issues surrounding empowerment of participants and ownership of data and findings, especially with regard to images. These authors say that they

> accept that making pictures can be a threatening act … that yields an artificial product, an artefact of the idiosyncratic relationship among photographers and subjects, the medium, and the cultural expectations it generates. We also make the assumption that the appearances of naturally occurring objects, events and behaviours provide a gateway to the taken-for-granted and reflects deeply embedded and therefore unquestioned aspects of culture which are critical to studies of society. Therefore, it is incumbent upon us to devise multiple strategies and roles for photographers that allow us to produce images that further our attempts to study the everyday world (1998: 120).

As such, the inductive nature of visual methods (Spinder & Spinder, 1967) asks for the reformulation of the relationship between the researcher and the participant. Such a relationship would be a mutual initiative as opposed to a hierarchical, one-way flow of information (Harper, 1998), circumventing power relations within the research context. Chaplin (1994) believes that this means seeing in a manner that is radically different from the voyeuristic, asymmetrical mode of research that has for too long been dominant, allowing participants to better clarify a researcher's understanding of a community's lived reality. By incorporating the visual, researchers obtain a clearer understanding of the participant's reality than what they may have, using conventional research methods, given numerous cultural, gendered, classed and societal barriers that exist in a diverse and developing context such as South Africa.

As a qualitative method, visual techniques within sociology require an attention and formulation that potentially eliminates the unconscious reflection of our own taken-for-granted assumptions (Harper, 1998). Photographs 'are not *taken*, they are *made*' (Chaplin, 1994: 199). It is this aspect of the visual, I believe, that makes images well suited for enhancing communication in the research process. First, it allows participants control over what is brought into the research setting: what they consider important to the research topic and what they are comfortable talking about. Second, images allow researchers to literally see what participants are talking about. As Harper (1989: 91) says 'the photographic form communicates more specific detail as well as a more complete overall statement'. When research participants *actively construct* their reality through images in the research process, they use a powerful medium to help the researcher understand their reality.

One can conclude from this brief discussion that there are two processes at work in visual methods. The first is the process of framing the participant's world. The second is the process of subjectively constructing experience within that situation. Research participants are knowing subjects with the ability to convey some of their experience to the researcher visiting in their lives. As such, participants use images as a form of representation. Representation can be considered the master framework, by which people give meaning to their lives and are formed from both our personal experience and cultural conditioning (Viljoen, 1995). By implication then, the images participants construct will not only allow researchers to gain insight into their subjective understandings of the research topic, but also how these understandings are shaped by their cultural background.

Certain forms and relations of power are however brought to bear on practices of representation. Chaplin (1994) explains that visual researchers treat cultural representations, such as photographs, as the manifestation of knowledge that is the outcome of power; and thus photographs cannot be regarded as records of something 'out there'. It is rather believed, that what an image reflects is part of the discursive system that makes the photograph meaningful, and that it is this discursive system that is real. Accordingly, researchers need to ask what practices and institutions give images meaning, exercise an effect on them and cause them in turn to contribute - as the manifestation of knowledge – to the formation of subsequent events and views. As Orellana (1999: 77) suggests, 'what we see, and what we show others of our social worlds, is shaped by our social positioning, with its concomitant freedoms and constraints'. The pictures that participants make have to be understood in relation to these shaping forces. Through collaboration within the research process, images are presented in a manner that attempts to increase such understanding of issues and contexts.

Furthermore, in this post-positivist era, the meanings we attach to events, actions and so on cannot be claimed to be definitive. The way in which participants experience their individual realities and the way researchers perceive this are very often two different accounts. The image-based research format encourages joint participation, it offers participants a range of suggestions; it presents the opportunity for constructing a collection of meanings around a topic which is artefactually presented (Chaplin, 1994; Harper, 2002; Pink, 2001). And so, researcher and participant become joint participants in the construction of accounts and meanings. This use of photography can not only help us 'see', but it also asks us to slow down and consider, to think about what it is we *are* seeing and what it is we *don't* see, thereby heightening our understandings of differing yet unique communities. If we consider this in conjunction with statements by authors such as Banks (2001) and Chaplin (1994), who

promote images as data in themselves, and not as illustrations that add to a text – we understand that photographs can certainly aid understanding in our research.

The earliest example of such research can be seen in the work carried out by Bateson and Mead in 1942, where an extensive photographic research study on Balinese culture was conducted. In their work, the camera became more than a mere recording instrument. As Becker (1986: 224) explains, 'the camera is capable of all that a word processor is, an instrument of social analysis, when in the hands of a skilled operator'. Various projects that illustrate the place of visual methods in recent social science research exist.

Larson (1999) for example, describes a study conducted by UNICEF during 1994 and 1998. The project aimed to document the concerns and experiences of young people living in the South Pacific islands during a time of dramatic socio-cultural and economic change on videotape. Researchers involved with the project believed that in an environment where youth were discouraged from voicing their opinions, video would serve as a 'valuable channel through which youth could communicate their views and concerns' (1999: 164). As such, video was used as a catalyst for expressions by youth of the issues confronting them as well as to communicate these to the adult community and decision makers. In this way, video served a dual-purpose. First as a research tool, and second as a means of communicating sensitive issues across culturally defined borders, and between young and old. As Larson (1999: 165) correctly observes, 'studies on youth are all too often framed by the adult world'. Supporting Larson's argument, Orellana (1999) states that she was astounded by the images made by the children in her study of urban environments – children who ordinarily had no access to cameras. She comments on how she, as an adult from the same community as participants in her study, would never have thought to make images made by youth. Children's perceptions of the community were also vastly different to hers, again emphasising the importance of participative modes in image-based research.

Similarly, in their research with children living on the street in Kampala, Uganda, Young and Barrett (2001) explain how some of the participants' physical use of their developed photographs helped researchers understand how financial survival is at the forefront of everything children living on the street do, and how this shapes most, if not all, of their activities. They also admit that if they had attempted to understand these youths by means of a conventional interview schedule – albeit open-ended and qualitative – they would most probably never have come to this insight. Furthermore, visual methods proved to be particularly useful for developing insight into the urban environment that participants find themselves in. Young and Barrett (2001) believe that the perspectives of participants came to

12

the fore because visual methods introduced a relaxed, fun atmosphere that allowed the youth to take control of the process without imposing adult influences. In commenting on their experiences, they note that

> [t]he recent sociological interest in children as social actors uses visual methods to gain insights into the context of a child's lived experience. The control and implementation of research methods are passed from adults to children, allowing them to construct accounts of their lives in their own terms. It would appear that visual methods facilitate research 'with children' rather than research 'about children' (2001: 144).

Visual methods placed participants in control of the interview process, shifting the focus away from the researcher. The youth themselves managed the production of their pictures and spoke freely with regards to their images, increasing the quality of the information gathered. The combination of visual and oral methods resulted in a much richer data set than could have been obtained from pictures or discussion alone. The authors found that this was also particularly useful for de-sensitising taboo subjects such as theft.

Dell Clark (1999), studying childhood asthma, discusses similar experiences. Using images in interviews encouraged free recall, a sense of personal control and the ability to reflect upon photographed events. Images allowed participants to visually demonstrate and explain aspects of their lives that were important to them. Photographs served as a tangible prop for children when referring to situations or feelings. She (1999) also found that photographs captured and introduced content areas which might otherwise be poorly understood or even overlooked. She believes that these interviews empowered participants.

1.3 The research problem

A review of the available literature demonstrates that much variability exists concerning the theoretical underpinnings of visual methods. This is particularly highlighted by the numerous and confusing levels of abstraction presented in the literature (see for example Emmison & Smith, 2000; Grady, 2001; Morphy & Banks, 1997; Pink, 2001; Prosser, 1998b). Statements such as 'visual sociology is a grab bag of research approaches and perspectives' (Harper, 2003: 176) exemplify this. The need for visual methods texts to develop a new approach and better understanding of underlying theoretical principles is highlighted in the literature (Becker, 1974; Grady, 2001; Harper, 1994; Pink, 2001; Prosser, 2001). Theoretical clarity is important because, as Prosser (2001: 3) explains, '[t]he debate on how visual studies should be conducted is an important one since it reflects how our work is evolving to meet the needs and concerns of contemporary generations of image-based workers and points the way forward'. Becker (1974) believes that photographs are a reflection of the photographer's

point of view, biases and knowledge, and the integration of these two disciplines must therefore be guided by sociological concepts as one's theories are revised.

The primary aim of this study is to gain clarity and understanding as regards the methodological and epistemological underpinnings of visual research methods within the social sciences. A comprehensive literature review has been conducted in order to address questions such as: How is knowledge produced using visual methods? What kind of knowledge is produced and created when using visual research methods? Can one consider this constructed knowledge? What is meant by 'constructed' knowledge within this context? Does this mean visual methods imply 'representation'? Do photographs achieve this? (This last question will also be explored by means of a case study).

The proposed study has two further objectives. A second aim of the study is to set out a typology of methods that would be relevant for use in studying marginalised communities. As such, methods have been reviewed that correlate with the shortcomings and suggestions for research methods highlighted earlier (See Section 1.1.1 The need for innovative research methods in developing contexts). Specifically, visual methods that expose the taken-for-granted in empowering ways, and that give greater voice to research participants are discussed. These methods facilitate contextualised data gathering, bringing communities into the entire research process, offering participants greater control over what is researched. They also allow for a community or group's resources, skills and abilities to be brought to the fore, together with their needs, by means of greater personal representation. Furthermore, these methods facilitate trust and open communication in a reflexive process that allows both researcher and participant to explore the underpinnings of their views, philosophies and the context in which they are situated.

The third aim of the study is empirical in nature and aims to highlight the role and/or possibilities of visual research methods within the South African social sciences research context. This has been addressed by building on the literature review, structuring fieldwork around the theory and typologies highlighted in earlier chapters to conduct a case study. As an illustrative component to this dissertation however, it involves few participants within a single community and occurs within a relatively short time frame (approximately six weeks during a three month period). The case study explores how motherhood is experienced by five teenagers in a sub-economic community outside of Cape Town within the context of an existing service providing project of which research formed a component. It does this by providing participants cameras with which to visually express their understanding and

14

experiences of motherhood. These images then formed the basis of photo-elicitation interviews.

Three reasons motivated the choice of youth in a high-risk context as participants in this study. First, they represent both an age and a cultural group different to that of the researcher, thereby providing an opportunity to explore the effectiveness of such research methods in situations where effective verbal expression and efficient communication may be problematic. Second, there is a definite need for comprehensive research to be conducted on this sector of the population in order to facilitate meaningful and effective intervention strategies and support programmes - of which there are currently very few in South Africa (Levenstien, 1996; Smit & Liebenberg, 2000). Third, there is much literature (see for example Bemack, 1996; Dawes & Donald, 1994; Lucchini; 1996) highlighting the need for innovative means of researching children in high-risk contexts, worldwide.

Processed photographs in this case study have been analysed by means of photo elicitation interviews, directed by the images, with the participants themselves. These discussions were recorded and transcribed. The results of the interviews were then analysed using grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The results emerging from this have been compared with relevant literature. In this way, results are also triangulated, adding to their reliability (Lucchinni, 1996). Consequently, results of this case study provide a comparative component by which to assess the applicability of visual methods in the South African research context. Both the literature review as well as experiences of the case study form the basis of suggestions for further exploration. Specifically, the case study is reviewed (in Chapter Six) in terms of how the use of participant produced images and photo elicitation interviews (see Chapter Three, Section 3.2.3 and Section 3.4.2) impact on issues raised in Section 1.1. These issues include centring the voices of research participants in the field work so as to create a setting that is less oppressive for participants, thereby heightening trust and facilitating communication. Furthermore, it is anticipated that by encouraging participants to engage in a reflexive process that increases self-awareness and understanding, the lived realities of teenage mothers in this community will be brought to the fore.

1.4 Outline of the remainder of the thesis

The following chapter will explore the epistemology and methodology of visual research methods within qualitative research. As such, the chapter sets out the history of visual methods, viewed along theoretical pathways that have developed over the past decade. The focus however will be on developments and events relevant to the focus of this study. In

particular, it will review early developments situated in positivism and naïve realist epistemologies. The use of visual methods within the qualitative paradigm is then explored. The chapter concludes with a discussion of visual methods and issues of power, as well as visual methods and social constructionism.

Chapter Three draws on Chapter Two, setting out a typology of qualitative visual research methods that I believe are well suited to address some of the issues highlighted in the opening discussion of this study. As such, the five methods discussed can achieve greater awareness and insight into research contexts for researchers when used in fieldwork. Implemented correctly, these methods may also empower participants by providing them with greater voice through more accurate personal representation. Both these objectives are achieved largely through a process of reflection that emerges from the use of imagery that stimulates and encourages discussion of otherwise, often over-looked issues in communities. The chapter also discusses the origin of images, producers of images as well as data analysis and presentation.

From the literature review of Chapter Two and Three, the research design and motivation for a case study are developed and discussed in Chapter Four. The chapter explores the need to gain greater understanding of teenage mothers from the perspective of these young women themselves. The background and historical context of the study is presented. The framework for this study is then laid out, connecting the need for inclusion of teenage mothers' voices in theory development and the visual methods used in the case study. The results of this study are presented and discussed in Chapter Five.

Chapter Six draws this exploration of the use of visual methods in South Africa to a close. The chapter reviews previous chapters, with specific attention being placed on the case study and how this reflects on the theoretical suggestions of the literature review. Limitations and shortcoming that emerge from this process are also highlighted.

CHAPTER 2
A HISTORY OF VISUAL METHODS

2.1 Introduction

Having developed out of strong traditions (i.e. sociology and anthropology), image-based research is coloured and rooted in very traditional notions of social research as a science. Developments during the past four decades in particular, show that visual methods are developing in a more individually stylised manner, away from these traditions. As Douglas Harper (1998: 24) points out, 'visual sociology has one foot in old traditions, and the other in the experimental thinking currently found in most of the social sciences and humanities. Visual sociology must trace its roots to this shifting ground, holding on to what is valuable while adopting elements of the new'. Part of this shift, may be because 'images provide researchers with a different order of data and, more importantly, an alternative to the way we have perceived data in the past' (Prosser, 1998a: 1).

This chapter considers the origins of visual methods, together with important debates, as well as the contexts and events in which these debates were situated. The history and development of both the social sciences (i.e. anthropology, ethnography and sociology) and image-producing technologies (i.e. photography and film) has been well documented (see for example De Brigard, 1975; Edwards, 1992; Grimshaw, 2001; Stasz, 1979; Tomaselli, 1996). This discussion is therefore limited to developments and events relevant to this particular study. More specifically, debates and developments are reviewed that relate to research in developing contexts where researchers are 'border-crossers' (Giroux, 1992) and the need exists to conduct research in a manner that is empowering and participatory for the research participant.

The discussion is divided into four parts. The first section, *Early developments: Positivism and naïve realist epistemology*, explores initial developments of visual media and its relation to disciplines such as anthropology and sociology. Set during the second half of the 19th century and the early decades of the 1900s, these developments are embedded in the positivist tradition where researchers were striving to reduce their intervention in the behaviour of those they studied, during the data collection. They believed that in doing so, they could obtain objective data and findings. *The rapprochement of visual methods and qualitative research* moves this discussion into the mid-20th century. As qualitative approaches gained popularity and strength, visual researchers found a fundamental match between their work and the guiding tenants of qualitative research. With the publication of books such as Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of the oppressed* in 1973, researchers began to

focus on issues of power in their work. The third section of this discussion, *Critical theory: Visual methods, power and empowerment* explores how this change in focus manifested itself in visual methods. The final section, *Visual methods, post-modernism and constructionism* considers theoretical shifts of the late 1990s and early years of the 21st century, concluding with a discussion of how improved self-representation serves to empower research participants.

2.2 Early developments

2.2.1 The origins of visual media

In 1839 Daguerre publicised his method for fixing an image on a metal plate marking for many, the birth of photography (Becker, 1986; Turner, 1987). The nature of photography as a small medium meant it was 'uniquely sited at an intersection between art and science, commerce, philosophy and technology' (Turner, 1987: 7). Coinciding with this is the emergence of sociology. In 1821, Saint-Simon published his influential book *Industrial Systems*, in which he argued that a new industrial society should be organised on scientific, positive principles. This was closely followed by the publication of Auguste Comte's *The Positive Philosophy*. This mutual development of photography and sociology initially pointed to unity (De Brigard, 1975; Harper, 1989; Prosser, 1998a). Harper (1989: 82) writes that,

> one would expect cross-fertilization between what was, in fact, a new way of seeing (i.e. photography) and a new lens of interpretation (i.e. sociology). This was however not to be the case. After a brief period of connection, the bonds between visual media and academic research in areas such as sociology and anthropology lay dormant for several decades.

The original connections between photography and sociology can be traced through documentary photography to fine arts and portraiture photography: 'With the rise of realist schools of art in the 19th century, photography became an art form in its own right … Photographers working in these traditions are now considered important documentarians, precursors to the modern documentary and visual sociology movement' (Harper, 1989: 83). Good examples of such artists include Peter Henry Emerson and Eugene Atget.

Atget photographed Paris from every conceivable angle. Much of his work centred around the historic buildings of Paris, focusing on the detail of the architecture. Similarly, a great deal of his images showed the human side of Paris, from the poorest peddler on the streets, to wealthy bourgeois inside their homes. After his death in 1927, surrealist painters found his street scenes helpful documents from which to work (Newhall, 1982). Emerson on the other hand had a far greater impact on the theory of image creation during the early decades of the 20th century. Emphasising the connection between science and art, 'he held that the

artist's task was the imitation of the effects of nature on the eye' (Newhall, 1982: 141). He moved photography away from the posed and often artificial and sentimental nature of studio photography, to greater honesty. Although his theories are 'a curious mixture of truth and fallacy' (Newhall, 1982: 141) his practical advice on image creation continues to carry a great deal of value.

Atget, Rag picker, 1901   Emerson, In the barely harvest, 1890

Later in the 19th century, ethnographic film emerged in America and Europe alongside relevant technical developments, such as the introduction of the cinematograph in December 1895 by brothers Auguste and Louis Lumière, stimulating public interest in the ability to record the world in motion (De Brigard, 1975). This date also coincides with the 'symbolic birth of modern anthropology' (Grimshaw, 2001: 15), when Alfred Cort Haddon organised his field trip to the Torres Straits islands to 'discover mankind' echoing the apparent aspirations of cinema at this time. As both disciplines explored society amongst other projects (Becker, 1986), the use of visual recording devices in social studies encouraged academics to adopt a more active approach to empirical research in the field (Henley, 1998; Prosser, 1998b; Tomaselli, 1996). Babbie and Mouton (2001: 54) explain that 'it was not the accepted practice to go into the field and study phenomena first-hand and in the natural setting' during the nineteenth century. Instead, researchers relied almost exclusively on the second-hand observations of 'missionaries, merchants, explorers, and government officials who worked and travelled in the colonies of Africa and Asia' (Babbie & Mouton, 2001: 54) for their data. The most important study in the shift to more active work within communities themselves is Haddon's 1898 four-minute film of people in the Torres Straits (Tomaselli, 1996; De Brigard, 1975). Grimshaw (2001: 20) believes that '[v]ision was a central question in the Torres Straits expedition. It was the focus of a substantial part of the scientific enquiry into native life, and it formed an important theme underlying the mode of enquiry itself'.

Other examples of the early connection between visual media and anthropology and sociology are seen in both Europe and North America. In Italy for example, Paolo Mantegazza, who held a chair in anthropology at the University of Florence, also became the first president of the Italian Photographic Society in 1870. One year later he founded the Italian Anthropological Society, where he combined anthropology and photography practically and symbolically (Henny, 1986). In 1888 Jules-Étienne Marey invented 'chronophotography' and subsequently demonstrated his new camera using celluloid roll film to the French Académie des Sciences. In the audience was Félix-Louis Regnault, who would later promote the systemic use of motion pictures in anthropology (De Brigard, 1975). Regnault, who was a pathologist by profession, presented his film of Wolof women creating pots at the Paris exposition of that same year emphasising the objective nature of his study and therefore the ability for researchers to use film in scientific inquiry (De Brigard, 1975). By December 1888, the Lumiére brothers publicly demonstrated their invention, the 'cinématographe', in France, after which Regnault actively proposed the use of film in anthropological research and the establishment of anthropological film archives (De Brigard, 1975).

The first significant study incorporating the use of visual material occurred in 1894 however, under the direction of the anthropologist Franz Boas, who today is considered the father of both anthropology and visual anthropology (Ruby, 1984). He made use of photography and motion pictures when studying the dances of the Kwakiutl people of British Columbia, Canada (Tomaselli, 1996). He used film in his greater argument about the primacy of culture over race in the nature-nurture debate, as well as to refute Marxist theories of economics and behaviour (Henny, 1986; Tomaselli, 1996). His goal was to demonstrate how theories that tied cultural differences to race, so as to quell the growing fascist notion of the racial inferiority of non-Aryans (Henny, 1986), were flawed. In British Colombia, 'he intended to use film footage to do stop-motion analysis, in order to determine the degree of synchronization between song and dance in Kwakiutl dance patterns' (Henny, 1986: 15). Unfortunately, it was not possible to synchronise sound and image with the film equipment available in the field around 1930. Boas was apparently unaware of these limitations and was therefore unable to achieve the greater aims of his research (Henny, 1986). In spite of this, authors such as Tomaselli (1996: 2) believe that anthropology changed face and became 'the key to challenging racism, a consequence of the "nature" approach' as a result of Boas' work.

Boas, Winterdances

Boas, Dressed as Innu

Politically, photography played opposing social roles from the beginning, either exposing social problems or supporting existing social control (Harper, 1989). As Chaplin (1994: 83) points out, '[p]hotography and photographs played a crucial part in the development of systems of control, and shows that at certain conjunctures, and as part of a complex historical process, photographs came to exercise real effects of power'. Photographs of the depression in the United States during the 1930s and World War II provide examples of such influence. In both instances, patriotic heroism was often portrayed in state sponsored images, such as those of the Farm Security Administration, whilst activist groups like the Film and Photo League created images with the express aim of highlighting the realities of poverty and war (Harper, 1989).

Evans, 1936, Floyd and Lucille Burrows
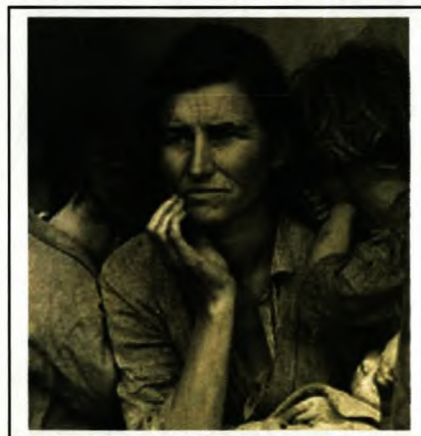
Lange, 1936, Migrant mother

Similarly, ethnographic film, which began as a phenomenon of colonialism, and tended to be concentrated in third world settings, flourished in periods of political change, in some instances possibly even aiding cultural renewal (De Brigard, 1975; Morphy & Banks, 1997). Although more recent historical research points to an early Boas expedition during 1886-1889 (Jacknis, 1984), the first extensive use of informant feedback based on photographic records is often attributed to Robert Flaherty when he was filming *Nanook of the North* during 1921-1922 (Rouch, 1975; Heider, 1976; Rotha & Wright, 1980). Flaherty screened segments of the film to his Inuit participants in the hope that they would better understand his work, thereby accepting his team's presence in their community and work together with them as partners (Rotha & Wright 1980). This remains a very important goal of the feedback process and contributes significantly to the interactive approach of the photographic research method (Collier, 1967; Rouch, 1975). Grimshaw (2001) believes that Flaherty's work was built upon the blurring of the ideal and the real, what he sought to achieve with film and what could be achieved with the available technology, highlighting how transitional this phase of anthropology was. As a result, there was always a discrepancy between what he said he did and what he actually did.

During the early years of *The American Journal of Sociology* (1896 - 1916) photographs were included extensively in a variety of publications (Becker, 1986; Blyton, 1987; Henny, 1986; Stasz, 1979), the first of which was Blackmar's (1897) article on poverty in Kansas, *The Smokey Pilgrims*. During this period photos were used mainly to support calls for social reform (Henny, 1986). These images were used in a variety of ways: manipulation, staged to achieve the point; selective framing for persuasion; documentary; and ethnography. In most cases, the images included in articles did not help supply 'evidence' appropriate to the written content of the articles, but were rather banal and frivolous, usually lacking content and information, often missing the point of their subject matter (Stasz, 1979).

In contrast to images in publications such as the *The American Journal of Sociology*, Charles Bushnell's (1901a, 1901b, and 1902) study of the Chicago stockyards used photographs effectively in his efforts of visual technique and presentation, providing greater understanding of the subject. Stasz (1979: 127) points out that, '[t]hese photographs provide a sense of the work environment in a glance that written descriptions and tables fail to convey. Indeed, I think Bushnell knew this, because by including such pictures he did not have to discuss certain features of the situations'. Henny (1986) believes that this series of photographs had a high documentary value, and strengthened the impact of a larger series of articles on the Chicago housing problems between 1910 and 1915. The extensive series of photographic essays, *Chicago Housing Problems* (Breckenridge & Abbott, 1910, 1911a, 1911b, 1911c;

22

Huges, 1914; Hunt, 1910; Norton, 1913; Walker, 1915; Wilson & Smith, 1914) analysed the problems of various ethnic sectors of the city. Despite distinct photographic styles, their work contained many characteristics that correlated with ethnographic criteria of later visual methods. These qualities include images informed by ethnography and integrated with printed materials; images produced with minimal distortions of behaviour as a result of the camera's presence; basic technical competence, and most important, including enough of the context within the image (Stasz, 1979). Stasz believes that Bushnell's photographic style of moving in close to the subjects and depicting interior shots of families or lodgers in small, ill-furnished window-less rooms, was strongly influenced by the work of Jacob Riis.

Riis a Danish immigrant to the United States, had substantial experience of lower-class life despite being of middle class origins. Amongst other things he worked as a crime reporter and photographer. His matter-of-fact snapshot type images, that documented situations and conditions, reflect his unsentimental approach to poverty. Riis is known to have sneaked up on his subjects, surprising them with his camera flash as he photographed them (Henny, 1986). He portrayed the poor as he had experienced poverty himself, 'to him the poor were nasty and some of them were robbers' (Henny, 1986: 2). Work carried out by Jacob Riis and other photographers of this time such as Lewis Hine, had a profound influence on public opinion during the early 1900s as well as the sociologists of the 1960s. Hine was from the lower middle-class. Unlike Riis, Hine obtained a degree in sociology at the University of Chicago before starting to write and to publish his photographs in the *Child Labor Committee Reform Journal*. When photographing, Hine would interact with his subjects (Henny, 1986). There is therefore much more intimacy in Hine's pictures than those of Riis. The viewer is drawn in by eye contact with his subjects. Hine is also known to have often retouched his pictures and printed portraits with no surroundings.

Hine, 1910, New York City Tenement

Riis, 1888, Home of an Italian Ragpicker

23

The essential function of ethnographic film at this time was to preserve 'forever all human behaviours for the needs of our studies' (Regnault, 1931: 306, in De Brigard, 1975: 15). This statement would colour many of the views researchers and the scientific community at large would hold about film and its abilities. The need for objectivity that dominated Victorian science meant that researchers, motivated by the desire to objectively document what they observed, were extremely concerned about investigator influence on the object of investigation, '"Policing the subjective" was an intellectual, practical and moral problem' (Grimshaw, 2001: 21). This was congruent with the positivist framework in which most other research was occurring at the time (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). Theorists such as Comte and Durkheim asserted that the social sciences could only gain authenticity and respect by being equal to the natural sciences in practice and stature. Comte for example, posited that the approach to social science research should be based on scientific principles, where 'universally valid, causal laws of human behaviour' (Babbie & Mouton, 2001: 22) could be established. Similarly, Durkheim proposed that all social behaviour is influenced by external independent factors and that social phenomena therefore be explained in terms of the scientific laws that underlie them. In this regard, it was believed that machines offered minimal intervention by researchers in the behaviour of those they were studying, and that these machines worked more effectively and efficiently than human observers. Anthropologists believed that the camera guaranteed greater objectivity, and that it provided a type of evidence against which other reports could be judged (Grimshaw, 2001). The belief of these early ethnographers that they were objectively recording evolutionary practices ignored the subjective, constructed nature of the knowledge they were producing. For many years, the subjective and constructed nature of film would not be addressed, leaving many researchers believing in the infallible nature of film technology as a measuring or recording device, feeding into the positivist scientific approach of the time.

2.2.2 The Disappearance of film

Despite the apparent popularity and excitement of incorporating images in research, by the early 1900s their use began dissipating for a variety of reasons, including the dangers of nitrate stock, the expense of filming, the cumbersomeness of the technology, slow film speeds and other technical limitations as well as paper shortages from 1915 onwards. More importantly, photography as a means of visual expression was not well developed - people did not 'see' with the camera as we do today, resulting in numerous 'stock' shots: posed and predictable and un-illuminating (Stasz, 1979). Furthermore, at that time, the camera was primarily seen as a tool used by journalists in muck-racking press, or as a plaything for wealthy families to record their lives. It was considered too mundane for scientific use. Despite the fact that the foundations of visual research were being laid during the 19th

century, researchers failed to clarify theory surrounding the application of visual techniques in data collection (Stasz, 1979). This lack of appreciation for the way in which visual data contributes to social theory coincided with the new emphasis on psychological traits. The lack of ethnographic film theory with which to build a methodology, was further compounded by the increasing importance of the genealogical method. New focus areas in the social sciences were, for the most part, not able to be captured on film, and in this way contributed substantially to the disappearing use of the visual in research (De Brigard, 1975; Harper, 1989; Morphy & Banks, 1997; Tomaselli, 1996). Morphy and Banks (1997: 9) believe that 'the documentary excitement that is evident in the work of Haddon, Spencer and Gillen was absorbed, almost deadened, by the intellectual movement that succeeded them' (see also Pinney, 1992). Consequently, the use of cinematography in social science research was not able to follow this shift (De Brigard, 1975; Harper, 1998; Tomaselli, 1996). After the Depression, the use of images in especially sociology began to disappear and would only truly re-emerge during the 1960s (Curry & Clarke, 1978; Henny, 1986).

The implication of these factors is best seen in the change of policy regarding the publication of photographs in *The American Journal of Sociology*. In 1914 Albion Small became editor of the journal, marking the advent of control by the behaviourists. Small believed that sociology was a hard science matching others such as biology and physics, and that it needed to move away from its image of amateurism. In particular, Small felt that sociologists needed to make an effort to move, 'out of amateurishness, not to say quackery, and advance toward responsible scientific procedure' (Small, 1907, in Stasz, 1979: 132). With the explicit changes his views brought about, papers related to social reform were overlooked in favour of papers relating to statistical studies of population and methodology as well as theoretical discussions of social psychology. After 1915 articles incorporating photography virtually disappeared from the journal to make way for those using statistics to support Small's views (Henny, 1986).

Despite numerous developments during the early 1900s, the academic disciplines of sociology in particular, and to a lesser extent anthropology, never fully embraced visual mediums in research design. Harper (1989: 84) laments that '[a]lthough one would expect that field researchers would find a role for methods that would enlarge and expand the capacity of observation, these technologies were largely ignored' (see also Prosser, 1998b). This was then compounded by a post-war approach to research that relied heavily on methods that further distanced the researcher from the 'subject' such as statistical survey methods. Had they not been ignored however, Harper (1989) believes that photographs could have played a central role in the community studies tradition during the 1930s and 1940s in American sociology, greatly enhancing their quality.

2.2.3 Developments in visual methods peripheral to the social sciences

Although there were isolated achievements in the development of theory and the application of visual methods between World War I and World War II, outside of the academic sphere an audience for social documentary films was being established (De Brigard, 1975). The growth of film and photography continued in more journalistic fields, forging closer links with society (Grimshaw, 2001). De Brigard (1975: 26) points out that, 'whatever the ideological angle of film makers in the 1920's and 1930's their films share a new quality: for the first time since the Lumiéres, ordinary people in their everyday surroundings were seen on the screen'.

Film was also firmly establishing its place in laboratories, teaching, museums, and documentaries. The release of D. W. Griffith's controversial movie *The Birth of a Nation* in 1915, highlighted the developments of film, and in particular documentary, by this stage. Griffith's use of film disrupted the controlled and ordered world that Haddon and the Lumière brothers presented, and confronted his audience with the violence and turbulence of the age in which they lived. Where earlier film had been 'whole, continuous and coherent … ordered in time and space' (Grimshaw, 2001: 26), Griffith now used the montage to produce a movie that was 'characterised by movement, complexity, interconnection, violence and conflict' (Grimshaw, 2001: 26). The montage makes it impossible to present the world as complete and stable, as previous researchers had. The mosaic form of presentation enhances the shifting unstable nature of the pieces that make up the world. This results in a partial view of the world where, 'what you see always depends on where you are, and its meaning is neither self-evident nor fixed but is endlessly generated through the different relationships which may be created between elements' (Grimshaw, 2001: 26). Griffith's work suggested not only the subjective nature of visual representations, but also the fundamental importance in their negotiated and discussed meanings.

Through his own use of film, Griffith shifted the general use of film to a deeper level. Where previously, film had merely 'reflected' society, it could now be used in a manner that questioned, challenged, generated theory and could ultimately, perhaps, contribute to change. This shift impacted on emerging projects in anthropology and cinema, where separately, each developed specialised practices known, on the one hand, as *scientific ethnography* and, on the other, as *documentary film*. As cinema and anthropology diverged, developing as separate traditions, they continued to share a remarkably similar developmental process. Grimshaw (2001) points out that anthropology's professional consolidation occurred during the 1920s, being recognised as a scientific discipline. Similarly, during the 1920s, principles relating to the basis of cinema were being clarified. Ironically,

26

their identities shared much, including their ability to reveal through exploration, present the truth of reality in a fictional manner, be both objective and subjective, reflect on both society and the individual, and be educating and entertaining (Grimshaw, 2001).

In a more commercial vain, documentary was being used to create the so-called 'explorer films' of the 1920s and 1930s, where fictional stories played off in exotic locations amongst indigenous groups (De Brigard, 1975). Robert Flaherty in particular, made use of this genre, his strongest role becoming that of a 'revealer' (De Brigard, 1975: 22). Flaherty's achievements in *Nanook of the North* (1922) contrast with 'professional' anthropology at the time, in his use of what Morphy and Banks (1997: 9) call 'functionalist and cultural relativist premises in his films, emphasising the ingenuity of Inuit technology, the ways in which their lives were adapted to the environment and the uniqueness and relative autonomy of their cultural system'.

Film was also being used as 'social documentary' during this time - a mass education medium primed to the needs of government policy and opposition politics in various countries, especially the Soviet Union and Germany (De Brigard, 1975). Here, the aesthetic development of the documentary profoundly shaped ethnographic film when it came into its own in after World War II (de Brigard, 1975).

Documentary films now contained so much potential, commercial film producers entered into association with museums and universities forming for example the 'Harvard-Pathé project' (1928) and the 'Nordisk Films Kompagni'.

Perhaps the most important development during the early part of the 20th century was the discussion opened by the philosopher-art historian Walter Benjamin (1936) on the impact of the development of photographic technology on ideology. He believed that as the reproducibility of images increased, so did the ability of an elite group to control images, thereby allowing them to 'create' reality, or use images to determine what people believe to be reality. Benjamin's ideas were countered by Siegfried Kracauer's thesis that media reflects what people want to see and thus reflects the conscious and unconscious ideas of various groups at various times. In other words, images become social indicators of a 'Zeitgeist', where 'the history of the content of films becomes the history of a (sub)population's mentality' (Henny, 1986: 19). Henny (1986: 19) poses valuable questions in this regard: 'Photos and cartoons are used in history books, and films and television programmes are shown in history classes at all levels. To what extent do these visual media provide an accurate image of historical events in the minds of students? How do visual media enhance or breakdown

stereotypes, propaganda or the ideologization of history education?' This argument is continued in some ways by Irving Goffman and John Tagg during the 1970s and 1980s, and in current debates about participant construction and/or selection of images that speak to their personal realities (see especially Chaplin, 1994).

2.2.4 The re-emergence of visual anthropology

Around the time of the Second World War, visual anthropology began developing into a sub-discipline in America (Morphy & Banks, 1997). Central to this development were Margaret Mead (credited with giving visual anthropology much of the status it had by the 1980s) and Gregory Bateson. Through their approach to fieldwork and their use of images, which illustrated the potential of visual methods, they were largely responsible for the renewed interest in photography and film as research methods (Harper, 1998; Pink, 2001; Prosser, 1998b). In 1936, Bateson and Mead conducted extensive studies in Bali and New Guinea where pictures taken by Bateson were cross-referenced with Mead's field notes. The vast scale of their work, resulting in 22 000 feet of film and 25 000 stills, necessitated the development of a new means of field recording. Drawing on her previous experiences, Mead devised a system of 'running field notes', a chronological narrative of her observations that correlated with Bateson's images (Jacknis, 1989). Through this, they made a fundamental contribution to increasing the respectability of photography as a research tool.

Their work was among the first to use photography as a primary recording device in anthropological research as opposed to mere illustration (Jacknis, 1989). Their use of images was strongly influenced by the observational science model of anthropology developed by Haddon and Boas (Morphy & Banks, 1997). Much of this is probably due to the fact that Bateson had studied under Haddon and Mead was Boas' protégé. In their work,

> Bateson and Mead didn't look at this photograph and state a theory, citing the photograph as evidence. For them, photographs don't prove hypotheses, they provoke further tests of it. The distinction is important. They used the image as data rather than as self-evident proof. The details of the photographs suggest a general theory or principle. If the principle is in fact general, I will find other versions of it when I return to the field. If I don't, further details will suggest a reformulation (Hagaman, 1995: 94).

As they themselves said, '[w]e treated the cameras in the field as recording instruments, not as devices for illustrating our thesis' (Bateson & Mead, 1942: 49). In fact, part of Mead's funding for the fieldwork lay in the fact that she promoted the use of film in response to an interest in new ethnographic techniques. Jacknis (1989: 161) explains how, '[i]n her grant proposal to the Social Sciences Research Council (SSRC), justifying the use of photography on a massive scale, Mead cited the camera's imperviousness to progressive theoretical sophistication over the course of the fieldwork'.

Bateson and Mead offered a new model for integrating images and text where images were not used to supplement text, but rather as information in their own right. They did this by arguing that it was only through the use of images that certain aspects of Balinese culture could be understood cross-culturally (Harper, 1998; Morphy & Banks, 1997; Prosser, 1998b). Mead emphasised the appreciation of patterns in behaviour by means of the study and analysis of photographs. As she later wrote, '[t]he shift in scale was directed at recording the types of non-verbal behaviour for which there existed neither vocabulary nor conceptualised methods of observation, in which the observation had to precede the codification' (Mead, 1963: 174). Bateson and Mead explained how they

> tried to use the still and moving picture cameras to get a record of Balinese behaviour, and this is a very different matter from the preparation of a 'documentary' film or photographs. We tried to shoot what happened normally and spontaneously, rather than to decide upon the norms and then get the Balinese to go through these behaviours in suitable lighting (1942: 49).

In this sense, photographs were regarded as a part of culturally informed observation (Harper, 1994), combined with a number of measures to lessen the intrusion of the camera in natural behaviour, making the camera's presence a matter of routine (Jacknis, 1989). Findings were then further substantiated by using some of these photographs as illustrations as one would interview text: 'All films were edited to portray a definite theoretical interpretation of the material, perhaps the first films in anthropology to do so' (Jacknis, 1989: 170).

Mead, Chief's daughter   Mead, Nyelehai and son

The manner in which Bateson and Mead used photographs and film required the same understanding of context and viewpoint that verbal accounts would require (Hagaman, 1995). Bateson and Mead did not take the meaning of images to be self-evident but rather understood that they were subject to interpretation: 'they considered the connections, explanations and interpretations the photographs suggested as hypotheses to be explored

further, as they directed the photographing more specifically to the new ideas and connections suggested by earlier images' (Hagaman, 1995: 93). By contextualising their subjective statements through associating them in their recordings, they also built in a strong element of reflexivity into their method.

Jacknis (1989: 172) points out that what is noteworthy about Bateson and Mead's work, 'is not that it is biased, but that the biases are so well recorded'. Their work allowed researchers that followed them to understand that 'anthropologists' images were also statements about and not copies of the world' (Jacknis, 1989: 172). Sol Worth for example, would later write that, 'Film is not a copy of the world out there but someone's statement about the world' (1980: 20). Worth's point was that 'it is naïve to assume that "ethnographic truth" could come about a critical analysis, or, in other words, a disciplined subjectivity' (Jacknis, 1989: 173). Together with researchers such as Jean Rouch, Bateson and Mead were at the forefront of reflexive anthropology. These researchers emphasised the effect of the filmmaker, editor and observer on the interpretation of images. They also emphasise the potential of film to go beyond the constraints of a written text via participant involvement and by keeping indigenous voices central to the research process (Morphy & Banks, 1997). Building on Robert Flaherty's work for example, members of Balinese communities had the opportunity to comment on the moving images Bateson had created as well as the contexts of these films. In 1936, Bateson even filmed a group of research participants watching a film of themselves. In this way, native perspectives could be applied directly to the visual record.

Not only did Bateson and Mead's actions anticipate the reflexive methodologies of the late 20th century, but also the research method that would later become known as film- or photo-elicitation (Jacknis, 1989). Both Bateson and Mead advocated what their daughter has called 'disciplined subjectivity' (Bateson, 1984: 163) where the role of the observer is not ignored, but explicitly considered part of the investigation:

> There is no such thing as an unbiased report upon any social situation … It is comparable to a color-blind man reporting on a sunset. All of our recent endeavors in the social sciences have been to remove bias, to make the recording so impersonal and thereby meaningless that neither emotion nor science significance remained. Actually in matters of ethos, the surest and most perfect instrument of understanding is our own emotional response, provided that we can make a disciplined use of it (Mead, 1968: 15-16).

In their fieldwork, Bateson and Mead were also relying on visual methods to bridge the communication divide that existed between themselves and the Balinese:

> As no precise scientific vocabulary was available, the ordinary English words were used, with all their weight of culturally limited connotations, in an attempt to describe the way in which the emotional life of these various South Sea peoples was organized in culturally standardized forms. This method had many serious limitations: it transgressed

> the canons of precise and operational scientific exposition proper to science; it was far too dependent upon idiosyncratic factors of style and literary skill; it was difficult to duplicate; and it was difficult to evaluate…Most serious of all, we know this about the relationship between culture and verbal concepts – that the words which one culture has invested with meaning are by the very accuracy of their cultural fit, singularly inappropriate as vehicles of precise comment upon another culture (Bateson and Mead, 1942: xi).

As a result, they incorporated the use of photographs and motion-picture film in their fieldwork to expand their descriptive vocabulary, not as a replacement for other tools, but as an additional tool. They saw different media as different ways of getting at the same thing, enabling different kinds of describing, expressing, and knowing (Hagaman, 1995).

Their use of images may well have been grounded in their opposition to an overly positivistic conception of anthropological science. Like Boas, Mead's motivation stemmed from her desire to record unique cultural material, subject to inevitable change. Cameras and other recording devices became valuable in this endeavour because they could 'provide us with material that can be repeatedly analysed with finer tools and developing theories' (Mead, 1975: 10). Hagaman explains how

> [a] more precise description requires a form that conveys an interconnected sense of the wholeness of experience, preserves a kind of simultaneity, presents simultaneously events that had occurred simultaneously, not isolating elements but making the view more systemic. It requires a form that records fine detail, the images being detailed and complex enough that many connections and greater understanding can be extracted from them than written notes can itemize (1995).

On returning to the United States, Bateson and Mead asked other researchers from various disciplines to view and comment on their material, 'When we showed that Balinese stuff that first summer there were different things that people identified – the limpness that Marian Stranahan identified, the place on the chest and its point in child development that Erik Erikson identified' (Bateson & Mead, 1976: 40). The exercise not only emphasised the subjective nature of data analysis, but also the value of such (inter-disciplinary) collaboration. Hagaman (1995) has commented on how today, the internet has facilitated this type of collaboration to the extent that data can be distributed directly from the field. Hagaman (1995) further believes that in 1936, Bateson and Mead conducted their research as if today's computer imaging technology was available to them, which it was not. Technology which makes it possible to digitise photographs and film and present them together, along with sound and extensive text, in the same piece of work would have solved many of the problems Bateson and Mead encountered in the field. Digital and computer technology would have allowed Bateson to view the various media in which his data was gathered as a whole (native visual documents – in the form of paintings and carvings – were also viewed as

essential parts of the ethnographic record). Furthermore, by storing data electronically, specific pieces could be rapidly located, thereby contributing to a more efficient sifting of material, and facilitating the analytical process of comparing and combining images.

Although Morphy and Banks (1997: 13) believe that Bateson and Mead 'failed to achieve the move from visual anthropology as a mode of representation by the anthropologist to visual anthropology as a study of people's own visual worlds, including the role of representations within cultural processes', their work clearly demonstrates their insights into the potential of visual methods. Bateson and Mead's methodology and research clearly illustrates the function of film and photography in research (Henny, 1986), contributing to the establishment of photography as a respected tool in anthropological research (De Brigard, 1975). *Balinese Character* (Bateson & Mead, 1942) demonstrates the usefulness of visual methods in cross-cultural research when studying non-verbal behaviour, as well as a communication tool in overcoming language barriers. Additionally, Bateson and Mead emphasised the importance of contextualisation in cross-cultural studies. They acknowledged researcher subjectivities and the consequent need for reflexivity. They showed how 'photographic material, judiciously accompanied by a commentating text, can deepen ethnographic understanding' (Ball and Smith, 1992: 14). Had they completed their analysis of the data generated in their Balinese studies, it is believed that they may have convincingly demonstrated the theoretical power of the method they were advocating (Morphy & Banks, 1997). Their work with the Balinese ultimately provided the foundation of what was to become known as 'visual anthropology' (a term which rose after WWII, Tomaselli, 1996; Worth 1980): 'the analysis of patterns of culture through representation' (Tomaselli, 1996: 4). In addition to the Balinese study, Mead also contributed to a number of anthropological films, and collaborated on several television documentaries having an important influence on the next generation of visual anthropologists and sociologists (Henny, 1986).

It was also during this time that the 16mm portable camera was developed facilitating the use of film in the field. In 1947 Jean Rouch sailed down the Niger with two friends and a 16mm Bell and Howell camera. The tripod soon fell overboard directing Rouch towards an original shooting style, later becoming the first full-time ethnographic film professional (De Brigard, 1975). By the 1950's ethnographic film had become an institutionalised scientific field with recognised specialists and a body of criticism. In 1952 the International Committee on Ethnographic and Sociological Film was formed to further preservation, production and distribution of ethnographic films. Similarly, the *Institut für den Wissenschaftlichen Film* was established in Germany in 1959, emphasising scientific purity, publishing *Rules for film documentation in ethnography and folklore*. The society's Konrad Lorenz organised the

Encyclopedia Cinematographica, the first systematic anthropological film archive. In 1966, they established an American archive at Pennsylvania State University, and in 1970 a Japanese archive was established at Tokyo (De Brigard, 1975).

2.3 The rapprochement of visual methods and qualitative research

2.3.1 The re-birth of visual methods

During the 1960s and 1970s developments occurred that in a sense mark the inception of image-based research as we know it today. In fact, several authors regard the true birth date of visual sociology to be the 1960s (see for example Harper, 1994; Prosser, 1998a; 1998b). Many advances in the field of visual methods were largely due to the revolution in communications technology that followed World War II, which facilitated the development of ethnographic film from fragmentary to systematic and thorough. The revolution in technology also resulted in the disappearance of much of ethnographic film's traditional subject matter. The tendency to capture 'the conspicuous, the traditional and the bizarre' (De Brigard, 1975: 14) began to give way to a more thoughtful tendency to try to record items of unspectacular yet significant behaviour, where researchers looked increasingly at their own societies.

It was during these two decades that the use of images as research methods and as sources of data in their own right was recognised. Associations made up of social scientists were formed and annual meetings were being organised (Curry, 1983). Since 1974, Visual Sociology sessions have been held on an almost yearly basis at the American Sociological Association conventions and at the World Congress of Sociology (Henny, 1986). The 21st anniversary of the International Committee on Ethnographic and Sociological Film in 1973 was marked by the recognition that visual methods were undergoing serious reinterpretation and unprecedented growth (de Brigard, 1975). Most importantly, more authentic approaches to visual research methods were embarked upon and theoretical debates emerged producing the theoretical foundations for visual methods, as we understand them today.

During this time, new uses of film and refinements of old ones were constantly occurring. Semiotic analysis and evocative techniques were added to the uses of film by anthropologists. Grimshaw (2001: 1) believes that the reappearance of visual methods 'was part of the profession's post-war academic expansion, which resulted in the consolidation of the discipline, at the same time as it was fragmented into numerous different areas of specialist interest. The publication of *Principles of visual anthropology* (Hockings, 1975) was an important moment in the consolidation of visual anthropology as a distinctive field with its own concerns and techniques'. The developments of the 1970s in particular were so prolific,

that John Collier Jr. (1975: 211) believed 'methodologically the camera has made visual analysis a reality for the behavioural sciences', and Stasz (1979: 131) claimed that 'the vitality of these present efforts and the contributions of the earlier era suggest that the intervening years suffered the loss of a valuable research tool. It is as if sociologists had suddenly stopped using card sorters, hand calculators, computers, or any of a number of technical aids for half a century, only to take them up again'.

The changes that occurred in the fields of anthropology and sociology during the 1960s resonate with the protests and initiatives to instigate broader social change occurring in society at large during this time. Accordingly, many people drawn to these two disciplines rejected the then dominant positivist paradigm in the social sciences (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). During the 1950s and 1960s quantitative research and the positivist tradition dominated social research, advocating objective, grand-generalising theories. Many researchers now turned to the phenomenological/interpretivist tradition, attempting to legitimise and justify the qualitative paradigm. Unlike the aim of the positivists to explain society as a whole, the primary aim of groups such as the phenomenologists/interpretivists and ethnomethodologists, was to understand the unique realities of individuals and individual groups as they live and experience those realities.

2.3.2 Theoretical developments

Various developments during the 1960s meant that many sociologists, in particular those who rejected the dominant research paradigms, where drawn to visual methods. Many innovations in ethnographic film during this time however came from those who were marginal to the academic mainstream or who came from completely outside of it. Most photographers documenting the 1960s were not sociologists. In fact relatively few ever completed degrees or went on to create a visual sociology (Harper, 1989). Work done by these documentarians though, demonstrated to emerging visual sociologists that deep involvement with one's subjects often resulted in the kind of insider knowledge of the situation that was being advocated by emerging qualitative researchers. Furthermore, many sociologists already in the field believed that most of the issues being considered by documentary photographers ought to be on the sociological agenda (Harper, 1994; Henny, 1986). Aspiring visual sociologists drew inspiration from the liberal humanist tradition of documentary or 'social' photographers - dating back to Riis' work in the late 1800s, as well as the work of the Farm Security administration of the 1930s and Robert Frank's work in the late 1950s of 'an alienated, materialistic American culture' (Harper, 1994: 405; see also Henny, 1986). Documentary photographers of this time were mostly concerned with exposing social problems in order to educate the public and in doing so bring about change in society. They

34

were not really concerned with issues of representation, ideology or the effect of relationships with subjects on images. This approach to documentary work however, was what appealed to many who were drawn to sociology during this period. Many of these images can be attributed to photographers like L. Hansberry, B. Davidson and J. Kerry, whose images reflected the southern civil rights movement, black ghetto life, and the anti-war movement in the USA.

Developments in visual research methods also occurred simultaneously to developments in the broader fields of anthropology, sociology and photography where the process of observation and analysis was being re-examined. Salamone (1979) for example, argued that the contexts of fieldwork be examined in order to control for bias; Myerhoff and Ruby (1982) offered a reflexive approach that would include the producer, process and product of anthropological research. Authors such as Michael Mulkay (1979) emphasised the socially constructed nature of human sciences research. The work of these theorists suggests a consideration of the interaction that occurs between the researcher's intentions, and their actual research 'output'. Simultaneously, in photography, Sekula (1975: 38) showed that photographic meaning is intrinsically dependent on the 'discourse situation' of image production and representation, while Snyder and Allen (1976) demonstrated that the representational value of a photograph depends on the photographer, his intentions and his working methods. These authors also suggest a consideration of the photographer's affect on the final image.

The views of these innovators seldom aligned with the then dominant theoretical paradigms, with many rejecting the positivist perception of film as a means of objective documentation. Authors such as Stasz (1979) and Henley (1998) feel that visual methods are best able to produce detailed data and knowledge of a specific context, thereby clashing with a positivist focus on principles of abstraction and generalisation. Accordingly, during the 1970s, Stasz (1979) believed that visual sociologists were confronted with the task of establishing a method for using and understanding images that were not simple adaptations of positivist, statistical techniques.

Researchers argued for the recognition of diverse data sources, correlating with more responsible approaches to data analysis. Cheatwood and Stasz (1979: 265) for instance, believed that critique of visual images and their use in research due to similarities with artistic forms,

> presumes that one format and one procedure used in a standardized manner are the
> means by which to secure 'objective' data. To do anything else is to appear subjective,
> and therefore incorrect. This simplistic belief produces stilted, hackneyed shots with an

implicit but unstated ideological stance. There is a definite use for each form of photographic technique and manipulation. The misuse of a technique or the manipulation of data or procedure to produce biased results for unstated reasons is as immoral and unprofessional in visual sociology as in any other field.

Similarly, Sorenson (1975: 466) argued in favour of visual methods being seen as scientific, saying that,

> a peculiar myth that has developed in recent years is that anthropological films cannot be scientific because their content is always governed by selective interests. This absurd notion ignores the degree to which selectivity and special interest underlie *all* scientific inquiry. In scientific filming, as in science generally, avoidance of selectivity is not necessarily relevant. But method is crucial. In order for visual records of changing man to be a valid scientific resource, they need to be shaped by the scientific methodological considerations that govern the investigation of nonrecurring phenomena. Interpretability and verifiability must be stressed. Credibility is a key factor.

Researchers like Jean Rouch (1975), Colin Young (1975) and David MacDougall (1975, 1978) also rejected notions of film as an objective recording device, highlighting the value of interpretivism when working with the visual. The fact that photographs are not 'brute' facts, but unavoidably require interpretive work on the part of the viewer was being recognised. The influence of the researcher's own cultural knowledge on the interpretation or analysis process, introducing 'ethnographic judgements' (Ruby, 1976: 7) was introduced not as a limitation of visual methods, but as a potential strength and as a reality to be addressed.

Recognition of the constructed nature of images, together with researcher subjectivities in data analysis, underscored the value of reflexivity throughout the research process on the part of the researcher, as well as the rationale of various visual methods, especially when photographs have been produced by participants in the research project. Henley (1998: 49-50) argued that

> far from being used simply as a passive means of recording visual data, the camera should be an *active, catalyzing element* within the triangle of relationships between filmmaker, protagonists and audience, and should be used as such *to generate meaningful events and interpretations* ... rather than attempt to limit the subjectivity involved, *they see this as one of the strengths of the filmmaking process* (author's italics).

As the influence of interpretative approaches increased so did the move towards narrative conventions (Harper, 1998). Interpretative approaches in ethnographic filmmaking now meant that films were structured around the story line that emerged from within the action itself and then edited according to narrative conventions. This approach correlated with the phenomenologist tradition which emphasises the interpretive process all individuals engage in as they make sense of their environments (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). The value of images in research was increasingly being recognised for its ability to offer 'a medium of communication between the researcher and the native participant, and between their

36

respective communities' (Caldarola, 1985: 41) allowing researchers access to the interpretive process of the participant. David MacDougall (1978: 422) in particular, argued that 'the meaning of a visual image lies in the middle of a triangle formed by the subject (the photographer in this case), the object (the person or scene represented by the photograph) and the viewer'. Via theories such as those of MacDougall, the communicative aspect of visual research was drawn to the fore, where the researcher was acknowledged as a social interactant who engages mutually with participants in photographic communication. Accordingly, studies involving image-based methods were increasingly being designed to include individuals from both sides of the camera in the research process, thereby establishing communication and substantially enhancing the photographic record. MacDougall (1975: 119) suggests that such mutual participation in filmmaking represents the basis for a new 'participatory cinema'. Rouch's (1975: 100) concept of 'shared anthropology', and Margaret Mead's (1975) emphasis on the value and importance of participant involvement in the entire process, are especially indicative of how these researchers were moving against a method in which the camera served all too often as an instrument of acquisition and division (Grimshaw, 2001). These theories coincide with warnings such as those made by Sandall (1972: 196) that 'the mutual claims of the identities on either side of the camera must be brought more nearly into balance if either is in the long run to survive'.

The incorporation of interpretive theory with visual methods tied in with the realisation that close involvement with subjects, allowed documentarians greater understanding of those they studied. Within this tradition, people are seen as 'conscious, self-directing, symbolic human beings' (Babbie & Mouton, 2001: 28). Drawing on the work of Alfred Schutz, many qualitative researchers emphasised the necessity of understanding the personal perspectives of research participants and how these impact on the way in which these individuals direct their lives. Such work suggested the need for greater participation on the part of the research participant. These researchers also advocated a social inquiry that studied the relationship between social scientific concepts and everyday constructs, where research participants would identify with the theories put forward by researchers. Babbie and Mouton (2001: 30) write that for authors such as Garfinkel and Schutz, 'the real objective of social inquiry is [to understand] every-day life and common-sense knowledge, and the unstated "rules" and assumptions which people draw on to make their own actions understandable to themselves and to other people'.

Photographs act as a catalyst, highlighting the discrepancies between the researcher and the participant's understanding of the research context as well as the research question: 'Seeing that the taken-for-granted, or "commonplace" is, in fact, not commonplace or taken-for-

granted the participant can *become the teacher about a reality which is abstracted and presented in the images*' (1986: 25; author's italics). By the 21st century, Harper would have revised his view on elicitation to the point where he felt that 'the power of the photo lies in its ability to unlock the subjectivity of those who see the image differently from the researcher' (2003: 195). This idea would also be echoed in Sarah Pink's (2001: 69) work, where she says that 'photographic interviews can allow ethnographers and informants to discuss images in ways that may create a "bridge" between their different experiences of reality'.

Of importance in ideas espoused by Harper and Pink, is not so much that the research participant realise how different her world is from the researcher, but that *we* as researchers become acutely aware of how our world differs from that of participants. Furthermore, we need to understand that we cannot expect of participants in our studies to divulge aspects of their lives that are taken-for-granted in their world. Very often it may simply not occur to participants to mention these facts in the research process. It is also incumbent upon the research community to realise that in many instances, it is in fact these taken-for-granted details of every day life that are central, if not fundamental, to understanding specific contexts, especially when we work to inform policy or create interventions in communities. Collier's early work, and Harper's later understanding of this work, creates a basis from which to work: visual aids in the research process provide the opportunity for worlds to be seen with fresh eyes, and in the process we may enter into discussions that include the taken-for-granted and inaccessible aspects of those we desire to better understand. As Harper (1986: 29) said in his study of Willie, an auto-mechanic, '[t]he great differences in our perceptions have come to the surface in the interviews, but our discussions have narrowed the gap between our mental worlds'. Such propositions differed greatly from the alienating positivist methods, accused of distancing the researcher and the researched, as well as society and research results.

By the 1970s a substantial call to develop a stronger theoretical basis for visual methods was being made. Authors such as Margaret Mead and Alan Lomax believed that anthropologists were failing in their responsibilities as a result of ignoring and refusing to make use of the recording technology available to them. Mead (1975) in particular believed that much of this was due to anthropology's basis as a science being integrally connected to words, where 'ethnographic inquiries came to depend upon words … during the period that anthropology was maturing as a science … relying on words … anthropology became a science of words' (1975: 5). She went on to call for increased training of ethnographers in the use of visual methods. Lomax (1973) believed that the visual in anthropology could contribute drastically to the development of the discipline. He claimed that visual methods would benefit the entire

human race, by allowing it to know itself in objective terms, bringing about cultural equity and egalitarian ideals.

2.3.3 Important publications: Becker, Collier and photo-elicitation

Renewed interest in visual methods was reflected in the emergence of various publications. During the 1960s and 1970s, the number of books and brochures being written on the subject of visual methods was steadily increasing (Henny, 1978; Wagner, 1979) and more journals were appearing. Journals included *Video Sociology* (published between 1972-4), the journal *Trans-Action* (later named *Society*) and *Studies in the Anthropology of Visual Communication* which began publishing in 1974 under the editorship of Sol Worth and today is replaced by *Visual Anthropology*. These works contained key methodological models that were devised and the major personalities who played a role in enhancing the status of image-based research (Prosser, 1998b).

Perhaps the most significant work of this period was Howard Becker's influential essay *Photography and Sociology* (1974). Becker's article contributed to institutional advances such as the establishment of the *International Visual Sociology Association* (IVSA) in 1982, the inclusion of visual sociology sessions at *American Sociological Association* meetings, and the publication of a number of visually orientated books and journals in social science literature (such as Wagner, 1979; The *Journal of Visual Anthropology*; *Visual Anthropology Review*; *Visual Sociology*). Prosser (1998b: 101) believes that 'Becker's legacy is not so much that he inspired others but that he produced a "legacy" of ideas that underpin present visual sociology and which can be drawn upon by future visual sociologists'. Harper (1994) argues that in this article, Becker highlighted that both photography and sociology are concerned with the *exploration of society*, and sociologists should therefore, explore images created by various photographers. Most importantly, Becker identified the central role of theory in visual sociology, arguing that it is only when allowing our studies to be guided by theory that our photographs will become 'intellectually denser' (Becker, 1974: 11). The use of theory was important to Becker because he saw images as being constructed and therefore reflecting the photographer's point of view, biases and knowledge. Specifically, Becker suggested that the photographer must become conscious of the theory that guides his or her own photography. That theory may be 'lay theory' or it may be 'deep, differentiated and sophisticated knowledge of the people and activities they envisage. … for photographic projects concerned with exploring society it means learning to understand society better' (Becker, 1974: 11).

Howard Becker, a symbolic interactionist, also argued along with others such as George Herbert Mead and Herbert Blumer that 'social scientists should become involved in the social worlds of the people they study. The researcher is encouraged to get as close as possible to the subjects that are being studied in order to understand the meanings they attach to their actions and interactions with other people' (Babbie & Mouton, 2001: 32). Similarly, researchers such as Weider (1974 in Ball & Smith, 1992) emphasised the bounded nature of theoretical, methodological and substantive issues, there-by highlighting the value of reflexivity, believing that findings cannot be understood apart from researchers' methods for making sense and producing social activities. Furthermore, in order to effectively incorporate photography into the research process, we 'must begin with the understanding of just how much unsociological photography we are accustomed to seeing' (Harper, 1998: 29).

Other issues raised in Becker's article include the important role of theory in photographic representation, as well as issues of validity, reliability and sampling. By the 1990s Douglas Harper would reflect on Becker's ideas, adding that sociological photography should be guided by sociological concepts that develop inductively as one's theories are revised (Harper, 1994; 1998).

Reflecting much of what Becker advocated is perhaps John Collier Jr's *Visual Anthropology: Photography as a research method*. Although published almost a decade earlier, he too argued for a more inductive approach to photographic ethnography. Harper (2002) believes that this work has subsequently become the standard introduction to visual sociology despite what is considered by some as Collier's continued use of 'photography in the service of traditional ethnography' (Harper, 1994: 405).

Collier introduced the use of inventorying and brought a more archaeological slant to the discussion of visual methods, often referring to the use of images in archaeological research. Collier (1975: 215) believed that,

> photographs showing spatial relationships and the visual character of homes offer sociometric understandings, qualifications of affluence and poverty, older areas and new development, and often social subdivisions within a community. ... Community photographic studies can leave the physical surroundings and streets and survey the interior culture of stores, churches, schools and homes. When we leave the public domain and study the *interior* of culture, visual research becomes far more complex.

He illustrated his point in the *Stirling Project*, under the leadership of Alexander Leighton in Nova Scotia, Canada. Here Collier photographed the front of every house in a community being studied for the epidemiology of mental disorder. He believed that, 'when we know the mental health variables of each family in the community, we should be able to see correlative

evidence in the character of each house' (1975: 215). Despite cultural variation in public and private domain, Collier stated that 'there are in every culture certain locales and activities that the natives consider representative of their public image, areas and structures which they expect the stranger to recognise and enter and take pictures of ... Sometimes when you fail to attend to these prestige structures, this omission can damage your rapport' (1975: 215/216). Although Collier was evidently still working from the position of 'researcher as' expert, where the researcher maintains control over the research situation, his words inadvertently highlight the need for the researcher to place control regarding representation in the hands of the participant and to learn from the participant. This is evident when he argues that 'the most delicate recording is in the centre of the family home' (1975: 216). It stands to reason that such delicacy requires a more submissive role on the part of the researcher and a more active role on the part of the participant. Visual methodologists working within the critical paradigm would pick up on the ability of visual methods to enhance representation via participatory research. These researchers incorporated this aspect of working with images into their own work (see Section 2.4 Critical theory: Visual methods, power and empowerment).

It was earlier, in 1957, that John Collier Jr first introduced *photo-elicitation*, the process by which photographs can be integrated into the interview process, in the journal *American Anthropologist*. Here the participant and the interviewer discuss photographs relevant to the setting, 'giving the interview a concrete point of reference' (Harper, 1986: 24). This allows the researcher to gain a phenomenological sense as the informant discusses various aspects of the photograph, and as the interview moves from the concrete (i.e. a cataloguing of objects in the photograph) to the socially abstract (i.e. what the objects in the photograph mean to the informant). Collier (1975: 221) built on existing theory, interpreting new theories from those mentioned previously, believing that

> the value of the camera record is its literacy which allows diverse people to extract a significant level of information from photograph or film. As researchers we may read our own visual data by ourselves or be assisted by a variety of interpreters. Clearly photography's aid to human understanding is its ability to evoke reality. Photography offers a reflex reportage of real circumstance, and its recognizable life messages make it a bridge of communication to the students watching film in the classroom, to the native informant, and between the informant and the researcher.

Researchers using the technique in the Atlantic Canada study believed that the images 'sharpened the informants' memory and reduced the areas of misunderstanding' (Harper, 2002: 14). Collier (1957: 858) further noted that 'the pictures elicited longer and more comprehensive interviews but at the same time helped subjects overcome fatigue and repetition of conventional interviews'. Collier (1967) expected that, by being confronted with

images of his/her world, the participant would come to an understanding that probably did not exist before the interview. Harper (1986: 25) explains that 'the world presented in the photographs is a taken-for-granted world presented from a vantage point which itself is new' thereby offering the opportunity for critical reflection.

By the mid-1970s, Collier was actively advocating use of the photographic interview within the research process, believing it to be a 'can-opener into complex community involvement' (1975: 221). He believed that by incorporating photographs into the interview, the fieldworker could be placed 'in the heart of the community in one evening's interviewing. The camera is able to record, at once, on the very first day of community study, specific evidence that can give the native points of reference to speed the understanding of the fieldworker' (1975: 221). This idea is echoed by Krebs (1975) in her discussion of the film-elicitation technique. She describes this technique as showing an informant a 'carefully shot and edited film of some event or happening within his (sic) culture, and then through skilful questioning to discover how he himself (sic) structures that "slice of reality": the objects, people, ritual, or social relationships presented on the screen' (Krebs, 1975: 283). Both authors argued that film provides a focus for research participants that is frequently lacking in standard interviews. They believed that if implemented skilfully, the volume of information that can be obtained by means of photo-interviewing is immense, and includes precise information about people; identification of places, political, ethnic and tribal boundaries; as well as ecological elements, (for example, explanation of processes and technology, explanation of ceremony); and historical happenings associated with places or people, such as contrasting the present and past (Collier, 1975; Krebs, 1975).

The quality of information gleaned from the photo-elicitation interview, is heightened by the research participant's emotional involvement with the content of the photographs, perhaps indicative of the values and norms of the broader community. In this way, photographs become a type of projective probe that elicits deeper content and meaning pertinent to the participant, similar to methods used in psychological testing, such as Rorschach inkblots. Collier (1975: 225) distinguishes between still images and film in this process, arguing that 'the still record holds psychological data, but film itself is a psychological experience. Stills can tell you precisely what is happening, but film can qualify the happening and present the nuances of human relations'. Collier (1975: 222) believed that although the realism of photographs may limit their value as projective probes,

> when the informant deals with concrete photographic circumstance, we find that he not
> only gives back distinct information, such as names of people and function and
> process; he also can respond psychologically with deep emotions, though not about his
> submerged feelings of self but precisely about what is *out there* in the concrete

42

circumstances of his life. The rich recovery in photographic interviewing is the tangible data of environmental reality as psychologically and emotionally qualified by the informants' projective responses (original italics).

Collier's work drew on the reflexive developments of Bateson and Mead as well as Jean Rouch. His work began demonstrating the disparities between the world of the researcher and that of the researched. Furthermore, the opportunity for misunderstanding or omitted information became evident in the experiences gained from the *Stirling Project*. Ultimately Collier's work with photo-elicitation pointed not only to the value of images as communication tools in research, but also to the importance of greater involvement by the research participant in the data gathering process.

2.3.4 Including the subjective voice: *Through Navajo Eyes*

In 1972, Sol Worth and John Adair published *Through Navajo Eyes*, a study that relied heavily on the involvement of research participants. The aim of their study was to test Benjamin Whorf's (1939) theory of linguistic relativity by means of visual data. In order to do so, they taught Navajo people to use cameras and record their lives. As they wrote in an initial report published in *American Anthropologist*,

> One of our working hypotheses was that motion picture film conceived, photographed and manipulated by a people such as the Navajo would reveal aspects of cognition and values that may be inhibited, not observable, or not analyzable when the means of investigation is dependent on verbal exchange, and particularly when it is done in the language of the investigator (Adair & Worth, 1967: 76).

In addition to finding the parallels between the 'language' of the films and Navajo verbal discourse, the films produced by Worth and Adair moved away from previous anthropological films. Where earlier films were intended as ethnography, Worth and Adair hoped to use their film as visual ethnographic data.

Worth and Adair worked from Bronislaw Malinowski's call to 'grasp the native's point of view, his relation to life, to realize *his* vision of *his* world' (sic) (Malinowski, in Worth & Adair, 1972: 12), drawing the interpretive approach into their work. Worth and Adair believed that if a Navajo 'could be trained to use [film] so that with his hand on the camera and editing equipment he could choose what interested him, we would come closer to capturing *his* vision of *his* world' (sic) (1972: 14). Without realising, they were inadvertently building on existing photo-elicitation theory. By the end of the century, Harper (2002) would be able to provide an explanation for Worth and Adair's ideas (See Chapter Three, Section 3.4.2), that by then had been incorporated into literature discussing photo-elicitation.

In spite of criticism aimed at the project, authors such as Dubin (1998: 74) believe that the value of the Navajo study lies in 'the historical significance of the enterprise, a social-scientific experiment conducted in an artistic medium at a time when rural reservation communities were on the verge of being deluged by capitalist culture and technologies'. One such criticism comes from Faye Ginsburg. She criticises the project leaders for not listening to concerns she believes were voiced by the Shaman of the reservation, Sam Yazzie, and labels the project as a 'somewhat sterile and patronizing experiment' (1991: 96). In the new edition of *Through Navajo Eyes* (1997), Richard Chalfen, as editor, addresses reactions to the project and reassesses its social and scientific significance. Dubin (1998: 74) feels that in light of Chalfen's additions to the work, we can see that

> Worth and Adair were indeed aware of the ethical issues raised by their political position. The researchers recognized the deeper meaning of Yazzie's questions that symbolized a threatened way of life. But their concern for this way of life was expressed in an older rhetoric rooted in faith in the anthropological project, "We assume that knowing how people imply meaning through symbolic events will automatically benefit all of us. We assume that studying how people present themselves through the images they make will be beneficial and certainly will harm no one" (Worth & Adair, 1972: 5).

Worth and Adair (1972) realised that by incorporating the first voice of participants in their research they would be eliciting a subjective understanding of the structure of Navajo society.

It is against the backdrop of developments such as these that Anna Grimshaw (2001) believes visual anthropology emerged as a distinctive sub-discipline within academic anthropology. Perhaps this development was spurred on by the feeling amongst academics that 'there is a critical need to document emerging developments in societies that are modernising. We need better understanding of how man fits into and copes with the world and its transformations, including those he himself generates' (sic) (Sorenson, 1975: 463). Sorenson argued that 'annotated film records revealing the range of human behaviour in its cultural and environmental settings allow a variety of studies of man's behaviour, potential, and organisation that otherwise would be impossible to make' (sic) (1975: 463). It was during this time that researchers began to accept earlier theories of researchers such as Bateson and Mead, where the photograph is considered to be more than merely a recording device and to see images as data in their own right (Blinn & Harrist, 1991).

2.3.5 Continuing positivist arguments

In spite of the views expounded above, by-and-large, developments made during the 1960s and 1970s remained largely within a positivist paradigm. Some authors central to the debate surrounding visual methods argued that images were only valid within the research process when subjected to the right controls. The right controls being dictated by positivist norms of

validity and reliability that require objective, empirical research. These theorists believed that in doing so, images could indeed contribute to positivistic science as an objective recording method, reflecting the more popular assumption held by researchers during the 1960s to 1980s (Pink, 2001).

Most researchers opposed to the use of visual methods claimed they were too subjective, unrepresentative and unsystematic. With regards to such critiques, Mead (1975) highlighted the urgency of addressing these claims. She argued that by leaving a tape recorder, camera, or video set up in the same place, large amounts of data could be collected without the intervention of the filmmaker, thereby placing visual methods within the criteria of acceptable positivist research norms. Furthermore, the continuous presence of the filming device would reduce, if not eliminate entirely, the self-consciousness of those being observed. She concluded that critics of visual methods failed to realise how visual methods would 'allow anthropologists to refine and expand the area of accurate observation' (1975: 10), as it had done for other sciences.

Similarly, Collier considered the use of visual methods within the research process as objective support where the camera was above human fallibility. He argued that the camera offered a more precise recording than the human eye, capturing more detail. Furthermore, according to Collier, the camera offered an objective account and could not suffer from fatigue. As such, the recorded visual account could present multiple viewings of the data allowing for finer detail to be observed, thereby expanding the research opportunity. Collier also focused on aspects of image production that place the camera into the hands of skilled photographers, limiting the amount of participation by those being studied: 'still photographs only suggest life motion … give only a static approximation of life … A skilfully organized and precisely timed still photograph can suggest past, present and future' (1975: 225).

It is safe to conclude, that by the end of the 1970s the emphasis of most studies involving the use of visual media was still on observable aspects of humanity, such as physical behaviour, as opposed to being used in more emotive studies. Examples include Hall's study of 'proxemics' (how people regulate themselves in space and how they move through space) and Lomax's 'choreometrics' that Collier defines as 'the choreographic melodies of culture' (1975: 211). As Collier (1975: 211) points out, at the time it was 'important to recognise that the research opportunity afforded by the camera record has allowed us to consider, often for the first time, materials either too complex or too baffling in relationships for the human mind-eye to encompass, of circumstances too baffling in motion to track and analyze'.

Furthermore, the overwhelming concern of many visual anthropologists of this time was the necessity to record and document dying cultures (see for example Lomax, 1973 and Mead, 1975).

2.4 Critical theory: Visual methods, power and empowerment:

2.4.1 'Stocktaking'

In 1986, Henny highlighted two traditions that he could distinguish within visual sociology. One followed a more behaviourist approach, where images serve as illustrations to enhance research or teaching. The other involved researchers using their work to achieve social action and reform. Victor and Charles Lidz (1989) identified three directions of visual sociology. The first, they believed, is a sociology of visual technology, studying image-producing technologies and popular media. The second is theoretical, merging with abstract forms of conduct, drama, art philosophy and hermeneutics. The third direction involves the merging of visual methods with qualitative research procedures in sociology. These authors illustrate how images and related technology were becoming firmly entrenched in society during this time. As images became an increasingly important part of society, so would their value in the research process. The Lidz's also indicate that visual methods were beginning to draw closer to social reform (each having similar underlying principles of empowerment and respecting the research participant's voice). Furthermore, during the 1980s and 1990s, qualitative research methods would become increasingly recognised as a valid form of research, having an impact on the recognition of visual methods.

From 1982 onwards, the *International Visual Sociology Association* (IVSA) provided a forum at annual conferences in the USA, Europe and Asia. The *International Journal of Visual Sociology* (now Visual Studies) came into existence, and literature collections regarding visual sociology were compiled by authors such as Howard Becker (*Exploring society photographically,* 1981) and Jon Wagner (*Images of information,* 1979). In Wagner's collection, contributors 'raise questions about where photographs could productively fit within the epistemological and reporting conventions of the social sciences' (Wagner, 2001b: 7). In 1986, Henny produced a special edition of *Current Sociology*, entitled *Theory and practice of visual sociology* (1986), with contributions by Douglas Harper and Helen Stummer. Chaplin (1994: 222) believes that Harper's *Meaning and work: A study in photo elicitation* and Stummer's *Photo essay,* 'help extend the range of ways in which photographs can assist social scientists in their work'. Harper drew on the work of Mead and Bateson as well as by John Collier, to include the participant's voice in the research process by means of elicitation. Stummer (1986) used her photographs for political change, by incorporating her images with

46

brief autobiographical accounts, using images to link two worlds. According to Chaplin (1994), Stummer achieved political urgency by allowing her participants to present their own case with minimal intervention.

By 1997, visual anthropology was 'a recognized sub-discipline of sociocultural anthropology, with its own section in the American Anthropological Association, two established journals, regular conference sessions and symposia on visual anthropology and an increasing number of students within the field' (Morphy & Banks, 1997: 1). Amongst other things, visual images were being used to transmit information by means of documenting or illustrating social facts, as an aid for eliciting interview data, and visual images as social facts themselves (Caulfield, 1991). Together with similar developments in the field of visual sociology, it appeared, on the surface at least, that visual methods had finally been established as a research method.

During this time, social scientists were paying far more attention to the value of photographs as sources of information in and of themselves (Blyton, 1987). Many researchers no longer saw photographs simply as objective records or documentary facts. Researchers such as John Grady and Douglas Harper highlighted where visual methods were positioned within the broader field of methods. Grady (1991: 23) believed that 'sociologists can make good sociological essays with either still or moving images about solid sociological issues. I also believe that encouraging this practice can play an important role in revitalizing a troubled discipline'. Similarly, Harper (1994: 409) felt 'the unique character of photographic images forces us to rethink many of our assumptions about how we move from observation to analysis in all forms of sociological research'.

Grady and Harper also discussed what they considered to be the major barriers to achieving these ends. Grady (1991) believed that until then, most sociologists who did in fact engage in the use of visual methods, did so by working in more sociologically acceptable ways, limiting their use to semiotic analysis, unedited raw data, or classroom exercises. He asserted that by redefining the challenges most sociologists were experiencing with visual methods and research design, data collection, measurement and analysis, these challenges could be responsibly addressed. Harper (1994: 409) on-the-other-hand, argued that visual sociology had reverted to a somewhat similar situation to the one that it found itself in during the first half of the century, where photo journalists were responsible for engaging in social critique. Now however, Harper felt that it was practitioners of fine arts photography who engaged in social criticism, whist visual sociology itself had moved closer to fine arts photography and away from social criticism. Harper suggested that the problem involved visual sociologists spending too much time focused on their persistent concern with defining the field of visual

sociology and developing 'scholarly and institutional coherence' (1990: 1), rather than actually practising visual sociology. Harper was concerned that visual sociology was divided between traditional and experimental approaches to research and he therefore felt it necessary for visual sociologists to consolidate visual methods theory in order to assume good practice, by incorporating valuable elements of both.

The developments of particularly the 1970s and 1980s resulted in a 'stock-taking' reflection on especially the theoretical underpinnings of visual methods that had developed during the preceding decades and how these theories impacted on their use. Becker (1998: 87) for example, asked what it is that visual sociologists needed to accomplish in order to convince themselves, as well as the broader research community, that what they were doing was 'really sociology', and that their work was integral to the research enterprise? His question stems back to his edited book, *Exploring society photographically*. In his introduction, he says that

> [w]e customarily distinguish between science and art, seeing the one as the discovery of the truth about the world and the other as the aesthetic expression of someone's unique version. All very well, except that so many artist's versions are of the truth about the world, and scientists' discoveries of that truth contain so strong an element of personal vision. The two enterprises are confounded in many ways that cannot be unmixed. However uneasy that might make everyone involved, we need to treat them as complementary rather than opposed (1981: 9).

That the motivation behind this volume was to investigate the efforts of the contributors to combine photography and sociology in their endeavour to understand how society functions, suggests the continuing struggle to achieve recognition of the value of visual methods, reflecting concerns regarding the 'reality' of images, as well as their validity and objectivity as records. Following from her argument that 'the aesthetic quality of an image can enhance social science understanding' (1994: 221), Chaplin points out that Becker's contributing authors make use of photographs because of their belief that images express certain points better than words. This is reflected in Eduardo B. Viveiros de Castro's chapter *Two rituals of the Xingu*. The author explains that he 'took these pictures to capture aspects of Yawalapíti life I could not reproduce in written language, and to show the aesthetic side of my perception of them ... difficult to include in an academic text' (1981: 54).

These stocktaking questions and concerns extended into the 1990s. Authors such as MacDougall (1997: 293) for example, were proposing an approach that looks 'at the principles that emerge when fieldworkers actually try to rethink anthropology through the use of a visual medium'. Ultimately, he recommended that visual anthropology must develop its own 'objectives and methodologies that will benefit anthropology as a whole' (1997: 292-3).

Morphy and Banks' (1997) *Rethinking visual anthropology*, provides another example of this theoretical reflection. They assert that by the 1990s, visual anthropology was in a state of disarray due to various attempts to fill the 'lacuna' (1997: 5) that existed as a result of the neglect visual methods underwent during the first half of the 20th century. They go on to say that 'if film is to gain a reputed place in the array of research methods, visual methodologists must give attention to the contribution that film can make to anthropology as a theoretical discipline. They define their area of enquiry as 'the anthropology of visual systems or, more broadly, visible cultural forms' (1997: 5), substantially broadening the field of study. In their review of visual anthropology, they sought 'to deflect the center of the discipline away from ethnographic film and photography, allowing them to be reincorporated in a more positive way and in a way that is more cognizant of the broader anthropological project' (1997: 5). Grimshaw (2001) believes that in their edited volume, Morphy and Banks therefore attempt to clarify what constitutes the sub-discipline of visual anthropology, what questions are addressed through the use of images; and what directions visual anthropology might be developing in.

Publications like Prosser's edited volume, *Image-based research* (1998) emphasised the importance of questions such as those posed by Morphy and Banks, Becker and MacDougall. In his review of *Image-based research*, Jon Wagner (2001b: 16), says that

> a reader looking for a single, coherent, all-consuming statement of the field would be hard pressed to find it in Prosser's book. Within its diverse chapters, there is much to engage with, but we're left with the impression that the "field" of image-based research has a pretty ragged edge, an uncertain centre, and a bit more complexity and ambiguity than many disciplinary scholars might like.

The continuing problem, as researchers such as Becker (1998), Chaplin (1994) and Pink (2001) saw it, was that the 'dominant mode of communication in the social sciences is verbal. Our conventions about what counts as social science relate overwhelmingly to verbal discourse' (Chaplin, 1994: 207). Visual sociologists continued to value written text above visual material, seeing images as subsidiary, '[w]e talk about "illustrations" and regard the written text as transmitting the argument or message to recipients' (Chaplin, 1994: 3). Chaplin (1994: 207) concluded that in this way, 'images become dependent on text for scientific validation, loosing their autonomy to make any contribution of their own right'. Chaplin felt that in many instances, especially when shown together in large numbers, images demand their own autonomy separate from words. She believed that 'this enables sequences of images, and juxtapositions of images to acquire a visual autonomy which the reader cannot ignore and must take on board, with the result that the social scientific understanding which is imparted by the overall account does include a significant visual component; and thus the status of the depictions is heightened in relation to the overall

account' (1994: 207). The manner in which Bateson and Mead arranged their images in *Balinese Character (1942)* exemplifies Chaplin's argument that when text is incorporated with visual data, where they complement one another, images can contribute to social argument in their own right, playing a far more constructive role in the research process.

Pink (2001) furthers the argument, claiming that many sociologists continue to believe that visual methods are too subjective, and therefore invalid for use in research and subsequently reject their use. Both she and Becker (1998) believe however that visual sociologists have been lax in constructively demonstrating the contribution visual methods can make to ethnographic research. In order to successfully demonstrate the strengths of images, visual methodologists would have to show that their work furthers the enterprise of sociology, irrespective of how the mission of the discipline is defined. Since sociologists differ on what sociology should be though, the mission of visual sociology remains confused. Becker suggested that researchers follow Douglas Harper's lead and identify how visual research methods could add what was perhaps missing. Becker (1998) was referring to Harper's (1982) suggestion of including images in studies of interaction, the presentation of emotion, to elicit information in interviews, and studies of material culture, all alluding to the potential benefits of using visual methods in situations where researchers are 'border-crossers' (Giroux, 1992).

Ultimately, authors such as Chaplin (1994), MacDougall (1997), Edwards (1992), and Morphy and Banks (1997) promoted the visual as a medium through which new knowledge and critiques could be created, all stressing collaboration between researcher and informants; visual and textual; the producers of images and words, reflecting the influence of the critical paradigm and the tradition informing it. As Chaplin (1994: 11-12) says, '[t]he concept of "working with" can … be seen as a methodological characteristic of post-positivism, in which the distinction between sociology and the topic area it studies becomes much less rigid'. Their work points to issues of power within the research process and participant empowerment.

2.4.2 Advancing theoretical arguments: Self-representation and empowerment, and the move to critical theory

During a time of strong critique against sociology and other social sciences for maintaining too much distance between the researcher and participants, as well as emphasising objectivity and statistics, many considered audio-visual media able to 'reduce the dehumanization of sociology … [believing that] *photos can help us to enter into the experience of, or the understanding of objects, outside ourselves*' (Henny, 1986: 54; author's

italics). On a whole, visual methods literature emerging in the late 20th century signalled a departure from the scientific-realist paradigm moving not only towards the interpretivist paradigm but also towards critical theory.

As discussed in sections 2.2.2 and 2.2.3, many underlying constructs in visual methods facilitate conversation and enhanced communication. Harper (1982) for example, highlighted the constructive use of audio-visual media citing examples such as video-feedback in group counselling to help people overcome communication disturbances, thereby supporting the use of visual methods as a communication tool within the research process. Along with authors such as Blyton (1987), Harper (1994; 1998; 2002) continuously regards photo-elicitation as a dialogue based on the authority and knowledge of the research participant, rather than the researcher, echoing Collier's reasoning behind the method. Authors such as Duff (1981) and Harper (1994) believed that although images captured on film may appear to be self-evident, they are open, incomplete and ambiguous, and as such need to be explored with those to whom their meaning pertains. The process through which researchers explore the contextual background of an image, contributes to their understanding of the environment in which the research participant is situated. Their work implies that the research process should be structured in such a manner so as to allow the participant to raise issues that are of personal importance. The interview setting should therefore not be too rigid so as to refocus the participant's thoughts on what the researcher views as important. Harper (2002: 20) further explains that

> [i]n-depth interviewing in all its forms faces the challenge of establishing communication between two people who rarely share taken-for-granted cultural backgrounds. Sociological questions are often not meaningful to non-sociologists. There is the need, described in all qualitative methods books, of bridging gaps between the worlds of the researcher and the researched. Photo elicitation may overcome the difficulties posed by in-depth interviewing because it is anchored in an image that is understood, at least in part, by both parties.

Harper's idea that images facilitate the communication process by providing a central point of reference to both the researcher and the participant resonates with that of Caldarola (1985), Blyton (1987), and Morphy and Banks (1997) who all argue that photography is a process of discourse or interaction between the photographer, the subject of the photograph and the viewer of the produced image, echoing the triangular relationship espoused by Rouch, Young and MacDougall during the 1970s. This theory is also supported by visual culture theorists such as Mirzoeff (1998: 7) who explains that 'visualising does not replace linguistic discourse but makes it more comprehensible, quicker and more effective'.

Furthermore, Burgin (1982) and Blyton (1987) believed that the manner in which people will view and interpret images will depend on the language, knowledge and experience they bring with them. Henny (1986) extended this argument, believing that in addition to bridging the gap between researchers and research participants, visual images could also function as a bridge between population groups, cautioning though that they can be just as easily exploited, suggesting the inherent power of images within broader society.

In addition to bridging communication divides, visual methodologists believed that when using visual methods appropriately, the researcher would be drawn into the research community as a result of the necessity of close interaction with the research participants and in order to better contextualise and interpret visual materials (Harper, 1982). Researchers are also drawn further into communities when participants construct their own images for the research. Work carried out during the 1990s and the early years of this century have clearly demonstrated how the camera can take researchers into parts of communities that would otherwise have remained completely inaccessible. Visual technology

> opens up the possibilities for going inside (in Anna Grimshaw's terms), by creating
> unusual juxtapositions and framings and by revealing the potentiality of photography …
> to construct surprising images [stimulating] a reflexive and interrogative perspective in
> photography that has … challenged the dominant paradigm of realism and questioned
> the very authority of visual imagery as evidence (Morphy & Banks, 1997: 22).

In other words, we may be surprised by what we will see if we allow research participants to show us what they themselves see. By giving participants cameras with which to document their lives, they become field workers with constant access to the research site. As such, research data becomes deeply embedded in the research community. Furthermore, by allowing participants to engage in the analysis of those images, the data takes on true meaning and relevance to the community in which the research occurs. In this way, discoveries about existing power relations become embedded in these communities that they effect, making the knowledge generated from the study relevant to the everyday life of the individuals living there (Babbie & Mouton, 2001).

The ideas espoused by these authors are consistent with Marcus Banks' (1989: 66) request 'for an anthropology of minorities and migrants that assumes no normative baseline, against which they can be measured and found wanting'. If such a baseline is informed by 'minorities and migrants' themselves, this would be the case. His words therefore suggest the need not only for enhanced communication between researchers and participants, but also for a process of self-examination by research participants. Of importance here, is the move to include and place emphasis on, 'the native's voice', dialogue, and conversation (Grimshaw, 2001). Banks felt that visual anthropology could provide for this through its use of images and

in particular, photography precisely because of its communication element. Building on the ideas of David MacDougall, Banks (1989: 67) explained that 'a photograph … describes. Once seen it invites interpretation and thus diminishes the apparent authority of the author/photographer'. One can conclude that Banks saw images as addressing methodological needs in the broader anthropological field with their ability to both provide representation and greater voice and power to the participant. The move in visual methods that Banks was arguing for, resonates with the interest critical theorists have in the knowledge participants hold of their own lives (Babbie & Mouton, 2001).

These emerging theoretical arguments, concerning communication and interaction between researcher and participant, coincided with an increased use of participatory research practices in visual methods based studies, that placed the camera in participant's hands. The communication required of research incorporating images calls for collaboration between the researcher and research participants. This collaboration should occur on several aspects of the research process, from creating and/or selecting images to interpreting and analysing images. Pink (2001: 68) believes that 'ethnographers should be interested in how informants use the content of the images as vessels in which to invest meanings and through which to produce and represent their knowledge, self-identities, experiences and emotions'. This correlates well with literature that promotes research as a learning process from which a better understanding of one's world develops as well as research in which knowledge is produced in conversation and negotiation between informants and researcher (Hirsch, 1997). Researchers who subscribe to these theories will therefore engage in more participatory modes of research. Daniels (2003) for example explains that her decision to apply participatory research practices resulted from her efforts to better represent the participants in her work. She bases this decision on the idea that 'researchers should listen "around and beyond words" and that familiarity with the setting would facilitate one's understanding of the participants' (2003: 204). Daniels (2003: 204) considers this 'befitting a feminist positioning that show its sensitivity to women's differing experiences in community roles'.

The notion of shifting attention away from the professionally constructed image and making greater use of images constructed by participants themselves is also supported by Elizabeth Edwards (1992: 13) who notes how 'an anthropological photograph is any photograph from which an anthropologist could gain useful, meaningful visual information … the defining essence of an anthropological photograph is not the subject-matter as such, but the consumer's classification of that knowledge or "reality" which the photograph appears to convey', with the consumer also possibly being the producer of the image. Similarly, Becker (1998) argues that the meaning of a photograph depends on the context in which it is

viewed. Theory calling for professional image production have been made redundant not only by theoretical developments, but also by experiences in the field. In Harper's fieldwork, for example, images that proved most useful in interviews were those that were very often least visually arresting. As he (1986: 26) points out, '[t]he success of the photo-elicitation project is, in fact, often revealed in the wealth of information that emerges from images that the photographer might have considered, from his or her own cultural perspective, too "boring" or "commonplace" even to consider using'. Directly, Harper's experience undermines the need for technically sound images. Indirectly, his words beg the question: in instances that allow for it, why not allow participants to construct their own images? I say 'in instances that allow for it' because as in the case of Harper's study, it would have been virtually impossible to generate visual data by asking the participant to do so. For his study, *Working knowledge: Skill and community in a small shop* (1987), Harper required images of Willie, the owner of a small mechanical and welding shop and Harper's subject, busy at his craft – Willie needed to be 'observed'. Images made sense in this context because they allowed Harper to discuss details with Willie 'after-the-fact', thereby allowing Willie to carry out his work with as little disruption as possible.

The motivation behind participant constructed images is perhaps most clearly seen in Su Braden's (1983) *Committing photography*. Braden examined the socially committed activities of photographers and filmmakers who sought to produce self-representative forms of media in the process of meeting social activist goals thereby providing greater expression for the oppressed. Through her endorsement of community-based projects, she makes collaboration central to all phases of any visually representative project, including its conception, creation and distribution. Braden believed that by giving the exploited and the oppressed ownership of image-producing technology, they would be able to construct their own images and meanings, and ultimately defy or overthrow their oppressors, tying in with critical theory's 'insistence on science becoming an emancipatory and transformative force in society' (Babbie & Mouton, 2001: 34). Braden's *Bootle art in action* project 'is her strongest example of the contrast between photographic work that enables children to represent themselves and gain technical literacy and that of the social reform/relief agencies that depict children as helpless objects of pity, the "most effective way of ensuring a steady flow of funds from the affluent to the poor"' (Papademas, 1988: 23). Braden felt that images created by 'outsiders' entrench themselves in society to the extent that we as researchers then approach these population groups as victims and as helpless, ignoring a community's strengths, and their capacities to survive despite the hardships they face.

Braden (1983) criticised photographers such as Lewis Hine for addressing concerns 'over poor working class conditions to an essentially middle-class, reform-minded audience, rather than seeking to raise workers' own consciousness of their situation' (Blyton, 1987: 419) and in doing so, empowering them to take charge of their own lives. Braden juxtaposed Hine's work with that of the worker photographers of 1926-1933. In Germany in particular, men such as Eugen Heilig, Ernst Thormann and Walter Ballhause recorded society from the critical left-wing stance, thereby highlighting the inequalities they believed stemmed from capitalism and fascism. An important tenet of Braden's argument is that these men were amateur photographers who chose to engage with a different medium in order to voice their opinions:

> For the first time in history, the workers were no longer merely the objects of pictures but had raised themselves to be the subjects of photographic representation … elsewhere, the Workers Film and Photo League in England, the Association for Popular Culture in Holland and the Film and photo League in America were making similar efforts at this time to use photography to foster an awareness and solidarity amongst the working class, in an effort to stimulate more concerted opposition to the prevailing economic system (Braden, 1983: 9).

Although Papademas (1988: 23) criticises Braden for not investigating the long-term results of her work, Braden has nevertheless succeeded in pointing to the potential of visual representation to impact on both our thoughts (as the public, or more specifically the researcher) as well as the participant and the empowering effects of this. The participant has the opportunity not only to critically reflect on her life and environment, but also to find a new means of self-representation. In doing so, it is believed that one becomes empowered to direct one's life differently, moving towards greater emancipation. This concept is echoed by Hammond (1989: 14) in her article *Representation in a collaborative video project*, where she says that 'the greatest value of the collaborative video resides in its power as an unconventional representational tool which can provide students with a new kind of "text" to see and hear others representing themselves to themselves, as well as to their Others'.

One can surmise then, that by placing the camera in the hands of the 'subject' we allow her to reflect on her life, and her broader context. This reflection occurs through the use and placement of social 'codes' (Chaplin, 1994), the articulation of which contributes to social processes. By reflecting on power structures through the creation of images, and then verbalising these reflections, a research participant is able to explore the power structures in which she finds herself, as well as new ways of seeing herself and of negotiating her existence given existing power structures.

Again, such shifts in reasoning coincide with the recognition that the constructed nature of images together with the researcher's personal agenda, necessitates a reflexive approach to

classifying, analysing and interpreting visual research materials (Pink, 2001). By the early 1990s increasing numbers of researchers were exploring reflexive uses of video in ethnography, using video images and technologies to create ethnographic knowledge, not simply to record 'data' (Pink, 2001). Pink (2001) feels that up until that point, many so-called visual sociologists failed to engage with social theory or debates over reflexivity and subjectivity in research, in spite of extended debates by numerous researchers including Bateson and Mead (1942), Becker (1974), Braden (1983), Harper (1986), MacDougall (1975), Rouch (1975) and Tagg (1987). As Jacknis (1989) had said earlier about Bateson and Mead's work, Chaplin (1994) believed that we learn the most from those reports that are most honest, having been reflexively engaged in. Similarly, John Grady (1991: 26) wrote that 'accessing the personal voice is indispensable in genuine social analysis and can be done with only the simplest of analytic frames chosen for heuristic purposes and subject to ongoing evaluation and review'. He went on to say that as an approach, visual methods are 'rooted in American Pragmatism and the Chicago School of Sociology and finds its closest contemporary evocations in the work of Anselm Strauss and other grounded theorists'.

Blyton emphasised the selectivity involved in the process of creating an image, arguing against the positivist notion of photographs and film being capable of objectively 'capturing reality': 'the values and goals of the photographer will undoubtedly impact on the manner in which he/she will both see the subject of the image as well as construct the image' (Blyton, 1987: 416). Blyton's theory resonates with Euan Duff's (1981) notion that photographs are only visual *representations* of the external world. The realism of the medium however is the 'source of the widespread and false belief that photographs cannot "lie", that they only verify what actually exists and that the role of the photographer is therefore quite minimal' (Duff, 1981: 75). Duff points out that the mechanical nature of photography or filming means that the end product is a direct result of 'the exact physical/optical relationship between image and object, between the camera and the subject' (1981: 75), highlighting the dependency of images on the people who produce them. Personal reflections by researchers in the field, illustrates this. Harper (1986) for example, said that when using photo-elicitation as a research technique, the researcher should aim to construct images with as culturally neutral an eye as possible, *hoping to learn from the interview and as such through the eyes of the informant*. As such, reflexivity becomes increasingly important, as the research process becomes less 'objective'. As Harper wrote, ethnography is a created tale that is more effectively achieved when not 'trying to fulfil the impossible and undesirable (for ethnography) standards of science' (1994: 407), but rather reflexively drawing upon narrative. By reflexively engaging with their own images and experiences, participants move from a process of merely relaying stories and representations of their lives, experiences and contexts, to constructively

understanding their lives and experiences within their contexts. Participation in the research process then becomes an experience of exploration where knowledge is generated that is meaningful to participants and over which they can claim ownership.

Furthermore, by then allowing participants to explore and determine their own and/or true needs within their new knowledge of their context, as well as the solutions to those problems, they also claim ownership of their advancement. The process (i.e. the knowledge generated, the problems identified, the proposed solutions) is relevant and they have made personal investments in it. Carried out in co-operation with researchers, this process allows for studies that produce meaningful research results, informing policy and service provision in ways that then provide assistance to individuals that is meaningful and constructive as opposed to 'assistance' that in essence maintains the status quo. We see once more how visual methods used in this manner align with critical theory which advocates the production of social science theories that 'are able to explain not only how it is that members of a social group experience 'discontentment' but 'how it is that such discontent can be eliminated by removing the structural contradictions which underlie it' (Fay, 1975: 94, in Babbie & Mouton, 2001: 36). The core of such theory is clearly seen in studies incorporating methods such as *Photovoice* (Wang, 1999; Wang & Burris, 1994; Wang, Burris & Yue Ping, 1996) or autodriving (Barnes, Taylor-Brown & Wiener, 1997; Clark, 1999; Curry, 1986; Orellana, 1999; Smith & Woodward, 1999).

By placing the camera in the hands of research participants and allowing their vision and voice to guide the research process, visual methods connect with the aims of feminist research to engage in understanding the daily lives and experiences of the people about whom they have an interest in writing; understanding the world of ordinary consciousness; and introducing an emancipatory dimension to research that empowers those that partake in the research process (Farganis, 1992). This is supported by Lury (1998: 3, in Pink, 2001: 13), who suggests 'the visual has implications not only for the discourses of modernity and ethnographic practice, but also for our understanding of the individuals who are the subjects of ethnography. ... the photograph ... has taught us a way of seeing ... and that this way of seeing has transformed contemporary self-understandings'. Daniels (2003: 195) provides an example of this, when she says

> the reflection exercises using the women's drawings followed a similar method used for marginalised women that focuses on individual, personal liberation from the many layers of internal crisis that serve as imprisonment and oppression. ... the women's own photos and drawings were used to "give creative expression to their thoughts and take action on their liberation through critical reflection" (Baird, 1997: 8),

suggesting the ability of visual methods to tap into deeper and perhaps repressed underlying thought and emotions.

Researchers such as Chaplin (1994) and Barnes, Taylor-Brown and Weiner (1997) not only advocate, but have actively engaged in, research that minimises the gap between verbal analysis and visual representation as data, thereby reducing the distance between the researcher and the participant, drawing the participant's personal reflection, and their vision and voice surrounding that experience, to the centre of the research process. Barnes, et al. (1997) in particular, depart from a scientific experimental stance by applying a feminist approach, whereby knowledge is produced not about, but for women and women themselves are situated 'at the centre of the production of knowledge' (Barnes et al., 1997: 13), echoing Banks (1989). Chaplin (1994: 15-16) argues 'that post-positivist and feminist methodological approaches in themselves suggest the desirability of visually enriched sociology. For these approaches indicate that the sociology of a topic be replaced by a sociology which puts less distance between itself and the topic area, or data, that it studies'. In their study, Barnes, et al. (1997) asked women who are HIV positive to record messages for their children on videotape. They consider this use of video as an empowering visual medium offering marginalised groups an opportunity to reproduce an understanding of their world as opposed to the dominant representation depicted in the mass media' (Barnes, et al., 1997: 27) emphasising the value of participant produced visual representations.

Together with the move to greater reflexivity as well as the inclusion of the participant's voice and vision, issues of power in both the research process and in the construction of images emerged in theoretical discussions of this time. Banks (2001) highlights issues of power and personal control within the research setting. Authors such as Collier and Collier (1986) and Harper (2002) feel that interviewing is a difficult and often awkward process that does not always make sense to the interviewee. In this context, the greatest challenge facing the researcher is the task of establishing open communication. This challenge is exacerbated by the reality that the researcher and the participants are rarely from the same background and context and that unequal power relations invariably exist between them (see for example, Erben, 2000; Finch, 1984; Fine, Weis, Weseen, & Wong, 2000; and Oakley, 1981). Accordingly, various researchers have emphasised the responsibility that is incumbent upon researchers to acknowledge this imbalance and to account for it in all spheres of the research process (Bemak, 1996; Dallape, 1996; Kefyalew, 1996; Morris *et al*, 1998; Oakley, 1981; Volpi, 2002; West, 1996; Whitmore & McKee, 2001).

In their endeavours to create new, rigorous research practices, feminist researchers such as Olson (1998: 311), raise concerns as to how, '[i]n spite of concern and respect for women's lived experiences, do these studies nevertheless replicate old disciplinary practices and women's subordinated status?' Theorists such as Rosaldo (1980: 399) believe that '[t]he problem of *a* feminist science or even *a* feminist social science may be that, like many theories it criticizes, it upholds too universalistic an assumption of gender: "it assumes too much about how gender really works"'. Visual methodologists have clearly demonstrated the capacity of visual methods to break free of old practices and create a space for minority groups to identify and discuss issues pertinent to their realities (see for example Orellana, 1999; Rich & Chalfen, 1999; Wang & Burris, 1994; Young & Barrett, 2001). The enhanced communicative aspects of visual methods may therefore make it particularly appropriate in addressing such concerns and shortcomings highlighted in various paradigms.

Issues of power extend beyond the interview itself however and encompass the visual. The social construction of the photograph is part of the politics of visual sociology itself. Therefore, by placing a camera in participant's hands, we simultaneously offer them the related control and power. Harper (2003: 192) believes that 'like all research, visual research depends upon social power, whilst it simultaneously redistributes this power'. He (2001: 193) explains that 'the social positions of the photographer and the subject come into play when a photograph is made' impacting on its construction. We therefore need to acknowledge that as with most research activities, photography too embodies unequal relationships (Harper, 2003). Furthermore, it takes social power to make photographs (Beloff, 1985; Tagg, 1987), partly because making photographs defines identities (Spence, 1988), institutional relationships (Jackson, 1977), and histories (Copeland, 1969; Rieger, 1996). Consequently, 'the act of photography is imbued with issues of power' (Barndt, 1997: 9, see also Beloff, 1985). This control flows into the interview as well, where the participant has control over the subject matter and contents. As Daniels says of her experience in working 'with this data collecting method, the decision-making power shifted away from us and more to the women. The participants had decision making power of whom and what in their daily lives they wanted to record as personal visual commentaries on their private worlds' (2003: 195).

Research based on more equitable and democratic criteria becomes empowering by altering a potentially oppressive situation into a learning situation that, as previously discussed, allows participants to reflect on their lives within specific contexts thereby generating new knowledge that is meaningful and relevant to their lives, and which they own. This is what Harper (2002: 15) regards as 'postmodern dialogue based on the authority of the subject rather than the researcher'. By allowing the participant to decide what is brought into the

interview setting by incorporating participant constructed or selected images in the interview, and positioning the participant as expert on the research topic, one inadvertently places the 'interviewee more center stage and to some extent reflects the concerns of postmodernists and new ethnographers to give "voice" to those we study' (Prosser, 2002: 1). Collier (2001) believes that research which links the constructed nature of images, as well as the subjective nature of viewing and analysis to personal representations of reality may be empowering to the research participant. Daniels elaborates on her considerations when approaching the research setting: the 'approach to fuse research and pedagogy narrowed the distance between the researchers and the researched women and attempted to neutralize or at least reduce the unequal researcher-researchee relationship' (2003: 204).

Fuery and Fuery (2003: 7, author's italics) tell us though, that we should not be 'limited to viewing *how* power is invested in the image but can also include *why* and *what the consequences are* as a result of such investment'. Images that are constructed out of a process of reflexive consideration of experience and context, during the generation of meaningful knowledge, results in constructed representations that are more accurately situated in participants' lives.

Morphy and Banks (1997: 21) believe that 'the focus of visual anthropology includes both the properties of the anthropologist's own representational systems and the properties of those visual systems studied by anthropologists in the field'. Anthropology of aesthetics teaches us that representational systems vary cross-culturally 'both in terms of what is selected out for representation and how those features are represented or encoded' (1997: 21). Morphy and Banks (1997: 17) cite Bateson and Mead's work as an example of how 'visual worlds reflect different ways of seeing' and 'visual culture, the structuring of the visible world and how visual phenomena are incorporated within cultural process and influence the trajectory of socio-cultural systems'. Accordingly, visual researchers must not assume to know any visual culture, including those of the West. Rather, 'studies must take into account the interrelationship between anthropological and indigenous practice without collapsing the one into the other' (1997: 21). This concept should inform how researchers approach both the construction and the interpretation of visual data, accounting for their own taken-for-granted conceptual world. In short, they suggested that visible aspects of any culture and the various ways in which these aspects are seen, are informed by underlying cultural structures. Similarly, we can infer from Donna Wilshire's (1992) work that each individual has a pattern with which they 'see' the world, and what each person sees may illuminate his/her belief system about his personal world. People not only see an object, but they also see what that object embodies, symbolizes, or signifies to them. As researchers, we need to understand

60

these symbols and what they mean to others. It is through understanding these symbols that we gain understanding of the broader systems in which individuals and communities find themselves and the impact these systems have on communities. Similarly, when participants understand these symbols and the meaning they attach to them they can begin to examine the choices and decisions they make within their broader social context. Chaplin specifically uses the term 'visual representation', meaning that images and texts, 'do not reflect their sources but refashion them according to pictorial or textual codes' (1994: 1). One of the objectives of visual anthropology must be 'to reveal these different "ways of seeing" within and between societies and to show how they influence action in the world and people's conceptualizations of the world' (Morphy & Banks, 1997: 22). When participants themselves have explored their own representations and why these are structured as they are, they are enabled to make more informed decisions about their lives and their context.

Added to this, is the continued emphasis on the value of images for the *'can-opener'* (Collier, 1975) effect on participants. Morphy and Banks (1997: 23), for example argue that 'visual representational systems ... can create emotional states and feelings of identity and separation'. Chaplin (1993: 3) too writes that 'depicted images, fashioned according to pictorial codes, tend to impress themselves on us at a deep subliminal level, and to stay with us, influencing our thoughts and actions as much – if not more – than words do'. Chaplin (1994: 109) believes that 'visual images are, on the whole, open to a wider range of interpretations than verbal text – because their symbolically coded messages are less overtly signalled than those of texts and because they tend to stimulate the emotions and the imagination in non-linear and non-rational ways'. By combining ideas of construction and representation in the use of visual methods, images may act as a catalyst for transforming 'modern thought, culture and society, self-identity and memory and social science itself' and as such, using visual methods in research in a representative manner may result in 'new ways of understanding individuals, cultures and research materials' (Pink, 2001: 13).

Furthermore, by creating more personalised and accurate images and representations of marginalised lives, photography may also serve to validate these perceptions:

> What is plain is that we have to have a sociological perspective in the analysis ... A photographer can express his or her own vision, or the demands of the patron, or the values of a dominant social class. ... Photography ... is crucially shaped by our ideas, influenced by our behavior, and defines our society. ... we express ourselves in a photograph. The more fragile our identity, the more we need to reinforce it. To show that we exist. To prove that we ... are worth such a record. / Our personal histories are not contained in family albums, but are validated by them (Beloff, 1985: 22/179).

These ideas are similar to those of critical theorists who also hold an interest in the knowledge participants hold of their own lives and how that knowledge can serve an emancipatory function through reflexive engagement (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). Perhaps, Tagg's (1987) book, *The burden of representation*, best illustrates this. Unequal power relations and their impact on participants are a central issue for Tagg. Tagg's concern extends to how representational practices beget power effects. He writes that 'the photograph … becomes meaningful in certain situations and has real effects'. He explains that as use of the image contributes to new forms of knowledge, 'the production of new knowledges released new effects of power, just as new forms of the exercise of power yielded new knowledges of the social body which was to be transformed' (1987: 6). Tagg therefore treats cultural representations, such as photographs, as the manifestation of knowledge that are the outcome of power; and thus photographs cannot be regarded as records of something 'out there' (Tagg, 1987: 3). Furthermore, Tagg believes that images are part of larger discursive systems that provide meaning to those images. As Chaplin (1994: 83) explains of Tagg's work, 'researchers need to consider the practices and institutions that give images meaning, exercise an effect on them and cause them in turn to contribute - as the manifestation of knowledge – to the formation of subsequent events'. Tagg's argument highlights the importance of self-representation in the research process on the part of participants, where it can be assumed that the researcher holds power. Chaplin (1994) believes that Tagg argues for a critical analysis of power relations at the level on which participants are situated. In reflecting on Tagg's work, Chaplin (1994: 86) wonders, after having 'seen how the photograph can be used to reinforce the power that officials wield over a political minority group … . If photographs can affect power relations in this way and be affected by them, we should ask how the knowledge of these processes … can be used in the construction of critique'.

The idea of constructing images to critique power structures, is seen clearly in the work of Jo Spence and John Berger amongst others, and is supported by various other visual methodologists. John Grady (1991: 27) for example, believes that 'producing visual essays provides the maker with authorship over a compelling medium. This is a dream of power that promises a way of attracting attention, of influencing some, and punishing others'. Although Grady is referring to one specific form of visual methods, visual essays, perhaps the underlying idea can be applied to all visual methods: the ability to create a visual representation of one's personal experience and context provides the opportunity to affect power structures. Stated differently, by allowing research participants to construct their own visual representations in the research process, not only do we gain a more accurate

impression of the research context by placing their voice in the centre of our study, but we empower those participating by providing a platform for their voice.

Caroline Wang's work demonstrates the emancipatory function of research that uses images in a reflexive, representative and emancipatory manner. In 1991, Wang established the *Photovoice* project that she and Mary Ann Burris ran with women in rural China who are illiterate and semiliterate. *Photovoice* entails teaching participants to use relevant technology so that they may create personal representations of themselves and their worlds as discussed here. Empowerment in this process is then taken further, by assisting participants to present their work to relevant community members and leaders so as to facilitate social change and improvement. Wang (2003: 189) found in a later study with men and women who were homeless, that 'women and men alike noted that their participation enhanced their self-esteem, peer status, and quality of life by providing an opportunity to creatively express their perspectives and define their concerns in a manner that garnered the attention of media, policymakers, researchers and the broader society of which they are a part'. As with Braden (1983), Barnes et al. (1997) and Chaplin (1994), Wang and Burris worked from feminist theories and methods that critique those 'studies that have assumed women were objects of other people's actions, rather than actors in the world. Feminist inquiry into women's realities is carried out by and with women instead of on women, in ways that empower people, honor women's intelligence, and value knowledge grounded in experience' (1994: 174). Their work is heavily influenced by the theories of Mao Ze Dong and Paulo Freire who believed that social change occurs when people change their cognitive understanding and their relations between their own subjective world and the objective world. Both Freire and Mao 'highlighted, in their ethic of change, community participation, personal and social transformation, and justice' (Wang & Burris, 1994: 173).

2.4.3 Positivist attempts at legitimisation

Developments during the last decade of the 1900s and at the turn of the century that situated visual methods within the critical theory paradigm do not totally exclude attempts by theorists to legitimise visual methods according to positivist conventions during this time. Several authors continued debating whether photographs and films 'really' show what they appear to show. Henny (1978) for example, suggests that in the social sciences one must consider aspects of representativeness and validity in relation to the photographed/film scenes. His interpretation of these aspects with regard to images remain positivist, where he sees validity referring to the degree of photographic distortions (for example lighting, filmstock, use of lenses and so forth). He argues that since the camera lens captures only a fraction of social

reality, the visual sociologist is confronted with the same type of problems as the sociologist who deals with statistical data, namely sampling, validity, representativeness and reliability.

In 1986, John Collier Jr re-printed his book *Visual anthropology: Photography as a research method*, together with Malcolm Collier, presenting an interesting example of the persistence of positivism in the visual debate. In their work, they argue for example, that 'good video and film records for research are ultimately the product of observation that is organized and consistent. The equipment ... cannot replace the observer reflecting a realist interpretation of still and moving images' (1986: 149). Pink (2001: 8) believes though that the Colliers 'advocate a systematic method of observation in which the researcher is supported by visual technology'. Pink (2001: 8) feels that for Collier and Collier, 'the research plan is key to the ethnographer's project of recording an appropriate version of the reality he or she is able to observe ... ethnography is an observation of reality, as opposed to the constructedness of the narrative-based communication "stories" of scripted films'. Pink (2001: 57) too believes that although the 'Colliers' approach provides a way of visually comparing specific material aspects of various environments ... they omit the subjective experience and meaning of these objects to the culture in which they are situated'. She further emphasises the necessity of understanding 'photographic surveys or attempts to represent physical environments, objects, events or performances' as representations of *aspects* of culture; not recordings of whole cultures or of symbols that will have complete or fixed meanings. In his review of the book, Howard Becker (1988) points out that although the authors recognise that the photographer shapes the photograph, they still regard images as being able to reflect a reality that is above the influence of the image producer. Becker believes that although they make a strong case for the 'camera's ability to capture' everything that gets in its way, they fail to engage in a serious discussion of these issues.

2.5 Visual methods, post-modernism and constructionism

2.5.1 Visual methods today

Jon Prosser (2001: 3) writes in his introduction to *Visual sociology* that 'visual research is thriving'. In the editorial to the newly renamed journal *Visual studies* (previously *Visual sociology*), Prosser (2002: 1) claims that 'for visual researchers these are exciting times. Our numbers are expanding, the potential avenues for publishing our work increasing, and non image-based researchers are recognizing the significance of the visual in their own studies. With expansion has come a divergence in approaches to visual investigations; a richness and variety which is to be welcomed and celebrated'. His words reiterate the varied application of these burgeoning methods. The proliferation of literature available on the

subject, for Prosser, is indicative of the recognition and esteem visual methods is gaining within the wider research community. He believes that most of this growth has occurred during the last two decades of the 20th century and that visual methods have moved beyond the disciplinary boundaries of sociology and anthropology broadening 'the scope and nature of visual research' (2001: 3).

By the turn of this century, authors such as Douglas Harper (1998) feel that within the subdiscipline of visual anthropology, film and video, has finally risen above text. Harper believes that '[t]hese are typically studies of the meanings of images as mediation between the anthropologist and the subject, and queries into the nature of visual representation' (1998: 27). Even though some authors claim that 'anthropological photography has on the whole been less innovative than film' (Morphy & Banks, 1997: 27), various works have been published which display the developments being made in this field (see for example, Barnes, Taylor-Brown & Wiener, 1997; Clark, 1999; Orellana, 1999; Smith & Woodward, 1999; Wang & Burris, 1994; Wang, 1999).

Prosser (1998) believes that image-based research theory is changing rapidly. Furthermore, significant developments have occurred regarding the 'kinds' of images that are being drawn upon and the ways in which technology is being implemented in the research process as a result of developments in technology and affordability. Harper warns though that despite developments in the field of visual methods, these come at a time when 'the larger mandate of science itself is questioned; as is sociology's status as a science; liberalism, for many has lost its potency; photographs are seen as problematical and tentative statements rather than reflections of truth' (1998: 30). Harper points out that, 'the assumptions which underlie sociology, documentary photography and ethnography have shifted since Becker wrote what was a clarion call for sociologists to take up cameras' (1998: 30). He concludes saying that, 'while visual sociology must recognize its roots in the traditions of ethnography and documentary, it must acknowledge and integrate the insights of the new critical comment in these areas as well' (1998: 30).

In 2000, Emmison and Smith point to the potential of visual methods to revitalise social research: 'Ideas about display, status and interaction allow us to tap into the rich vein of Goffmanian interactionism. Ideas about surveillance, visibility and privacy bring to mind Elias and Foucault. Readings of objects, buildings and places allow reference to Lévi-Strauss on nature/culture or to post-modern theory on architecture and so on' (2000: ix). These authors make the claim that the use of visual methods asks of us to reflect on larger and more interesting philosophical ideas – ideas recently expounded by people such as Goffman, Elias

and Foucault – relating to the nature of representation, the constructed nature of research and issues of power relations in knowledge production.

John Grady explains, in his editor's note to the special edition of *Sociological imagination: Challenging sociology visually*, that,

> Visual sociology is an organized attempt to introduce the study and use of images into the analytic tool kit of every sociologist. It is motivated by two assumptions. The first is that images encode data about values, norms and practices that are often inaccessible to other forms of collecting and reporting information. The second is that communicating research findings by using visual media can vastly expand and strengthen the rhetoric of sociological expression (2001: 4).

His words suggest the ability of visual methods to uniquely capture and allow for reflection of certain types of data in social studies. He too highlights the variety and applicability of visual methods, saying that

> there are many examples of what working with images can add to the sociological enterprise. Documentary film, for example, enriches the study of interaction and the social psychology of emotion. Photoelicitation opens up channels of memory and knowledge that the traditional face-to-face interview rarely broaches. Native photography and video make it possible to more closely approximate how subjects of study actually live their lives and make decisions. Creative exploration of modes of visually displaying quantitative information make it possible to discern correlations in complex arrays of data that mathematical formulas may obscure (2001: 4).

Much of this progress can be attributed to, and indeed is reflective of, a change in social science at large, especially regarding the role social policy has come to play together with a variety of new occupations brought about by a changing economy and world demographics. These developments require and in many instances embrace new research strategies and designs. Wagner (2001b: 10, 12) points out that

> broadened discourse about field methods brought scholars from different disciplines to new insights not only about methods, but about theory and reporting conventions. … these changes present us with a world in which new intellectual communities and networks have emerged around methods of social inquiry that involve texts and image, within which texts and images have increasingly become objects of investigation in their own right.

Pink (2001) feels that the growth of visual methods can also be attributed to developments in various theoretical approaches. In her book, *Doing visual ethnography*, Pink draws from the work of Lury (1998) and McQuire (1998), who demonstrate that changes in the approaches to visual methods can be aligned with shifts in broader theory relating to issues of representation, modernity and critique of modernity. Post-modern theory in particular, has gained popularity in the past few decades, with it's 'attention to "other worlds" and "other voices" that have for too long been silenced' (Harvey, 1999: 305). Furthermore, post-modern researchers are now confronted by the pragmatics of bridging communication divides

resulting in a rich fascination with new ways of producing and transferring knowledge (Harvey, 1999). Accordingly, post-modern notions of truth and ways of seeing now align 'the camera as an agent of change that overturns the realist paradigm' (Pink, 2001: 13).

Simultaneously however, various authors are still encouraging the development of new practices within the larger paradigm that now regards images as equal to words as a source of both data and a form of representation. Luc Pauwels (2000: 7) believes that 'today, using visual media and representational practices ... has become slightly less alien to the scientific enterprise. But still there is a long way to go toward a more widespread, varied and thoughtful application of visual media and visual representational means within the different disciplines'. Grady (2001: 4) too says that although 'visual sociologists have certainly made a case for why their work is interesting and of value ... they have not yet established why proficiency in working with images should be a basic element in the tool kit of every sociologist'. Wagner (2001b) highlights the need to 'identify where image work fits within this new constellation of disciplines, sub-disciplines, methods, programs, situations and subjects'.

In his article entitled *Taking the visual turn in research and scholarly communication*, Pauwels specifically highlights the 'need for a more explicit visual methodology and theory' (2000: 7). He goes on to say that 'good theory broadens our vision and literally makes us "see" more. It allows us to move from the particular to the more general and *vice versa*' (2000: 10). Pauwels (2000: 9) argues that

> A more visually orientated science starts and ends with seeing and making sense of what we see, within the theoretical framework we choose to apply. Seeing and making sense of the visual ... as well as seeing and making sense of visual representations ... should become a core part of the professional training of a visual researcher or theoretician. We should also try to take it one step further and acquire the necessary skills and synthetical insights for producing visual material as a crucial part of the scientific discourse.

Echoing Becker (1974; 1998), Pauwels' words emphasise the value of situating visual methods within a theoretical framework that will result in specific applications of visual methods of value to the broader research community. Through thoughtful application of visual methods we may allow deeply rooted theory building to emerge from our studies.

Wagner (2001b) focuses the theoretical development that Pauwels asks of researchers. Wagner draws attention to the need for researchers to fully understand how individuals and communities 'see' within the context of life itself, and not as a separate entity. In his review of *Researching the visual* (Emmison & Smith, 2000), Wagner agrees with Emmison and Smith's argument that visual researchers have failed to develop the 'kind of theoretical and analytical

67

inquiry required to advance the field' (Wagner, 2001b: 16) by not giving attention to all visible forms of society. He explains that '[s]cholarship is diminished when we overlook the power of "seeing" in trying to understand culture and social life, or when we isolate questions about the visible dimensions of social life from questions about text, finances and kinship systems' (2001b: 17). If we want to make real theoretical advances in the field of visual methods, we cannot isolate visual aspects of society from the broader context in which they occur. We need to embed the visual within its broader context. Morphy and Banks (1997: 2) also believe that 'one agenda of visual anthropology is to analyse the properties of visual systems, to determine the properties of visual systems and the conditions of interpretation and to relate the particular systems to the complexities of the social and political processes of which they are a part'. Rogoff (1998: 14) too says that,

> [a]t one level we certainly focus on the centrality of vision and the visual world in producing meanings, establishing and maintaining aesthetic values, gender stereotypes and power relations within culture. At another level we recognize that opening up the field of vision as an area in which cultural meanings get constituted, also simultaneously anchors to it an entire range of analyses and interpretations of the audio, the spatial, and of the psychic dynamics of spectatorship.

Visual methodologists such as Chaplin (1994), Lury (1998) and McQuire (1998) do in fact consider images as part of a larger process, where social and cultural environments inform developments in the visual, whilst the visual simultaneously informs social and cultural understanding and ways of 'seeing'. McQuire in particular believes that the constructed meaning of images questions traditional notions of truth, destabilising the basic premises of modernity. McQuire suggests that the multiple meaning of an image has resulted in a 'profound epistemological shift in which the meaning of meaning has itself been irreversibly transformed' (1998: 47). Consequently, the camera has become an agent of change, overturning the realist paradigm (Pink, 2001). This implies that 'an appropriate application of visual images and technologies in ethnography may be developed as a force that will bring new meaning(s) to ethnographic work and social science' (McQuire, 1997: 293). These theories point our attention towards the value of incorporating the post-modern tradition into the use of visual methods.

2.5.2 Postmodernism and the construction of meaning

Within the broader field of social research, many researchers now reject the idea that they are able to produce a value neutral account of the world. Babbie and Mouton explain that according to post-modern theory, 'social reality is constructed and social scientific knowledge is similarly a construct of social inquiry' (2001: 40). Such a constructionist premise certainly correlates with recent visual methods literature, which has established that images and their meanings are constructed.

Visual methods align with the beliefs of those such as Harvey (1999: 310) who argues that 'the idea that all groups have a right to speak for themselves, in their own voice, and have that voice accepted as authentic and legitimate is essential to the pluralistic stance of postmodernism'. This final section will therefore, explore the production of new knowledge, by means of the visual, paying special attention to how visual methods and the construction of images are aligned with social constructivism.

The notions of 'construction' and 'social construction' in particular have come to hold very broad meanings. As such, a discussion of the term is warranted here. To do this I draw extensively on Ian Hacking's *The social construction of what*? (1999). Hacking makes his reader aware that social construction is concerned with raising consciousness, and is therefore aimed at social critique or change. This implies that social constructionism is engaged in a critical review of the status quo. As such, we are required to ask what it is exactly that has been socially constructed? What is it that we are challenging, critiquing or trying to change? This in turn raises questions as to what extent we consider our social world to be constructed? Are teenage pregnancies for example, something that we as a society have constructed? Or, is it the meaning of these pregnancies that we have constructed? Or the value labels that we attach to these young women? I limit my discussion to the labels we attach to our lives – that we attach to objects and experiences – and therefore the manner in which these labels impact on our experiences and self-definitions.

According to Hacking, the manner in which society 'views' or constructs X, impacts on the individuals living in or with that X. So, for example, constructing teenage pregnancy as a problem, or morally wrong, impacts on the identity of teenagers who become pregnant. Stated differently, people think of themselves and define themselves in terms of classifications. Hacking argues that

> [c]lassifications can change our evaluations of our personal worth, of the moral kind of person that we are. Sometimes this means that people passively accept what experts say about them, and see themselves in that light. But feedback can direct itself in many ways. We well know the rebellions of the sorted. A classification imposed from above is rearranged by the people to whom it was supposed to apply (1999: 131).

The meaning attached to these classifications is socially constructed. Simultaneously though, the meaning of these classifications impacts on society: its institutions, practices and so on. These classifications and their meanings represent 'how the world is', and often inform our so-called 'facts'.

According to social constructionism then, people are classified as 'kinds' (Hacking, 1999). Furthermore, how 'that kind' is described will impact on how people 'of that kind' may experience being 'of that kind'. Hacking (1999) believes that

> people of these kinds can become aware that they are classified as such. They can make tacit or even implicit choices, adapt or adopt ways of living so as to fit or get away from the very classification that may be applied to them. These very choices, adaptations or adoptions have consequences for the very group, for the kind of people that is invoked … What was known about people of a kind may become false because people of that kind have changed in virtue of what they believe about themselves (1999: 34).

So, if we can assist people 'of a kind' (such as teenage mothers) to become aware of how broader society defines their 'kind' (for example, as a 'social problem', as 'bad mothers', or as 'morally reprehensible'), individuals 'of that kind' may be able to reflect on who they truly see themselves as being and establish whether or not there is a correlation between that 'kind' and themselves. As Hacking says, '[w]e are especially concerned with classifications that, when known by people or by those around them … change the ways in which individuals experience themselves – and may even lead people to evolve their feelings and behaviour in part because they are so classified' (1999: 104). For example, a teenage mother may believe herself to be 'a bad mother' because the social message she receives is that by virtue of being a teenager, she must be a bad mother. On critical reflection however, perhaps through means of visual representation, she may come to realise that she is, in fact, a good and very capable mother. Then, by reframing her self-definition as well as her concept of her life, she may be empowered to make decisions that will be in her best interests, thereby resisting social labels. She may decide for example, that it would be in her best interests to remain in school and complete her education in spite of social messages that say it is inevitable that she will abandon her education and 'be a failure'. If research participants can understand or acknowledge how society has constructed their 'kind', they may be empowered to reconstruct their 'kind'. As Hacking explains, we may be able to enable people of a certain type 'to take some control over their own destiny, by coming to own the very categories that are applied to them' (1999: 58).

Recent reassessments of the relationship between vision, looking and meaning have influenced ways in which the visual is approached across various disciplines. Literature of previous decades emphasised the constructed nature of images themselves: the image producer decides, at the very least, what will be included and excluded from the image. Post-modern theories expand on this and encourage emphasis on how meaning and interpretation are constructed when viewing images, and how this reflects the constructed meaning of daily

lives. The current dominant view in fields such as anthropology, sociology and cultural studies is that the meaning of images is constructed.

Various authors suggest that vision is subjective, contextualised and impacted upon by our environment, culture and society. Stated differently, each person has his own way of seeing and each person's way of seeing is informed by his background (Fuery & Fuery, 2003; Hirsch, 1997). As the art critic Herbert Read (1991: 12) says,

> we see what we learn to see, and vision becomes a habit, a convention, a partial selection of all there is to see, and distorted summary of the rest. We see what we want to see, and what we want to see is determined, not by the inevitable laws of optics or even (as may be the case in wild animals) by an instinct for survival, but by the desire to discover or construct a credible world.

Authors such as Becker (1998), Chaplin (1994) and Morphy and Banks (1997) have discussed the subjective nature of images. Becker (1998: 84) in particular points out that 'photographs get their meaning from the way people involved with them understand them, use them, and thereby attribute meaning to them.… They are social constructions, pure and simple'. Chaplin (1994) too shows that knowledge is situated and constructed; that various forms of representation will reflect underlying structures of society and how it operates; and how we frame our experiences is shaped by our existence (and by implication) our context. Chaplin, together with Morphy and Banks (1997), further believes that social processes determine the way in which articulation occurs, that is the presentation of the image and the understanding or articulation of the image reshapes social patterns. In understanding the manner in which images are constructed and by understanding the meaning we attribute to images, may assist us in reinterpreting our lives. This reasoning implies that in exploring one's current reality by reflecting on the past, through visual methods, one gains a better understanding of one's experiences. If this is so, incorporating the visual into the research process may then serve a dual purpose: first, it may help both the participant and researcher understand social forces at play, and the way in which research participants understand or see these forces, and second, can also bring research subjects to new insights about their lives through the research process. Chaplin (1994) has suggested therefore that social scientists take advantage of the constructed nature of images by acknowledging that they can provide detail about a culture of which they may previously have known little or nothing. She points out that,

> no single account of the meanings of social events and social actions can be claimed to be definitive; producer and respondent become more nearly joint participants in the construction of accounts and meanings … in such … an image-and-text format surely encourages joint participation even more … it offers participants a range of suggestions; it presents them with the opportunity of constructing a constellation of meanings around a topic which is artefactually presented (1994: 109).

Vision therefore contributes to how individuals and communities reach an understanding of their lives and create meaning in their lives, making sense of their worlds. Wilshire (1992) argues further, that people have patterns *through which* they see, correlating with theories of personal narrative. Each individual therefore has his subjective worldview that is inseparable from "what-is-seen". As Rogoff (1998: 22) states, '[s]pectatorship as an investigative field understands that what the eye purportedly "sees" is dictated to it by an entire set of beliefs and desires and by a set of coded languages and generic apparatuses'. The meanings of images and the narratives that elaborate on them arise from their viewing context: Who is looking? What is his personal context? Bourdieu (1990) too tells us that the images individuals produce, reflect the broader norms of their society. Pink (2001) accurately comments though, that although individuals are influenced by cultural norms, their internal understandings and constructions are more meaningful and powerful in their own visual representations, highlighting the value and potential of visual methods to allow research participants for critical reflection in their lives. It has therefore become useful to pay attention to both an individual photographer's 'subjectivities and intentionalities' (Pink, 2001: 55) as well as the broader cultural discourses, social relationships and political, economic and historical contexts in which these are situated. In doing so we may better come to understand the constructs that guide both the individual and his society.

Accordingly, Morphy and Banks (1997) argue that amongst other things, visual anthropology is concerned with understanding the nature of visual representations and the way in which seeing and what is seen are part of people's conceptual worlds. They believed that people reflexively construct their visual environment and communicate by visual means. Considering that 'the image is re-presentation' (Barthes, 1999: 33), perhaps used in conjunction with theories such as social constructionism, grounded theory and feminism, researchers may be able to extend their interest to how the researched individual sees or constructs her personal world.

Placing images and discussions surrounding them within a post-modernist paradigm, impacts on the relationship between the participant and the researcher. Harper (1994) explains that post-modern theory regards the meaning of the photograph as constructed by the maker and the viewer, both of whom bring their own experiences to the photographic act (see also Becker, 1998). Harper (1994) believes that the traditional basis of ethnographic knowledge - interaction between the subject and the researcher - is questioned by post-modern critique, and in particular the assumptions surrounding this interaction, challenging the very idea of abstract analysis. Harper (1994) draws on the work of Tyler (1986: 135), who argues that,

[p]ost-modern ethnography ... does not move towards abstraction, away from life, but back to experience. It aims not to foster the growth of knowledge but to restructure experience; not to understand objective reality, for that is already established by common sense, nor to explain how we understand, for that is impossible, but to reassimilate, to reintegrate the self into society and to restructure the conduct of everyday life.

One can assume then that by placing an image in the center of a discussion and allowing participants to relate their stories attached to those images, they engage in a self reflection that exposes their own constructions as well as the constructions of the contexts in which they find themselves, allowing both participants and researchers to gain a fresh perspective. Various authors comment on how allowing participants to be intimately involved in the analysis of images, they were exposed to the narratives participants were engaged in about their lives. Speaking of viewing photographs of the Holocaust for example, Hirsch (1997: 21, original italics) explains that 'the viewer fills in what the picture leaves out: the *horror* of looking is not necessarily in the image but in the story the viewer provides to fill in what has been omitted'. This parallels broader developments in these disciplines where ethnographies are seen as constructed narratives, only ever telling part of the story (Clifford, 1986: 7). Daniels found in her study with Black women on community building and leadership in a South African settlement,

> it is clear to us that had we analysed the pictures and drawings, we would have interpreted them through our lens of experience and that we could have compromised the findings. Similar to how we stand the chance to miss the finer nuances and meanings when we communicate through a second language, we could miss the drama, quality, or bravery in people's lives when we analyse and interpret their photos without their input (2003: 203).

This is supported by Pink's (2001: 64) discussion of the manner in which her participants constructed images 'in response to an existing visual culture' in rural villages of Guinea Bissau, Africa and the cities of Spain. She says that '[b]y analyzing the context in which the images were taken and the local photographic conventions to which their composition complied, I gained a deeper understanding and a more informed visual representation of the significance of particular social relationships, representations of self, and of [the underlying research question]'.

Furthermore, authors such as Hirsch (1997: 7) believe that 'the structure of looking is reciprocal'. By this, she means that image producers and viewers of those images collaborate in constructing meanings, reproducing ideologies. Both parties bring to the process an ideological background made up of 'dominant mythologies and preconceptions' that shape personal understandings. This suggests that contextual backgrounds inform both the manner in which an image will be constructed and the manner in which it will be

interpreted. It is these two factors that result in a collaborative process and calls for greater reflexivity on the part of the researcher. Pink therefore recommends a form of ethnography based on 'reflexivity' and 'collaboration'. She proposes a reflexive approach to ethnographic photography where researchers are aware of 'the theories that inform their own photographic practice, their relationships with their photographic subjects and of the theories that inform their subjects' approaches to photography ... an awareness of the theories of representation that inform their photography' (2001: 54). Analysis of images should therefore, as far as possible, be informed by 'a consideration of the photographers' personal and professional intentions, the institutional agendas to which they were obliged to respond, how they have used photography to refer to specific cultural discourses and construct particular aspects of self identity, and the theories of representation that informed their practice' (Pink, 2001: 55). It is crucial that as researchers we acknowledge that we too have subjective ways of seeing (Wilshire, 1992). As Babbie and Mouton (2001: 41) write, 'the production of theories is a historical phenomenon; the categories used in theoretical discourse are adequate only to specific historical epochs; and theories exist in discursive fields, in relation to other theories, and are not self-sufficient statements of their meaning'. They also recommend that researchers 'recognise the "cultural and historical" specificity of categories' (2001: 43). Smith (1999: 44), in her discussion of how research methodologies are linked with colonialism and oppression, points out that theories about research are to a large extent,

> underpinned by a cultural system of classification and representation, by views about human nature, human morality and virtue, by conceptions of space and time, by conceptions of gender and race. Ideas about these things help determine what counts as real. Systems of classification and representation enable different traditions or fragments of traditions to be retrieved and reformulated in different contexts as discourses, and then to be played out in systems of power and domination, with real material consequences for colonised peoples.

It is perhaps for this reason that Pink (2001: 5) believes that 'academic epistemologies and conventional academic modes of representation should not be used to obscure and abstract the epistemologies and experienced realities of local people'. Rather, these may work together as different types of knowledge improving research output and understanding of various communities and individuals. Olesen (1998: 312) believes that in post-modern anthropology, ethnographers should allow participants to speak for themselves.

Drawing on the views put forward by the authors mentioned here, one could conclude that the research process involving visual methods is strengthened when participants themselves are encouraged to make the research images themselves. The idea of producing a desired representation of the self is discussed by Beloff (1985). She talks about the need to control cameras and the images produced: we will pose in ways that are acceptable to produce the

desired image that we wish to project outwardly (images by implication then, also speak of the qualities valued in various communities and societies). Therefore, by encouraging participants to take their own images of their own experiences, we can assume that we do get an impression of the underlying 'conscience'. Beloff (1985: 9) adds to this idea of the camera as an extension of our perception by proposing that 'a photograph is an extension of our memory.' An aspect such as this may assist the aims and goals of certain types of research: what do the images participants produce say about both their realities and their dreams? How do visual messages correlate with the verbal stories participants relate about their lives while viewing the images (i.e. the stories the images unlock)? How we choose to present ourselves via the pose we, or others, assume (or ask others to assume) speaks as to how we see ourselves (or our subject). These discussions also highlight that as subjective beings, researchers may project too much of their own 'worlds' onto the research context by assuming control for image production or selection. Conversely, by allowing participants to control image production and selection, we limit our own subjective input to interpretation. In doing so, we allow participants to control the 'data' brought to the research process. The story is theirs from start to finish. By understanding what people see, how they see and how they attach meaning to what they see, we begin to understand how they construct their realities. In conducting participatory research, participants can also engage with their images in such a manner that allows them to critically reflect on the meanings they attach to these images. If we can raise beliefs and interpretations of reality that are situated in the unconscious we improve not only our research findings, but participants too gain greater clarity on the underlying beliefs that inform their interpretation and construction of their reality. By enabling participants to engage reflexively with their worlds, we perhaps provide the opportunity for more accurate representations of their lives and for them to reinterpret and re-represent their worlds particularly if we consider 'the unconscious as a site of social inscription and gender/class formations operative through social institutions' (Chaplin, 1994: 97). As Harper (2002: 21) tells us, '[a]s someone considers this new framing of taken-for-granted experiences they are able to deconstruct their own phenomenological assumptions [in this way] photographs may lead an individual to a new view of their social existence'.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has traced the theoretical developments of visual methods through a study of the history of the visual. The discussion has focused on visual methods and related theoretical discussions that are relevant to the use of these methods in 'border-crossing' research settings. A review of the literature illustrates how, since its very origins, visual methods have been used in cross-cultural settings, where issues of language and power exist. Whether or not the researchers in these settings intended to address such issues

aside, the value of these methods has become apparent. Chapter One noted the need for deep involvement with one's research participants, especially when crossing boundaries in the research context. Work carried out since the 1960s demonstrates the ability of visual methods to do this, resulting in insider knowledge. In this way, social problems may be exposed, and change may be instigated through meaningful investigations. Chapter One further highlighted the diversity within and across communities when working in a country such as South Africa. Discussions in this chapter have demonstrated that visual methods are best able to produce detailed knowledge about a specific context (Henley, 1998; Stasz, 1979). Finally, Chapter One addressed the need for research findings that are contextually sensitive highlighting needs that are relevant to specific communities as well as resources that can be utilised effectively in interventions. The discussion surrounding critical theory in particular has demonstrated the relevance of visual methods in such studies.

The early developments of visual methods point to the natural connection between images and research. The discussion of this period traces this initial relationship between visual media and the social sciences as well as the move away from each other. Perhaps the most significant development of this era was the move that the use of visual material encouraged amongst researchers to venture into the field as opposed to relying on the second-hand accounts of others for their data. More recently, images have once again drawn researchers further into the field, by encouraging closer relationships with those groups being studied. These relationships are enhanced by the use of images produced by participants resulting in more intimate discussions. The use of participant's images even extends to allowing participants to direct the topics of interviews, by making use of images constructed by participants for the purposes of the study.

The inherent power of images becomes apparent during the earliest years of visual work, with various photographers using images to raise public awareness as well as governments using images for propaganda. Filmmakers such as D. W. Griffith's began using film in ways that challenged existing views and opinions surrounding the status quo, presenting documentaries that highlighted the interpretive nature of the visual. The use of this power would continue through to recent years where critical theorists and post-modernists have drawn on this strength in the education and empowerment of various marginalised groups. Ironically, it is ordinarily in those very communities that were first exploited by researchers and their cameras that many researchers now find themselves using cameras to empower.

The ability of images to provide researchers with a greater understanding of other communities is evident in early studies such as those of the Chicago stockyards and the

Chicago housing problems as well as more journalist-type work seen in the images of Riis and Hine. Later, researchers such as Bateson and Mead made use of images for this very reason. Today this use of images is seen in the work of researchers such as Barnes, Taylor-Brown and Wiener (1997), Braden (1983) and Harper (2002). Furthermore, images not only allow discussions and interviews to enter into areas not previously possible, they also allow discussions to bridge cultural and language divides.

As visual methods have moved closer to qualitative methods, their value in border-crossing research contexts has became more apparent. Qualitative researchers making use of visual methods recognise the value of images as a communication tool, facilitating the communication divide that often exists between researchers and research participants when the researcher is a 'border-crosser'. Work conducted during the 1960s and 1970s demonstrates how visual methods could be used in combination with deep involvement with research participants to strengthen understanding of these individuals and communities. Furthermore, the various influences on visual sociology and anthropology at the time, brought a new agenda to the focus of studies. This era suggested the potential of visual methods to create data that could then be used to bring about social change and even emancipation.

The value of interviews incorporating images is enhanced through reflexivity. Visual methodologists working within the qualitative paradigm began accounting for their own subjective influences on the analysis of data and knowledge production. To account for this, research participants were included in the review of images and oftentimes in the making of those images, to try and account for some of this subjective influence. In this manner, researchers making use of visual methods account for what Denzin and Lincoln (1998) term 'the biologically situated researcher', as well as the impact of dominant Western models of thought on non-western communities. Both participants and researchers become aware of both their personal experiences and their environment as well as the effect this has on them. By engaging with the research process and data reflexively the effect of these factors on the data are also highlighted.

The emergence of paradigms such as critical theory has reaffirmed the place of visual methods in the field-worker's tool-kit. The ability of images to expose the taken-for-granted dynamics of society that oppress or obscure strengths, aids in the process of individuals and communities gaining greater awareness, insight and ultimately empowerment. Images provide the opportunity to reconstruct and re-represent how individuals and communities truly see themselves. The discussion presented in this chapter demonstrates the value of fieldwork incorporating the use of visual methods from a critical paradigm. Through

approaching the data from this framework, baseline data can be set by minorities themselves, against which they cannot be 'measured and found wanting' (Banks, 1989: 66) because data and research findings are contextually sensitive. Making use of participatory action research methods, in which participants are constructing and analysing their own images and data, a process is established that allows for critical reflection of context and self. This reflection can result in new and relevant research findings as well as intervention proposals based on accurate needs that incorporate existing community resources.

Theoretical debates that highlight the constructed nature of images situate the visual in post-modernist theory too, providing research participants with the opportunity to explore the constructed meaning of their context.

The following chapter draws on this theoretical discussion, setting out a typology of methods relevant to the researcher working in settings where issues of power and representation are of importance.

CHAPTER 3
VISUAL METHODS IN PRACTICE

3.1 Introduction

This chapter considers the practicalities of visual methods in the research process. I begin by discussing sources of images for research and selecting a medium with which to create them. Sources of visual methods include pre-existing or found images; images produced specifically for the research by the researcher; and images produced for the research by the participant. Although decisions pertaining to sources of images and the medium(s) to be used ordinarily occur simultaneously to, or following discussions of the type of visual research method to be used in a study, I discuss them prior to typologies of visual methods. A better understanding of the source of images facilitates the discussion of types of methods. A typology of the various methods is then set out, where various types of visual research methods are discussed, as well as how these methods are used. Evidently, discussing all forms of visual methods is far beyond the scope of this work. Consequently, the main emphasis of my discussion is methods that are applicable to developing contexts where the researcher is a 'border-crosser'. Capturing and analysing visual data gathered by means of the typologies presented here is then explored. Here, the practical aspects of capturing, managing and storing data are explored, as well as a variety of ways in which to analyse data gathered by means of visual methods. These methods include content analysis and grounded theory. This section also outlines analysis conducted in the field as well as analysis conducted in the academic environment. The chapter concludes by considering the presentation of findings when using visual methods. The focus is on the integration of images and text, advocating documents in which the text mediates images.

The entire discussion of this chapter is limited to photography with video and drawings as secondary sources. The motivation behind this decision is related to time and financial restraints in research settings. First, research budgets are seldom large enough to accommodate video recording and editing equipment. Second, members of developing communities involved in research are ordinarily hard pressed for time. Asking of participants to carry cumbersome equipment around with them that is complicated to use seems unfair and unnecessarily invasive in already strained lives. Third, asking participants to draw or paint images assumes a certain amount of confidence on their part, in addition to the time such activities take. Experience from the fieldwork of the case study discussed in Chapter Four and Five substantiates this. All participants were asked if there were any photographs that they wished they could have made but were unable to (See Chapter Four, Section 4.4.2). All responded positively. Given the option to draw the images however they giggled

nervously and declined the offer. When asked about their refusal, they all claimed that they couldn't draw (again amidst nervous giggles). They could however describe the images in detail and why these would have been important to them.

The fields of 'visual anthropology', 'visual ethnography', and 'visual sociology' as they exist today, are extremely broad and encompass many aspects of the visual as well as many ways in which to consider society by means of visual images (see for example, Barthes, 1996; Harper, 1989; Henny, 1986; Jacknis, 1994). Banks provides a succinct description of the field as it stands currently. He believes that visual anthropology has come to be seen, in its own right, as 'the study of visual forms and visual systems in their cultural context' (1998: 9). Visual anthropology encompasses film, photography, native art, television and cinema, as well as computer media - all of which are united by their presence in the physical world (Banks, 1998). He also argues that 'visual anthropology and sociology proceed methodologically by making visual representations (studying society by producing images), by examining pre-existing visual representations (studying images for information about society), and by collaborating with social actors in the production of visual representations' (1995: 1). In understanding the various explanations of visual methods and the typologies offered, Harper emphasises the importance of realising 'that categories overlap and blend into each other' (1989: 87). Similarly, especially in the argument put forward here, the point to bear in mind when attempting to review or understand visual methods and its various typologies, is to use images not as a replacement of words, but in order 'to create a context within which to talk and write' (Schratz, Walker & Wiedel, 1995: 77).

3.2 Sources of images in visual research

Images are appropriate for use in research when the viewer considers them representative or related to the research question (Becker, 1998; Edwards, 1992; Pink, 2001). As such, these images may come from an extensive and varied range of sources, including images made by fieldworkers or researchers, research participants, as well as images made or selected from existing sources of self-representation.

Visual material to be considered for use in research include photographs (black and white or colour, made with film or on digital cameras, produced by the researcher or the research participant, pre-existing images such as photo-albums, magazines or news papers or images produced especially for the research); film (again, made with film or on digital cameras, produced by the researcher or the research participant, pre-existing films such as home videos, movies or news items or produced especially for the research); or art (pencil

sketches, with or without colour, paintings, or collages, again made prior to the research or specifically for the research, created by the researcher or the research participant). As Pink (2001: 51) states, 'there are no fixed criteria that determine which photographs are ethnographic'. Any decisions made as to what these sources are, should be made with full consideration of the research context and research objectives.

Harper (1989: 88) also explains that 'still or moving images may be scientific, narrative, phenomenological or reflexive depending on how they are constructed, presented and viewed'. Sorenson (1975: 466) tells us that 'visual records footage meant to serve as a scientific or humanistic resource may be distinguished from other kinds of anthropological film primarily by the methods and objectives which govern its production'. This implies that images can fit within any typology; the important point is that they are constructed, presented and viewed according to that typology and the context in which the research is occurring.

Collier (2001) highlights important points to consider when using images in research, irrespective of which methods are being incorporated. First, in order for an image to be considered as good data, contextual information and annotation is necessary. As authors such as Berger (1980) and Walker (1993) also suggest, what is photographed in itself is not important, but rather the context in which images are constructed and the opportunity that this provides for thinking about that context and reflecting on experiences that count. Second, relating to the first point, visual researchers, are obliged to record contextual information in their work at all times. Third, 'good research images contain complexity, they record associations and relationships, they are often unremarkable at first glance and take time to read' (Collier, 2001: 38).

To summarise then, virtually any image can be used in social sciences research studies. What determines the validity of an image within the research study is the contextual information that surrounds it and the degree to which the image is representative of the research question and/or context. The degree of fit between an image and research is also dependent on the paradigms within which the research occurs and the type of visual research method incorporated in the study.

The discussion to follow considers the use of images that have existed prior to the fieldwork of a study (found/existing images); images produced by the researcher for a specific piece of research; and images produced by the research participant for a specific piece of research. The discussion has been divided up in this manner because each of these approaches to gathering images for a project brings with it unique dynamics that make images gleaned from

these three sources well suited to specific research question and objectives.

3.2.1 Found/existing images

Banks (1995) explains that found/existing sources of images include archival images (such as news documents, general media), art, and personal or family documents (such as family albums or home videos). Images obtained from all of these sources may be better suited to understanding the history of communities and how this informs current contexts. As Prosser and Schwartz (1998b: 122) suggest, images derived from these sources 'are useful for "backward mapping" but often lack important contextual information'. The importance of contextualising these images so as to avoid misinterpretation is emphasised by various authors (see for example Banks, 2001; Collier, 2001; Pink, 2001; Prosser & Schwartz, 1998; Suchar, 1997). Prosser and Schwartz (1998) advocate that researchers never claim what cannot be substantiated by the data. For this reason, it is important that alternative data be found which can illuminate, confirm or disconfirm the interpretation of found images. These data may include 'contemporary writings, field notes, auto/biographical details about the photographer or participants' (1998: 122).

3.2.2 Researcher produced images

Researchers can produce images at various stages of the fieldwork, including during earlier work in the research community, or a similar community, and in conjunction with research participants. Prosser and Schwartz (1998: 122) feel that in most instances where researchers decide to create their own images, they tend to make this decision because of their ability to 'depend upon photography's capacity to provide extra-somatic "memory"'. By this, they mean that images are able to capture and retain more than the human eye and memory are able to, on their own. In this way, these images facilitate a type of field-note-taking process for the researcher as she explores a community. These images can then also be organised, catalogued and analysed at a later date.

In their own research, both have expanded on this perhaps more conservative approach to visual research (Prosser, 1992; Schwartz, 1989a; 1989b). By spending extended periods of time producing images in the communities they were studying, they used the camera as a means of not only getting to know members of the community but also to gain deeper access into the community. The images they had been producing were then used later in interviews with research participants. Drawing on their experience, they believe that the camera can be introduced to a community on the first day (Schwartz, 1989b) or over a period of time using a 'softly softly' approach (Prosser, 1992).

Both authors also provide a useful account of how they went about constructing images. In her study of a rural farm community, Schwartz (1989b) followed Collier's (1967) suggestion and photographed the physical environment, believing that this provides a good starting point for data that is less susceptible to misinterpretation. In the event of the researcher producing the images, Schwartz (1989b: 121) notes that 'in order to present photographs to informants for purposes of photo-elicitation, some foreknowledge of the respondent group's use of photographs is required'. By spending time familiarising herself with the physical environment, Schwartz believes that she was gaining such 'foreknowledge' of the community and creating images that better reflected that knowledge. This approach also allowed her to become familiar with the community whilst she could observe the community's 'patterns of daily activity' (1989: 125). Schwartz (1989b) comments on how her making photographs of the physical environment gave community members a reason to approach her and thereby allowing her to get to know increasing numbers of people. This in turn created situations where she was invited to photograph public events, thereby becoming part of local activities. Gradually this allowed her into people's homes, where she could photograph family activities. The length of time Schwartz spent making photographs, resulted in an extensive photographic archive as well as comprehensive field notes. These notes would later inform her interview questions.

This process is also seen in Prosser's (1992) study of a newly amalgamated secondary school. Prosser realised the need to introduce his camera slowly, taking time before even 'wearing' his camera as a part of his attire let alone photographing the school. He calls this the 'softly softly' approach.

Both authors highlight the need for researchers to perform their tasks of making images and handling equipment with confidence, irrespective of whether a camera is introduced in the research setting immediately or gradually over time. They believe that '[p]hotographers who act nervously or lack self-confidence usually convey those feelings to the people around them and, consequently, their activities may become suspect' (Prosser & Schwartz, 1998: 121).

More cautions are raised by Banks (1995) who warns about 'content taking priority over context' where researchers pay more attention to the artistic merits of their work, than the research value. Similarly, Pink (2001: 78) urges researchers to 'develop a self-conscious approach' to those they include on film as well as their motivation to decide on particular technologies and recordings, emphasising the need to pay attention to an image's value as data. Other concerns could be raised regarding researcher bias during image production.

Prosser (1992) however believes that the inherent researcher bias contained in researcher produced images can indeed become a strength by eliciting responses and engaging participants in critical reflection when viewing the images. What people have to say about the image becomes important. The 'taken for granted' is seen in a new light when shown from the 'outsider's' perspective. In this regard, Prosser (1992: 403) also highlights the importance of 'sensitive and reflective field notes in relation to photography … [that include] a discussion of situations, events and "no-go" areas'.

3.2.3 Participant produced images

Henny (1986) argues that images made by participants are perhaps more honest and revealing than images made by researchers. Participants are able to make images in their community where their presence will have less of an effect on those captured in images than that of an outsider. People depicted in images may be more willing to be themselves and at ease. As Collier (2001: 57) suggests, photographs taken by participants themselves tend to be more 'intimate, personalized and contain information that is not readily available to an outsider … analysis can proceed more rapidly … because the [participants] bring important contextual information to their research'. Inherent to Collier's words is also the suggestion that participants are able to bring information to the research process that researchers, as outsiders to the community, would never think to broach. Furthermore, his words allude to providing participants with the ability to control what is brought to the research process and what is not.

Authors such as Horst Niesyto (2000: 135) go so far as to argue that qualitative research involving youth and images, should only be carried out when images have been constructed by youth themselves, so as to allow for 'subject-related self-representations'. Niesyto (2000: 137) asserts that 'if somebody … wants to learn something about youths' ideas, feelings and their ways of experiencing the world, he or she should give them a chance to express themselves by means of their own self-made media productions'.

This concept is also reflected by Wang in her study of rural women in China. As Wang (2003) points out with Photovoice (which relies exclusively on participant produced images; see Section 3.4.5), participants with cameras can record settings or interactions not ordinarily available to researchers.

Similarly, Jenni Karlsson (2001: 24) explains her decision to incorporate learner participation in the data gathering 'to supplement my outsider/front-stage view'. She based her decision on the need to avoid 'objectifying learners as part of the material landscape'. She believed that

by constructing visual representations of school spaces and drawing theoretical conclusions pertaining to learner identities from this, without actively including learners in such representation of their own experience 'would approximate the colonial gaze on the less powerful "Other"' (2001: 24). Karlsson acknowledges that although she had full access to the schools participating in the research, she remained an outsider with a partial view of school spaces. She realised the need to include spaces of the schools that adults in general would not have access to, acquiring a 'back-stage' view of the schools. In her conclusion she justifies her decision, saying that 'the photographs taken by learners show places, practices and events that are part of everyday school life but which may not be apparent to the outsider visiting the school' (2001: 35).

Producing their own images may provide participants with a sense of empowerment and voice (see Chapter Two, Section 2.4.2). Grey (1995: 146) quotes a participant in the Cockpit Cultural Studies project with youth who are homeless in Britain saying

> I'm fed up with being asked 'How do you feel about what you do? What are your views on homelessness?' You have all these media people saying let's make a video about you or let's do some pictures or something about homeless people. We will do it for you. Because of this you just get the urge to get up and do it yourself. I'd much rather not be interviewed on TV; not be asked, 'How do feel about being homeless?' I'd rather someone gave me a camera and said, 'Show us how you feel'.

In their study of the Birs river, Basel, Switzerland, Daniela Gloor and Hanna Meier (2000) asked participants to make one image of what they liked and one of what they disliked about the river. In commenting on their methodology, they say that 'the task of photographing with a very simple camera and commenting on the pictures proved to be a suitable approach for this diverse sample of people. Importantly, the photo study was able to reach certain groups - for example children and teenagers - who are otherwise often excluded from surveys' (2000: 122). In reflecting on their decision, they say that 'the method chosen … proved a valuable means to gather sociological material. The instrument was well appreciated and the visitors felt they really had the opportunity to express what is important to them' (2000: 133).

Niesyto (2000: 147) believes that by using participant-produced images, researchers are

> interested in the subjective modes of expression that are already present … A research project that would use professional film-making standards as the basis of its work would be taking the wrong road. Experience has shown that it is quite sufficient to pass on some basic filming techniques and the rudiments of creative design and structure in a playful and orientating way.

He does advocate, however, that when making use of video technology, it is essential to include aesthetic and educational training so as to ensure success.

Further practical tips are offered by Graham (1995: 138) who suggests that researchers ask participants to 'take pictures of things which are very important to you - good or bad; things which don't usually get photographed' in relation to the research topic. In this way, researchers prevent themselves from limiting images to their own worldviews and open image production up to varying subjectivities.

Various authors believe that when working with data produced by participants, researchers would benefit from understanding how that technology and representations drawn from it, are made meaningful locally. Pink (2001: 81) suggests that this 'might involve examining the discourses through which video is discussed' when trying to understand local interpretations of video representations. Similarly, Kellehear (1993: 80) believes that '"Seeing" images is a social/cultural practice which is learnt and is learnt differently by different people'. Tying in with this is Niesyto's (2000: 147) caution that research participants do not always manage to express what they intend to. For this reason he suggests monitoring the production process 'continually in order to be able to take these differences into account when the film material is later analyzed'.

There are various advantages to be gained from the expanded understanding of how images are situated in research settings as highlighted by Pink. One that stands out in particular is the ability to heighten a researcher's reflexivity about his own role and informants' understandings of this role. As Niesyto (2000: 138) says, 'by taking the process - and not the product - as the focal point, chances for an intensified reflection on the self-made experiences, for a higher degree of authenticity and for new orientations concerning action are provided'.

One can conclude then that images produced by research participants are better able to capture the context of life experiences within the research setting. Furthermore, such data is presented from a 'local' perspective and may, in many instances, present a more honest reflection of communities. This means that not only will subjects captured within images be more relaxed and honest, but that issues more relevant to research participants and their communities will be included in these representations. If images are being used in critical studies, one could go so far as to argue that it would be contradictory to include images obtained from any other source. Participant produced images correlate with the aims of increased participant voice and empowerment. Similarly, should one be working within a post-modernist paradigm, one would be exploring participants' own construction of their experiences. Images produced by participants themselves certainly initiate such an exploration presenting their lives as they themselves see them. Finally, participant produced

images may increase that validity of images as data, as they present the opportunity for researchers to gain an understanding of the meaning of visual imagery and technology to members of the research context, heightening their value as data. This does however also raise a potential drawback to including participant produced images. Participants may not always fully understand the technology presented before them, and data returning from their fieldwork may therefore be rendered meaningless in the interview process. Worse, the novelty of the opportunity for visually representing meaningful others in the lives of participants, may mean that participants neglect to focus on the research topic, again rendering visual data meaningless to the study.

This discussion has brought to the fore three sources of visual images to be included in the research design of studies making use of visual methods. These sources allow researchers to incorporate images in ways that can meaningfully address research questions (such as using pre-existing images in a historical contextualisation of a community) in constructive ways (such as the researcher producing images to become better acquainted and accepted into the research context, or participants producing images so that researchers can gain a fresh perspective on relevant issues to the community at hand). It becomes apparent then that decisions pertaining to the sources of images used in research are related to research design and objectives.

3.3 Selecting a medium

The medium selected for use in a study incorporating visual methods, as well as the kind of camera used and the manner in which it is used, will depend very much on the research questions, and the subsequent research design. Points to bear in mind when deciding on a visual medium include the research question and which medium will work best in attempting to answer that question. Video tape recordings for example provide a continuous running image as well as participant narrative in the visual representation, whilst photographs do not. Pink (2001) feels that it is this distinction that relates to the different types of knowledge produced by video and photographs, as well as the forms of representation that they offer. Because of the continuous nature of video and the ability to include narrative at the time of the filming, some researchers (such as Schaeffer, 1975) believe that video may be more intimate than photographs or drawings. One could argue however that the degree of intimacy will depend on access the researcher has to sites, and what participants are willing to include on film or not.

A further consideration includes the context in which the research is to take place. What

technology are research participants comfortable and/or familiar with? Different types of cameras and image producing technology are interpreted differently by research participants, impacting on strategies of self-representation, as well as the researcher's image making strategies (Pink, 2001). Is there time enough, and financial resource, to deal with the realities of training research participants in how to use what could possibly be complicated technical equipment (such as digital cameras or video cameras)? Similarly, do these resources facilitate the use of various types of visual data? As Pink (2001: 110) cautions '[c]ategorising and analysing video materials can be more costly, cumbersome and time-consuming than it is with photographs. It involves more technology, possibly tape transfer to different formats for viewing and transcriptions of verbal language'.

Participant safety is another important concern. Is it sensible to allow participants to go about their community with expensive looking technical equipment? It need not necessarily be expensive to attract trouble.

An interesting consideration surrounds a participant's ability to delete images once they have been made. In some research settings participants may feel pressured to 'do it right' as a result of existing cultural power relations, or due to social desirability. So for example, a participant may be anxious to 'make the right image' or make images that are technically sound, despite the researcher having giving indications to the contrary. By including a 'delete' option (as in the case of digital cameras) in the research process, researchers may find themselves loosing a lot of meaningful data for no other reason than the power struggles beyond the control of the research setting. Indeed, by having these images brought into the research setting and then having the participant voice her opinions of the image, researchers are offered the opportunity to explore the reasons behind the participant's belief that an image is 'wrong'. This in turn may help increase understanding of various power relations or ideas about self-representation. Field research experiences from the case study to be presented in Chapters Four and Five reflect examples of this. Carol in particular pointed to an image that she regarded as a mistake. In this instance her boyfriend had surprised her cousin by 'taking' a photograph of her. By investigating the issue further, and placing the image and Carol's words in the larger context of her life, I came to understand how the image represented his overpowering control in her life. The image substantiated what she was saying in other sections of the interviews.

Drawings are useful in instances where participants are unable to produce photographs or videos. Diem-Wille (2001: 132) tells us that drawings 'can provide an understanding of a deeper level and make the subject aware of deeper aspects of his or her feelings'. As a

psychoanalyst, she highlights principles of interpretations worth attending to while participants create these images. In particular, she says that

> [t]he context and the explanations of the person who drew the picture are more important than single elements. … there are some important principles to keep in mind: for example, the subject's use of space on the sheet of paper, the order of appearance of elements and the symbols chosen. The most important figure in a family is drawn first, the size of the person representing their dominant position in the family. The position of the drawing person in the picture shows his or her self-esteem, their perception of their position in the family. The understanding of the drawing is worked out with the interviewee drawing on data from the narrative interview (2001: 129).

She believes that these principles serve to alert the researcher to 'hidden' meanings in the drawings of research participants, indicating how the researcher should pay attention not only to what has been included in the images, but also to what has been left out.

Should participants be unwilling to draw images, simply discussing the images they could not make may also yield valuable data. As Pink (2001: 75) explains,

> [W]hile in many instances ethnographers may never see the photographs informants describe, they provide interesting examples of how informants may visualise certain emotions, values and experiences. It is also important to pay attention to how informants speak about images that they have hidden or thrown away: it is not only the photographs that people keep that are of interest, but those that they reject and the reasons for doing so may be of equal interest.

Finally, as with most decisions made in the research process, the need to be flexible about medium choices once in the field exists.

To conclude, the research context and participants should inform the decision regarding which medium to use for image production in the field. The technology incorporated in the research design should be suitable for use by those who will be making images and for the community in which it will be used. These decisions will no doubt also be informed by the financial flexibility of the study.

3.4 Typologies of visual methods

This section will explore five types of research methods that are based on the use of visual images, namely shooting scripts, elicitation, visual diaries, visual essays/narratives and photovoice. These five typologies have been selected because of their applicability to the larger focus of this study, the use of visual methods in border crossing research contexts. Furthermore the order in which they are presented suggests a development, where each method builds on the preceding one. In this process of development, there is also a move

from methods that are more qualitative and researcher controlled, to methods that are better aligned with post-modern and critical theories, and rely on participant involvement and control. Each section will present the idea that informs the method, a description of the method and examples of its use.

3.4.1 Shooting scripts

Shooting scripts is the process of making photographs according to predetermined categories or questions. Suchar (1997: 34) describes shooting scripts as 'lists of research topics or questions which can be examined via photographic information. They provide a means by which photography can be grounded in strategic and focused exploration of answers to particular theoretically-generated questions'.

This type of visual method guides photographic and sociological seeing by structuring daily fieldwork and photography whilst simultaneously providing the 'flexibility needed for a sociological discovery process that draws from field observations to visually ground abstractive and conceptual development' (Suchar, 1997: 35). Shooting scripts can be restructured as the fieldwork progresses. Through restructuring scripts, the fieldworker also becomes more sensitive to patterns and what is being presented visually, enhancing what she is seeing (Suchar, 1997). This process implies that one enters the field with broader questions or categories that are then narrowed down as the fieldwork proceeds. Suchar (1997) links this process with grounded theory and asserts that it is this feature that makes them an ideal match. Suchar (1997: 36) quotes Glaser and Strauss (1967: 23): '[i]n discovering theory, one generates conceptual categories or their properties from evidence; then the evidence from which the category emerged is used to illustrate the concept'.

Researchers generating images themselves by means of shooting scripts would do well to maintain descriptive field notes of their daily work. Suchar suggests specifically, that fieldworkers should process each role of film as they progress, making contact sheets immediately. Contact sheets should also be logged at once. Suchar (1997: 37) describes the procedure of logging as 'a descriptive narrative written for each significant frame identifying the way in which the frame is a response to the shooting script question(s). This account is entered into a "logging book" or into a word processing file. Initial interpretations of the meaning or significance can be made at this point'. Finally, labels or names should be attached to each descriptive narrative. These labels or names should be created in the same fashion as one would use open coding in grounded theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

The process of generating images by means of shooting scripts can be adapted to include

research participants. Images constructed by participants can be returned to them to be 'logged'. Or researchers and participants can work through the process collaboratively. The process can also be adapted to a project that may require the use of existing images. As images are incorporated into the data file, descriptive narratives and labels can be attached to them.

Once images have been constructed and logged, their content is analysed according to 'open coding' where the contents of images are given various labels that allow images to be retrieved for comparison throughout the analysis process. Suchar (1997) cautions however that this process should also be used for refining concepts as opposed to merely labelling. An effective means of doing this may be to use 'in vivo' codes, or the words participants themselves use to describe the contents and meaning of images. Images can then be compared with one another, allowing similarities and differences to be recorded. Suchar (1997) explains that this process allows researchers to generate new categories (axial codes), concepts and theoretical understandings. Importantly, this process should also generate new categories or questions for the revision of shooting scripts. The entire process is repeated until theoretical saturation has been reached. During this process the researcher should make constant use of analytical or theoretical memos (Suchar, 1997).

The process of data analysis proposed by Suchar (1997) is clearly based on grounded theory principles (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Strauss and Corbin (1990: 61) explain the process of open-coding as 'breaking down, examining, comparing, conceptualising, and categorising data'. Furthermore, axial or focused coding is 'a set of procedures of selecting the core category, systematically relating it to other categories, validating those relationships, and filing in categories that need further refinement and development' (Strauss & Corbin, 1990: 116).

In much of his work, John Collier Jr suggests a similar use of images, for inventorying research settings. By this he means capturing the physical environment of the study on film. As an example he cites his involvement in the Stirling Project (Nova Scotia, Canada; see Chapter Two, Section 2.3.3). Here the project leader, Alexander Leighton believed that 'when we know the mental health variables of each community, we should be able to see correlative evidence in the character of each house' (Collier, 1975: 215). The point of such work in developing contexts should not be underestimated. In my study of teenage motherhood (see Chapter Four and Five), a review of the images produced by participants reveals that most homes in this community contain a television set. This type of information may become important later when planning programs or interventions for youth in this setting. Television

programming provides an option for reaching this community regarding issues such as contraceptive education (which a review of the data suggests is currently ineffective). Visual data of this nature may also allow researchers to explore spatial realities in the lives of those they are attempting to understand. For example, by incorporating (existing) aerial images in the case study, we would be able to better appreciate the location of services such as schools, clinics and hospitals in relation to participant's homes. These considerations become important in contextualising studies and when making suggestions for service provision. Collier cites a further example of this work, where he photographed the homes of relocated Native Americans living in the San Francisco Bay Area. Through the profile established in his images, he could visualise how participants had readjusted their lives to urban living. Collier extends inventorying to sociometric analyses, where participants can be understood in relation to other people. Returning to my own case study for example, images produced by participants clearly lack partners or boyfriends and fathers of the participant's own children. Researchers would do well to question and explore such features of images emerging from their studies. Directing images made to inventory environments can also be done by means of shooting scripts, where broader questions related to the environment and its content can be narrowed down as the data collection proceeds.

Shooting scripts provides researchers with a means of exploring the structure of communities, geographically, physically and socially. Based on grounded theory principles this method also allows such an exploration to gain ever-increasing depth and focus. The method does however allow for data gathering to remain quite separate from members of the communities being researched. The following method, elicitation, offers a means of connecting the contents of images to the meaning they hold for community members.

3.4.2 Elicitation

The photo-elicitation interview, also known as photointerviewing (Collier & Collier, 1986), can be seen as 'a concretisation of the focused interview' (Flick, 1998: 153). The underlying idea of photo-elicitation is that images assist in 'jarring' the memories of participants, providing a point of reference that focuses the interview (Banks, 2001; Dempsey & Tucker, 1991). Flick believes the photo-elicitation interview allows the researcher to 'deduce statements about the views of the subjects toward their own everyday lives as these unfold' (Flick, 1998: 153). Banks (2001: 87) describes photo-elicitation as the use of 'photographs to invoke comments, memory and discussion in the course of a semi-structured interview'. Furthermore, because photography can be regarded as a form of 'social exchange' (Beloff, 1985: 206), it is proposed that the discussion of images creates a link between the differing realities of the researcher and the participant (Pink, 2001).

There are three main uses of photo-elicitation in social research: a.) To reveal ethno-meanings of informants, b.) To reveal aspects of the informant's social psychology, and c.) To examine the meaning of significant behaviour and social processes that the informants are engaged in (Suchar, 1989). Harper (2002) has identified four areas in which photo-elicitation has been used as the primary means of investigation. These include 1.) Social class/social organization/family, 2.) Community and historical ethnography, 3.) Identity/biography/autobiography, and 4.) Culture/cultural studies. Photo-elicitation 'takes many differing forms including interviews with individuals, with groups, with children, and those who respond more easily to visual' (Prosser & Schwartz, 1998: 123).

The variety of images that can be incorporated into a photo-elicitation study is almost limitless. As Harper (2002: 13) points out, 'there is no reason studies cannot be done with … virtually any visual image'. Typically, images used for photo-elicitation depict people (known or unknown), scenes (staged or natural), or symbols (implicit or explicit) (Banks, 1995). Images used for photo-elicitation interviews can be either pre-existing, or made by the researcher and/or the participant within the research context (Banks, 1995; Prosser & Schwartz, 1998). It is what the photograph contains and how this relates to the research participant that is important in photo-elicitation, as opposed to the degree of professionalism of the image. The fact that photographic techniques are not of importance within this method, but rather the image's connection with the relevant culture, often allows for the use of photographs that may otherwise have been considered, perhaps by a more professional photographer, 'too "boring" or "commonplace" even to consider using' (Harper, 1986: 26; see also Harper, 2002). In fact, Harper (1986) contends that it is ordinarily *these* images that bring forth a wealth of information.

It is not the image that is important, but rather what we make of the image and the respondent's relationship with it. The interview questions are not about photographs as records so much as about the ways in which they are interpreted. In this regard, Collier and Collier (1986: 108) see possibilities for participants to express the emotions and the ethos that lay just below the 'surface content' of photographs, stressing that 'ultimately, the only way we can use the full record of the camera is through the projective interpretation by the native'. This is reiterated by Harper (1988: 65) who contends that this 'interview process produces information that is more deeply grounded in the phenomenology of the subject. A photograph, a literal rendering of an element of the subject's world, calls forth associations, definitions, or ideas that otherwise go unnoticed'. The Colliers call this aspect of photography the 'can-opener effect' (Collier & Collier, 1986: 25). They believe that photographs sharpen

memories and 'offer a gratifying sense of self-expression as the informant is able to explain and identify content and educate the interviewer with his (sic) wisdom' (1986: 106).

Prosser and Schwartz (1998: 124) regard this approach as 'purposefully provocative and disruptive and is intended to elicit suppressed views'. Prosser (1992) explains how in his own use of images, his aim was to simulate comment not on the content of the photograph but what is intimate to the interviewees that is 'triggered' by the photograph. Harper (2002: 13) believes that this aspect of photo-elicitation is due to the evolutionary factors of the human brain: 'the parts of the brain that process visual information are evolutionarily older than the parts that process verbal information. Thus images evoke deeper elements of human consciousness than words do'. Schratz and Steiner-Löffler (1998: 250) also see the act of taking photos and responding to them as a process for participants to tap into their own private knowledge and understandings: they suggest that it is a research tool that helps to make 'visible the invisible'. Here Berger's (1991) concept of a private photograph becomes relevant. A private photograph is an image that belongs within the realm of the lived experience. It is a photograph of the individual's own choosing, thinking and making. He alone may know why it has importance for him. The private photo is surrounded by meaning and cannot be understood without 'engaging subjectivities' (Walker, 1993: 83). Walker suggests that we look at private photographs as keys to memory, rather than facts. Banks (2001) is of the opinion that it is this feature of photo-elicitation which takes the process from one of mere exploitation of the participant on the part of the researcher, to one of personal gain and growth on the part of the participant, implying that the research then contributes to the personal empowerment of the participant.

The structure of a photo-elicitation interview also results in a less stressful interview setting. Collier and Collier (1986) feel that the awkwardness of an interview situation, where the research participant often has intimate or personal questions posed may be minimised as a result of both parties' focus on an image. Harper (2002: 20) believes that 'photo elicitation may overcome the difficulties posed by in-depth interviewing because it is anchored in an image that is understood, at least in part, by both parties'. Pressure is diverted from the participant as both researcher and participant focus on 'the photographs as a kind of neutral third party' (Banks, 2001: 88), further averting eye contact, and awkward silences. As Karlsson (2001: 29) writes of her work with school youth in Durban, South Africa, '[b]y looking constantly at the photographs and being side by side the learner and I reduced anxiety-related eye contact, especially important for younger learners and in cross-cultural situations'. Similarly, in her study of change in a rural American community, Schwartz (1989b: 151) found that the photo-elicitation interview 'yields several benefits'. She says specifically of her

experiences in using the method that

> informants responded … without hesitation. By providing informants with a task similar to a naturally occurring family event (i.e. viewing the family photo-album), some of the strangeness of the interview situation was averted. Interviewees often responded directly to the photographs, paying less heed to my presence and the perceived demands of the task than in more traditional formal interview settings.

Harper believes that this feature of photo-elicitation becomes particularly relevant in cross-cultural research settings: 'the photographs become something like a Rorschach ink blot in which people of different cultures spin out their respective worlds of meaning. This procedure is fuelled by the radical but simple idea that two people standing side by side, looking at identical objects, see different things' (Harper, 2002: 22). As he put it more recently, images function as a 'cultural Rorschach' (2003: 188) test. By allowing participants to make their own photographs we remove some of our power as educated, often middle-class individuals, whilst simultaneously giving participants a greater sense of control over their own stories and their representation of their world and environment. Harper (1998: 36) sees this form of photo-elicitation as

> a model for collaboration in research … stretch[ing] the collaborative bond, so that the subjects direct the photography before interpreting them in [photo]interviews.… The photoelicitation interview may redefine the relationships between subject and [researcher], and the interview material may be presented in any one of a number of creative ways. These sensibilities from the new ethnography open the door for a creative and engaged visual ethnography.

Banks (2001) highlights issues of power and personal control within the research setting. Authors such as Collier and Collier (1986) and Harper (2002) feel that interviewing is a difficult and often awkward process that does not always make sense to the interviewee. In this context, the greatest challenge facing the researcher is the task of establishing open communication. This challenge is exacerbated by the reality that the researcher and the participants are rarely from the same background and context and that unequal power relations invariably exist between them (see for example, Erben, 2000; Finch, 1984; Fine, Weis, Weseen, & Wong, 2000; and Oakley, 1981). Accordingly, various researchers have emphasised the responsibility that is incumbent upon researchers to acknowledge this imbalance and to account for it in all spheres of the research process (Morris *et al*, 1998; Oakley, 1981). This is reiterated in the work of researchers who focus on youth in high-risk contexts and children who live on the street (Bemak, 1996; Dallape, 1996; Kefyalew, 1996; Volpi, 2002; West, 1996; Whitmore & McKee, 2001). Incorporating images into the research process may assist the researcher in dealing with these power issues. By placing a camera in participant's hands, we simultaneously offer them the related control and power. This control flows into the interview as well, where the participant has control over the subject matter and contents. This is what Harper (2002: 15) regards as 'postmodern dialogue based

on the authority of the subject rather than the researcher'. Furthermore, issues of power as relates to representation are clearly seen in Bellof's (1985: 31, see also p.43) work,

> [t]he taking of our image invades our privacy, especially. ... Interaction in photography accepts the power of the photographer's status. That status always has an edge over the subject. ... We know the person with the camera has control over our appearance'.

Specifically, photo-elicitation entails the assembly of images by, or under the direction of the researcher. The images are then shown to individuals or groups 'with the express aim of exploring participants' values, beliefs, attitudes, and meanings, in order to trigger memories, or to explore group dynamics or systems' (Prosser & Schwartz, 1998: 124) by means of interviews. In his own work, Prosser (1992) used the same set of images (that he had created of the research setting) with a range of participants thereby using images in a form of structured interview. He says that 'with little other than an encouraging "tell me about them", participants made comments about the images which usually led to a "what do you mean by that?" sort of question. Using this approach it was possible to elicit a variety of interpretations, affiliations, beliefs, attitudes and perspectives from participants and make comparisons' (1992: 402). Similarly, Gloor and Meier (2000: 133) explain how in their study 'many of the photographs do look very much alike. ... Yet they have quite different, even opposing, meanings for the photographers who made them'. These authors used photo-elicitation in a survey study, with a more statistical approach. On reflection, they comment that,

> [p]hoto-elicitation fleshes out the naked percentages of the quantitative study and enlivens them with more authentic opinions. It catalogues the realistic views of those people who know the place profoundly and therefore are able to give clear, logical, reasonable examples. This type of visual data is invaluable enrichment for the social scientific approach (Gloor & Meier 2000: 133).

They conclude that the method enabled them to 'delve into the context and the meaning of the pictures. It is mainly by combining the photographs with the interviews that they have become valid and sound data for our sociological analysis' (2000: 132). Similarly, Steven Gold comments on his use of photo-elicitation with Vietnamese refugees, that 'photo elicitation offered a valuable technique for studying ethnic relations .... The use of photographs provoked ample dialogue ... offering information. ...The photos gave respondents an object on which they could focus their discussion of [the research question]' (1991: 21).

The literature clearly demonstrates the value of elicitation in exploring not only the meaning of images in context, but also the taken-for-granted and perhaps even subconscious in the lives of participants. Furthermore, elicitation as a method proves valuable in facilitating the interview setting, providing a means of reducing stress and participant anxiety. The varied research questions that elicitation helps to answer as well as the diverse settings and groups

with which it can be used makes this a versatile method. Once again however, when using elicitation in the research process, there is a broad range as to where the control of the research process is centred. Examples offered here reflect instances where researchers produce their own images and then incorporate them into interviews, and other instances where participants construct images for these interviews. By taking the process of including images in the research design one step further, visual diaries ask of research participants not only to construct images used in the research, but also to reflect on them over a period of time.

3.4.3 Visual diaries

Prosser and Schwartz (1998: 123) regard visual diaries as self-reflective, media literate chronicles of participants' experiences within the research setting. Images generated in this manner are acknowledged to be the unique result of the interaction of a certain individual with a specific population using a particular medium at a precise moment in space and time. Reviewing these many variables in the photographic process distinguishes the visual record from the visual diary.

In many ways, visual diaries expand on photo-elicitation. With this method, participants maintain a journal by making photographs, drawings or video taped recordings over a period of time. Photographs or drawings are incorporated into a journal where the participant can record contextual information as well as thoughts and emotions surrounding the images. A similar process can be done with video taped recordings either by recording this type of information on the videotape as the recording is occurring or by maintaining a written journal. As Harper (2003: 191) tell us, 'the sentiments behind the image making must be understood through another mode of expression: a diary, a poem, or other expressive form', such as story telling.

This method is informed by theories such as those of Joan Solomon (1995: 11), who maintains that '[s]napshots are part of and create family folklore and mythologies'. Similarly, Jo Stanley (1995: 18) believes that '[d]iaries are a place for subjectively … portraying personal feelings and external events of significance'. Discussing what women can do with a camera, she argues that diaries or journals can be seen as 'a book of days', and importantly, are their creator's 'own accounts, where we are not posed or snapped by another' (1995: 19). As such, journals become places where we learn about 'versions of other women's lives' (1995: 19).

Stanley (1995: 19) believes that because camera technology is still not readily available to

women in impoverished areas of first world countries and more so in developing countries, 'photography provides a new and dynamic way of recording, communicating and understanding aspects of women's lives'. The unfamiliar (although not foreign) activity of photography may also offer an effective means of allowing members of developing communities to critically reflect on their lives. This was certainly evident in my fieldwork experiences. Most of the participants commented on how they were able to see their lives in a different light as a result of having to think about what they were capturing on film. By asking participants to make images in the research process, they may be more easily drawn into the reflective process that is being asked of them. From there, one could more easily encourage them to add comments to what has been documented. Various examples exist of personal experiences that substantiate Stanley's argument. Women who have turned their cameras on themselves have found that 'photography gives me "instant gratification" - instant images …. It's a process of discovery, a visual diary' (Edmeades, 1995: 30). Similarly, 'I see the potential for using pictures to create a journal: how quickly they jog the memory and bring floods of associations that make moments of my life really vivid' (Leketi-Solomon, 1995: 37). In the reality of day-to-day living for women in the developing world (Desjarlais, et al. 1995), cameras offer a quick and 'easy' means for them to document their world. Furthermore, the 'point and shoot' convenience of a basic camera, combined with story-telling traditions may be better suited to communities that place little emphasis on literary skills.

The process of documenting thoughts and feelings surrounding images may be enhanced in some situations by audio-recording conversations between the researcher and the participant as they view the visual images together. Recorded conversations may be especially useful when participants struggle to formulate accompanying captions. In commenting on confidence issues related to women and their value associations attached to journaling, Graham (1995) suggests that it is useful to capture, through notes or tape recordings, what participants have said about their images when first viewing them and reflecting on them.

Stanley suspects that 'one reason working-class women didn't write diaries was for the same reason that they haven't taken photographs, even if they have the equipment, because of a sense that life wasn't worth recording' (1995: 25). Stanley's words link documenting one's own life with a sense of personal worth, raising questions about the impact on women if we as researchers ask them to document their lives. As previously mentioned in my own fieldwork, research participants commented on how the process of making images had made them see their lives in an entirely different light, how not everything was bad and how there really were good things and inspiring things in their personal worlds. As Joan Solomon (1995: 10) says, our aim is to take the reader on a visual and verbal journey, to show that in using

our cameras as a form of visual diary, in disclosing ourselves to ourselves, we can empower ourselves and each other'.

Admittedly, we as researchers must acknowledge that visual diaries constructed within the research process are not journals that are created primarily for the participant's purpose. As such they may not contain the same freedom and personal honesty. They are more accurately documents created under the instruction of the researcher. As Jo Stanley (1995: 25) proposes,

> [i]n diaries, letters and photographs we present a version of ourselves that is partial. It leaves out bits of us that we think the reader or viewer may not want to know about, or that we may want to keep secret. The account has a specific frame. There may be no such simple unproblematic thing as the 'real truth about me' in a journal, letter or picture, just endless interesting versions of ourselves.

Jo Spence cautions that '[w]e need to be sure we have support before taking the plunge' (1995b: 87), highlighting how important it is for participants to have trust in the researcher before they may use this method adequately. Participants should not feel they are going to be judged.

Video Intervention/Prevention Assessment (VIA) offers an interesting example of how visual diaries have been used to effectively cross age and power boundaries, and inform improvements to medical service providers. VIA began as a multidisciplinary project in child health research, education, and advocacy, and was designed to obtain an understanding of patients' lives, which had been largely inaccessible to previous research techniques. VIA allows participants to reveal their own environments and life experiences, especially as those experiences, objective and subjective, relate to the research question (Rich & Chalfen, 1999). VIA research protocol has its roots in 'bio-documentary' - as developed by Sol Worth and the Navajo and has now been modified into 'socio-documentary' by Rich and Chalfen (1999). The core of VIA involves providing participants small, easy to use video camcorders. Participants then make video diaries, recording their worlds and their lives within them, as they perceive them (Rich & Chalfen, 1999).

In its specific development, VIA was developed to gain greater understanding of children with asthma's experiences of the medical services available to them. They are asked to videotape pre-assigned, 'universal' situations (such as mealtimes, preparing for school, visiting the doctor, on so-forth) so that they may be compared and contrasted between participants, as well as people, places, and situations that define their lives as they know them. Participants interview family, friends, and others with whom they interact for their perspectives on the research question. Perhaps more importantly, the participants are asked to set up the

camera and speak to it each day of their documentation period, revealing their ongoing inner life as well as their reactions to events of the day. These 'monologues' not only add the internal dimension of the life experience, but they openly acknowledge and capitalize on the material's subjective point of view (Rich & Chalfen, 1999).

Rich and Chalfen (1999: 54) believe that '[b]y having lives and worlds self-documented by the participants rather than recorded by researchers, VIA seeks to diminish the reactivity of participants to an outside observer'. They claim that VIA provokes

> unanticipated articulations in spoken or audio-visual forms, encouraging new and fresh perspectives ... through the child's eye, objective and subjective, we are offered views of life circumstances never captured before. We gain access to fresh kinds of evidence, sources for new speculation and theory-building about intra-personal and interpersonal arenas of a wide range of social circumstances. ... The participant-centered visual narratives generated by VIA have the potential to become powerfully humanizing tools for revealing 'real world' circumstances (Rich & Chalfen, 1999: 67).

Rich and Chalfen (1999) are convinced that the VIA approach is applicable to a broad range of social concerns and that the primary benefit of this method includes equal abilities of both parties to play a role and establish true dialogue as well as the potential for beneficial change. In their study, Rich and Chalfen (1999) found that participants gained a sense of purposeful expression and an increased self-awareness through a familiar model of visual communication. The study demonstrated that young people are capable of visually documenting their own worlds as they see, understand, and live in such worlds. As they point out, 'young people in our sample were willing and able to reveal new dimensions of their lives, hitherto unknown realities that are increasingly important and useful to those who can take therapeutic action' (1999: 67). Furthermore, professionals gained a 'reality check' - learning from the wisdom of participants, 'clinicians were literally able to see and feel aspects of asthma that they have never experienced before' (1999: 67).

Another example of the use of visual diaries is Barnes, Taylor-Brown and Wiener's (1997) study of HIV-infected mothers. In their study, participants made videotaped legacies for their children that the researchers could then analyse to better understand 'the social construction of mothering and the significance of impending maternal death from a stigmatising illness by analysing experiences of HIV-infected mothers' (1997: 8). In this instance, one of the authors (Taylor-Brown), a social worker, met with the participants and provided support as they constructed their legacies on video. By carefully providing reflexive questions to participants and there-by avoiding directing their work, the women were able to build a video content that was solely based on their own discretion. Together, participants devised a plan with Taylor-Brown as to when and how their children would view the tapes.

In conclusion, visual diaries provide a means of gaining a very personal perspective on the lives of participants. Through the act of making images and then creating journals around them, participants have the opportunity to reflect on the reflections of their lives as it were. In the act of constructing images, participants gain an initial sense of their lives. Exploring their images in greater depth and creating personal narratives around them takes this reflection to a much deeper level. In this way, participants increase their self-awarness. Such detailed understanding of one's context and self is then reflected in the quality of data elicited in interviews. Visual essays/narratives build on visual diaries, using the increased self-awareness to impact on community awareness.

3.4.4 Visual essays/narratives

There are many versions of what constitutes a visual essay in existing literature (Chaplin, 1994; Grady, 1991; Pink, 2001; Schwartz, 1993). Perhaps the easiest way to describe a visual essay or narrative is to translate it literally as 'a picture story', or a story told by means of the visual, and as such is a series of running images that collectively, tell the producer's tale (Harper, 2003; Grady, 1991). Grady (1991: 30) believes that 'the visual essay provides the analyst with a means of expression that is especially sensitive to appreciating and treating the unique social conjunctures that constitute the life of any particular person, situation or event'.

Researchers such as Sampson (2001) argue that photo essays result in much richer data than methods such as elicitation. Similarly, Grady (1991: 27) believes that 'producing visual essays provides the maker with authorship over a compelling medium', and that

> the making of visual essays is both nurtured by and fosters rich and fluid metaphors as ways of organising unedited images. These metaphors work by engaging both the audience's eyes and the ways they have codified their own experience ... based on a process of pattern recognition that can spark the imagination to compare and to contrast as few other stimuli can. ... the visual essay's currency in metaphor also accounts for the ease with which it stimulates language and discourse and so make increasingly public our understanding of social experience and pattern (1991: 30).

Harper (2003: 186) too argues that 'the narrative view is consistent with symbolic interaction, which makes us sensitive to how we process interaction based on interpretations'.

When using this method, participants construct visual essays or narratives as they would visual diaries and then engage with the researcher as they would in photo-elicitation. Added to this however is the 'public' dimension, where these essays or narratives can be used for public display. Most studies of this nature will no doubt involve some form of training for

participants related to technology and other available resources. These projects would also require longer periods of time in the field.

Visual essays are subjective - representing the maker's personal vision - the story line leads the research process and it is reliant on descriptive materials, where the images chosen are raw data and the final edit is a montage of these images. The story line leads the research. Grady (1991: 37) emphasises that

> what interests us about these materials is what they reflect about the actualities of the situation. Whether it be in the purpose of the one who has shot the image - or in what one can see in a naïve image shot be another - the point is that … the visual essay uses these images to tell us about a real world that has an existence independent of the observer.

Ultimately, visual narratives are constructed through a series of choices and decisions (Harper, 2003), which in turn inform the researcher about the context in which the study occurs.

Photo essays can be created by participants individually, or in groups and may incorporate the use of photographs, art and/or video. Most existing studies however appear to make use of film or video (Harper, 2003). Niesyto (2000) differentiates between group-orientated video-documentaries and collage-like video films. In group-orientated video-documentaries, participants 'just have the camera running in typical situations and produce group-related self-portrayals about their situation, their imaginations and desires. They get a chance to speak for themselves, they comment on situations and run interviews' (2000: 151). These productions are often used to express personal themes and needs to the local public. Collage-like video films are more suitable to expressing emotions, moods and fantasies, making use of metaphors. Ideas can be developed by means of brainstorming, various sounds and images can be collected and merged into the 'sound-image-collage in a non-linear way' (2000: 151). Here the researcher has a larger role in providing technical as well as aesthetical guidance to the participants. The value of this technique has been illustrated in the Dresden Social Videographical Study, where the decision to make use of video-collage was made mostly by youth who tended to be more marginal to others participating in the project, suggesting its appeal for emotional expression.

A prime example of a visual narrative is Jo Spence's *Putting myself in the picture* (1986). Here she used a lifetime's worth of images to document her personal growth. As Grady explains (1991: 31), Spence's images

> become ways of exploring women's consciousness in late twentieth century Britain and how easily surprised ideologically based judgements are by the life cycle. … Spence's encounter and struggle with image, gender and identity is a masterfully

102

disturbing representation of how our expectations contribute to the impact that the vulnerability of the body has on our lives.

Schratz and Steiner-Löffler (1998) also employed this technique in an evaluation of school space with school children. In their study, participating youth formed self-selected groups of four or five members. Each team then discussed the research question. Teams decided on what they would make images of and the details that would be included in these images. Teams made these images, which were then incorporated into a presentation of some form (photographs or drawing would be used in a poster) that incorporated their comments on the images.

Extensive work involving visual narratives has also been conducted with youth in Germany. Niesyto (2000) provides a detailed outline of many of these projects and the variety of issues that were explored through youth-made videos of the research theme. Experience from some of these projects has illustrated that it is essential to earn trust and to gain respect and acceptance among especially youth. Accordingly, Niesyto (2000: 143) believes that '[t]he basis for producing video portraits should therefore always be the personal encounter, as well as the interest in youth and their lives'. This work has also demonstrated practical tips to researchers, such as ensuring that each participant has access to the image producing technology, that there is 'a right to veto' (2000: 143) various shots within the group, and that film can only be used in situations and by people agreed to by the participants.

Visual essays or narratives provide greater opportunity for group work. One could hypothesise that this may be a logical progression from using visual diaries. In other words, once participants have had the opportunity for self-reflection through the process of creating visual diaries, groups could combine their knowledge, creating a collective understanding of their experiences and their context. Visual narratives can also be used for public presentation. This method does not however incorporate critical theory or pedagogy in its goals, as photovoice does.

3.4.5 Photovoice

As a grass roots research method photovoice 'attempts to blend the principle of photography as a personal voice with the politics of photography as community voice to reach policy makers' (Wang, 2003: 181). Based on Paulo Freire's theory of critical pedagogy, the underlying precepts of photovoice are that community participation, together with personal transformation and empowerment, result in social change towards justice. Originally named photo novella, and aimed at assessing the needs of rural Chinese women, Wang and Burris

(1994: 171) describe its underpinnings as 'empowerment education, feminist theory and documentary photography' and has as its original goals 'changes in consciousness and informing policy' (1994: 172). Very much a form of Participatory Action Research, which Wang, Burris and Xiang (1996) take to mean, 'a process of collective, community-based investigation, education and action for structural and personal transformation' (Maguire, 1993, in Wang, Burris & Xiang, 1996), photovoice allows 'people to document and discuss their life conditions as they see them' (Wang & Burris, 1994: 171).

Photovoice is a flexible means of incorporating a wide array of perspectives (Wang, 2003). This method begins with a concern for individual development by focusing on central issues in the lives of individuals. By means of critical reflection on their lives through self-made images, photovoice aims to empower groups to identify their shared issues. Discussion is therefore directed at, and progresses through, individual change, community quality of life, and institutional changes by communicating identified needs to policy makers. Photographs play a central role, serving as a 'code', reflecting the community back upon itself, 'mirroring the everyday social and political realities that influence people's lives' (Wang & Burris, 1994: 172). Furthermore, through photovoice, the opportunity is created for local people to enhance personal self-esteem and improve their material and social status through visibility as a result of photographs providing 'both evidence and validation for shared concerns' (Wang & Burris, 1994: 180). Participants direct the project, with researchers assuming the role of facilitators, avoiding approaches that foster dependency or powerlessness. Photovoice 'enlarges its approach to empowerment by providing a concrete way for people to communicate their vision and their voice in order to inform policy' (1994: 172-3) via increased community networking. As Spence (1995: 87) tells us, '[g]oing public by speaking or showing our pictures as evidence can sometimes encourage others to join in and shift the balance of power or opinion'.

Wang (1999) asserts that images can teach and that images can influence policy. Furthermore, community members ought to participate in creating and defining the images that shape public policy in ways that are appropriate and meaningful to their needs. By combining self-representation and critical reflection on the part of research participants, it is believed that participants are enabled to have a better understanding of their own needs, as well as being enabled to articulate and act on those needs (Wang, Wu, Zhan & Carovano, 1998). Previous studies using this method have clearly demonstrated its ability to 'reach, inform and organise community members, enabling them to prioritise their concerns and discuss problems and solutions' (2003: 182). The power Wang attributes to images is reflective of work by authors such as Barthes (1996), Schratz, Walker and Wiedel (1995) and

Tagg (1987).

Photovoice studies require between seven to ten community participants (Wang, 1999). Purposive selection is used to include both community participants as well as a target audience of policy makers and community leaders in the larger research process. The latter group holds the power to alter policy. By forming an ad hoc advisory board to the project they become 'a group with the political will to put participant's ideas into practice' (Wang, 1999: 187).

Images are constructed according to a research theme, which should allow for personal interpretation and for participants to add their own relevant issues. Participants document issues related to the research question by means of either photographic or video images. Individual interviews are then conducted about the images.

Following this, facilitated small and large group discussions highlight similarities and differences between participants, allowing them to learn as experts of their own lives (Wang & Burris, 1994: 180, after Freire, 1973). Facilitators can be either internal or external to the community in which the study occurs (Wang, Wu, Zhan & Carovano, 1998). Wang, Wu, Zhan and Carovano (1998) also highlight that individual members of communities each have their own strengths that they can bring to the process and that these should be incorporated accordingly. Similarly, different people bring different needs to the process. These too should be accounted for in the process.

During individual interviews and group discussions, participants select images that most accurately reflect their concerns; contextualising their images through their narrative and coding their data by identifying the issues, themes or theories that emerge (Wang, Wu, Zhan & Carovano, 1998). Photovoice makes use of Wallerstein's (1987, in Wang, Wu, Zhan & Carovano, 1998: 80) acronym SHOWeD to help participants analyse data: 'What do you **S**ee here? What's really **H**appening here? How does this relate to **O**ur lives? **W**hy does this problem or this strength exist? What can we **D**o about this?' (see also Wang , 1999). In using this method, participants aim to identify problems or strengths, critically discuss the cause of the situation and develop strategies for changing the situation (Wang, Wu, Zhan & Carovano, 1998).

Through these discussions, participants 'increase their individual and collective knowledge' (Wang & Burris, 1994: 179) about the research issue, there-by adding an educational component to the research. After highlighting central issues in their lives as well as possible

constructive solutions, presentations are then created and made to the broader community. In doing so participants are drawn into the analysis of the data as well as promoting their issues to those in positions of power such as policy makers, thereby becoming empowered themselves in proactively contributing to the larger study. Wang and Burris (1994: 183) explain that through this process, a 'rural woman normally could not gain access to a country-level official, or communicate with a westerner. Her photos do'.

Several limitations have been highlighted regarding photovoice during the past decade. First, the method requires considerable time and resources. The realities of participants' lives must be accounted for when establishing time frames in the research design because photovoice studies occur 'in the reality of people's experience' (Wang & Burris, 1994: 184). Wang recommends that photovoice studies extend over a period of between six months to a year. In the study with women in rural China, for example, participants used a 36-exposure colour film per month for a year (Wang, Wu, Zhan & Carovano, 1998).

Second, Wang, Burris and Xiang (1996) express their concern that the changes brought to policy may not be immediate. Wang and Burris (1994: 183) admit that this method assumes policymakers' responsiveness to constructive criticism or unconventional ideas. Without their receptivity and cooperation, the focus of photovoice can alternatively shift to training participants to raise critical consciousness and mobilisation. Wang and Burris (1994) suggest public exhibitions for consciousness-raising as an alternative to policy maker or community leader involvement.

Third, Wang, Burris and Xiang (1996: 1399) warn that although photovoice may empower participants to 'communicate to policy makers' it does not shift the power to participants 'to decide policy'. In this regard, they raise ethical concerns that an 'unfair distribution of the burden of social change' (1996: 1397) may be placed on less powerful groups when it should be the responsibility of more privileged groups. Implemented correctly, photovoice should raise awareness of social problems and contribute to the effective solving there-of. By presenting community orientated solutions to problems identified by community members themselves, resulting policy and programs will perhaps be more appropriate than models that are often simply imposed on communities by those in power.

Variations on the photovoice method are seen in studies such as that of Lykes (2001: 363) where she worked with a group of women in Guatemala 'to improve the quality of community life in response to the effects of war and extreme policy'. In this study, each woman produced photographs, selecting between five and seven images to be shared in small groups along

with relevant narratives. The women then worked in these larger groups to analyse the photographs and their meanings. Lykes (2001: 366) explains how '[t]hrough careful planning and the scaffolding of experiences within the group discussions, women have developed strategies for clustering ideas, identifying similarities and differences between and across photos, and constructing holistic analyses of clusters of photographs'. The process was then repeated with the larger group. In this manner, women were able to explore possible solutions to problems at individual and community levels, 'developing a shared vision for change' (2001: 367). Lykes (2001: 369) reflects on how 'the process of taking pictures within one's community became an opportunity to develop individual and collective stories that had heretofore been silenced or spoken only privately to researchers or human rights workers. The photograph creates its own story and becomes a site for wider participatory storytelling and analysis'. This study illustrates how photovoice is able to expand on its original aims of policy development and provide a therapeutic dimension for communities who otherwise may not have such resources. By means of community story telling, elicited through the photographs, this community has been able to heal. Furthermore, Lykes (2001: 368) comments on how participants 'developed a new respect for themselves as women as well as for each other' and that working in this manner 'contributed importantly to personal growth for many'.

Criticos and Quinlan's (1991) use of community video to document the history of a group of Indian fisherman in Durban, South Africa provides a similar example of research involving photovoice. Their work in the diminished fishing community highlighted the need to 'arrive at an understanding of this history through dialogue' (1991: 42), with participants letting researchers know when they had 'got it all wrong' (1991: 42). The project demonstrates the value of allowing various members of a community to contribute what they have and what they can to the research project - allowing each to use his own strengths - as well as working towards community identified goals. By the time filming had reached completion, the community claimed ownership of the work to the point of raising their own money to cover production costs. In the course of negotiating the video and the resolutions surrounding it, 'a tangible political discourse was set in motion. In claiming a record of their history, the participants sought to give political voice to their effect' (1991: 44). Criticos and Quinlan (1991: 45) comment on how, 'although the project was nominally completed with the production of a film, it continues in the form of political lobbying by the fishermen, their families, descendents and ourselves'.

Photovoice has been used in a variety of settings and with diverse populations, demonstrating how the method can be used by people from all walks of life (Wang, Wu, Zhan

107

& Carovano, 1998). Studies have taken place with neighbourhood groups in Contra Costa County, California; people with mental illness in New Haven, Connecticut; Planned Parenthood youth peer educators in Cape Town; young homeless women and older, marginally housed women in Detroit; teenage 'town criers' on AIDS in the San Francisco Bay area; and rural women in China (Wang, 2003). Wang, Wu, Zhan and Carovano (1998: 79) assert that the photovoice method 'aught to be adaptable for people to use in their own settings without outside consultation'.

Through producing and analysing their own data, participants generate a new knowledge of themselves and their communities. Through access to knowledge, decisions, networks and resources, individuals and broader communities become empowered. With the right resources, communities should be able to conduct their own studies using photovoice. Used with researchers though, the method ensures that the research process remains in the hands of participants.

3.5 Data capturing and analysis

Capturing data gathered by means of visual methods and analysis thereof is reviewed in this section. The sub-section discussing data capturing remains very practical, focusing on storage, computer software and categorising of images. Data analysis reviews an approach to analysis as well as conducting analysis whilst in the field and then in the academic context. Attention is given specifically to content analysis and grounded theory analysis as a means of analysing data gathered by means of the visual methods.

3.5.1 Data capturing

Although as Pink (2001: 94) writes, 'little has been written on the storage and analysis of qualitative visual research methods' most of this process is as logical as, and similar to, storing and qualitatively analysing verbal or textual data. What may be required of the researcher is perhaps a little extra creative thought when approaching either of these processes and more exploration of the computer software available for such purposes. Software programs now exist that can aid in the indexing and classification of still as well as moving images in addition to assisting in data analysis. The rate at which programs are being developed and improved is reflected for example on listservers such as that of the International Visual Sociology Association (IVSA), where members regularly comment on the discovery of some exciting new piece of software that assists in the storage and analysis of visual research materials.

Computers provide easy and convenient storage to visual data and accompanying text. By digitalising images, access to data is facilitated. Furthermore, the ability of researchers to share data and results with one another and sometimes even with research participants, is increased (Banks, 2001). According to Banks (2001: 152) '[a]nything that can be done to analogue media to prepare it for presentation can equally well be accomplished using digital media, often more easily and cheaply'. He warns though that '[s]uch uses of digital media are strategic and pragmatic, not intended to deny the materiality of the originals, nor pretending that the circulation of images in this way transcends their social embeddedness. It is up to the researcher to choose whether or not to incorporate these factors self-reflexively in her work' (Banks, 2001: 152). Conceptual issues surrounding the use of images in the research process remain (Banks, 2001).

Pink (2001: 103) points out that 'while there is no set method for organising ethnographic images, the systems researchers develop for categorising images should be informed by appropriate theoretical and ethical principles'. At the very least, all data files and research records should be clearly identified and their contextual information adequately documented. Contextual information should include date and time of data construction or capturing, photographer, location and any additional information the researcher feels is necessary. Loizos (2000) suggests not only labelling files and records themselves, but also making a master list of all labels that serves as an index to the entire data set. In her own studies, Pink (2001: 109) has found that 'the extent to which images can and need to be formally managed … may depend on the sheer quantity of images, commentaries and themes involved'. This insight emphasises the need to log images and interview data as they are generated in the field (Suchar, 1997).

Although some authors such as Collier & Collier (1986) recommend that researchers keep images in their chronological order and analyse them as such, others such as Pink (2001: 106) believe that this approach 'may not consistently represent the way in which reality was experienced or conceptualised by all the individuals involved'. Furthermore, as my own experience has shown, not all images may be relevant to the particular theme of the study (see Chapter Four and Five). Pink (2001: 106) in particular believes that although 'it is useful to keep note of the shooting order to describe the formal structure of events and activities' so as to situate the images 'temporarily and spatially within the research process', the original shooting order 'should not be the dominant narrative of any visual representation'. She explains that the same image may be given different meanings in different but interconnected situations. Each of these situations has their own ethnographic significance. Any categorisation system should not deny any piece of data 'the richness of its potential for

facilitating and communicating ethnographic understandings' (2001: 107). As such, systems of ordering and storing images should account for their ambiguity of meaning and 'fickle adherence to categories' (2001: 107).

The safety of data should also be ensured through effective storage practices. Sampson (2001), in her study of a rural school and its relationship to the community in which it is situated, created a copy of every image generated in the study, along with a photo file (a card with thumbnail copies of images) and a set of negatives. The negatives, photo file, a floppy disc with the interview transcriptions and photo essays, consent forms and signed image-release forms, as well as back-ups of her interview tapes were all stored in a safety deposit box at a local bank. All images were also scanned into a computer for analysis. Loizos (2000) too advises making duplicates of all the data and securely storing the originals at a separate location.

3.5.2 Data analysis

The aim of qualitative visual data analysis is to determine patterns and meaning (Collier, 2001) by means of a series of 'inductive and formative acts carried out throughout the research process' (Prosser & Schwartz, 1998: 125). As Pink (2001: 95) explains, the analysis process involves 'scrutinising the relationship between meanings given to photographs and video during fieldwork, and academic meanings later invested in the same images'. As such, the discussion to follow explores the analysis of visual data in the field, followed by the analysis of the same data once it is returned to an academic context. Content analysis and grounded theory analysis are recommended given the qualitative nature of the methods discussed in Section 3.4.

The mode of analysis decided upon, will depend on the research question and which method is best suited to answer that question, because '[m]aking sense of photographs is also dependent on what sort of social explanation or intellectual puzzle is to be resolved' (Prosser & Schwartz, 1998: 126). The theoretical framework within which the research is being conducted will also impact on the approach taken to data analysis. Babbie and Mouton (2001: 491) argue that '[w]e need to decide how we want to answer our content question', which derives from the paradigm and theoretical approach that we work in. As Prosser and Schwartz (1998: 126) explain, a 'framework aids management of large amounts of (visual) data by providing logic for sorting, organising, indexing and categorisation'. Harper (1998: 34) too believes that 'to accomplish in-depth understanding one must complete "immersive" field research driven by *theoretical* questions' (authors italics). He argues that it is only in this way that we can 'learn to see through the lenses of the cultural Other' (1998: 34). Harper feels

that if we do not organise and present our data from a sociological or anthropological perspective, 'we may create visual information which will unconsciously reflect our personal taken-for-granted assumptions' (1998: 34).

Many researchers suggest beginning with analysis while still in the field (Bottorff, 1994). This is because images first produced, discussed and made meaningful during fieldwork will be given new significance in academic culture where they are 'separated from the world of action in which they were meaningful and placed in a world in which they will be interrogated and interpreted from a multiplicity of different perspectives' (Morphy & Banks, 1997: 16; see also Pink, 2001). As such, should this initial analysis be skipped over, important meanings of the data may in fact be omitted in the final analysis. In fact Prosser and Schwartz (1998: 125) state this in a more directive manner, saying that 'visual researchers begin the task of analysis in the course of field research so that new inferences can be exploited before the field work ends'. In accordance with the types of visual methods suggested in Section 3.4, analysis should therefore take place throughout the research process (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995).

When engaged in this initial analysis in the field, it is best to begin with open-ended viewing, allowing informants to say whatever they wish about the images being reviewed, moving through a process similar to grounded theory from there. First, the data is observed as a whole, allowing for discoveries based on feelings and impressions. Here images act as cultural statements that allow the researcher to form a structure within which to continue the fieldwork. Questions are created from this process to direct further research. As Caldarola (1985) suggests, by integrating photography into ethnographic research through the inclusion of regular viewing sessions with research participants, visual data can be validated as research proceeds and used to generate new inferences that inform future data gathering. An inventory around the emerging categories is also created to structure the analysis and produce detailed descriptions. Harper (2001) suggests that researchers also try to understand the making and function of the images together with the perspectives of the image-makers. Harper's (2001) analysis makes use of an open-ended process of structured analysis in a 'circular' research process where preliminary findings direct fieldwork. He believes that it is in this way, we can 'respond to larger patterns within the whole that may reveal the new and unforeseen, that provide significant meaning to otherwise chaotic details' (2001: 39). Finally, researchers should search for meaningful significance by returning to the complete visual record. The data should again be responded to in an open manner so that details from the restructured analysis can be placed in a context that defines their significance. After re-establishing the context, conclusions as influenced by this final

exposure to the whole can then be written. Collier (2001:59) explains that in this process, 'conclusions lie beyond information and description; as such they entail creative and artistic processes ... [however] if conclusions cannot be supported with detailed information, descriptive or otherwise, from an organised process of analysis, then they should be re-examined'.

The focus of such analysis conducted in the field is not so much the content of the photograph, but how the content is given meanings relevant to the project. Commenting on the incorporation of text or verbal comment into the analysis, Gloor and Meier (2000: 123) tell us that 'people's comments on the photos - the explanations of their meaning and their reasons for taking them - reveal far more diversity than the pictures themselves'. This is reflected in Pink's fieldwork where she realised that some 'images, materially absent from our field notes, still form an important part of the analysis of ethnographic knowledge' (2001: 103). Pink advises that when making use of such knowledge, researchers be careful to note the composition and content of such images as well as how they have been presented to the researcher and the conversations of which they were a part. As she says, 'it was less important to copy these images to "take home" and subject them to a systemic analysis than it was to analyse how they were used to represent and discuss the themes of my research' (2001: 103).

Banks (2001: 154) too highlights the importance of the 'external narrative surrounding an image' in data analysis. Banks (1995) explains that visual representations are both produced and consumed in a social context. Research participants bring their own cultural frameworks to the research with which they see images. For this reason, Prosser and Schwartz (1998: 125) advocate that researchers incorporate full contextual detail into the analysis process as this 'enables the trustworthiness and limitations of photographs to be assessed and this means having an understanding of both the external and internal photo-context'. They highlight that contexts are 'multi-faceted', including the academic discipline, research paradigm and theoretical framework the researcher works within; the extent of disparity between the interpreter and the image maker's culture, ethnicity, religion, gender, class and values and the object of the photograph; and the micro-context that shapes the particular dynamic relationship between 'taker' and 'taken'.

By including participants in the data analysis process in this way, Daniels (2003: 203) found that

> had we analysed these pictures and drawings, we would have interpreted them
> through our lens of experience and that we would have compromised the findings.
> Similar to how we stand the chance of missing the finer nuances and meanings when

112

we communicate through a second language, we could miss the drama, quality or bravery in people's lives when we analyse and interpret the photos without their input.

Once images have been removed from the research setting and returned to the academic environment, researchers should incorporate a more formal approach to data analysis. A variety of analytical methods can be applied to visual materials (Ball & Smith, 1992; Collier, 2001). Authors such as Ball and Smith (1992) and Prosser and Schwartz (1998) suggest for example making use of content analysis, symbolism, structuralism, cognitive anthropology, and ethnomethodology. Content analysis and grounded theory are amongst the most frequently used means of analysing data in visual methods studies such as those discussed here.

Ball and Smith (1992: 20) explain that content analysis is concerned with the manifestation of the obvious 'flow of messages from a transmitter to a receiver' within the communication process, as opposed to its latent or hidden dimensions. Thus, content analysis is limited to what is 'expressly communicated by some document rather than the motives animating the construction of the document or the responses that person makes to it' (1992: 21). It is perhaps for this reason that Bell (2001: 13) believes that content analysis is the 'most basic way of finding out something'. Furthermore, content analysis 'appears to require little theoretical analysis' and 'allows for apparently general statements to be made about aspects of representation' (Bell, 2001: 13).

Prosser and Schwartz (1998: 128) suggest that when using content analysis, researchers begin data analysis by reviewing images in terms of what Collier and Collier (1986: 47) call a 'cultural inventory'. They explain this as the analysis of 'spatial configuration of otherwise ordinary objects, common to a mass society' (Prosser & Schwartz, 1998: 128), that reflect or express the cultural patterns and values of distinct cultural groups. Questions are then developed based on what stands out to the researcher as being significant about the images, but that are also guided by the researcher's theoretical framework. These questions may include who is depicted in the images, what environments are seen, and so on. When approaching images for analysis, Kellehear (1993: 82) suggests some practical questions to follow. Some of these include:

- Note body language, setting.
- Note prominence and timing of status symbols and possessions, technologies and other unusual objects.
- Note repetitions of locales, people, objects, and lifestyles.
- Note what reference groups are suggested by the furnishings, places, clothes and

accessories of the people.

- What type of gender and age relations are suggested
- What is obvious? What is subtle?
- Note themes of change, continuity, outsider/insider similarity and difference.
- Note what attracts you, disturbs you, and moves you.
- Note your own social reactions carefully and reflect about what personal or social values are stirring these.
- What social story or message is intended?

Based on the content that emerges, categories are developed to reflect what is seen in the images. The elements within the categories are counted and comparisons made across images (Blinn-Pike & Eyring, 1993). Although content analysis begins with a precise hypothesis or question, '[c]ontent analysis alone is seldom able to support statements about the significance, effects or interpreted meaning of a domain of representation' (Bell, 2001: 13). As Donna Schwartz's (1989a; 1989b) work demonstrates, content analysis is however an excellent means of generating more specific questions about a particular setting.

Grounded theory on the other-hand, takes the exploration of data to a deeper level. Seen as an interpretive approach to data analysis, Strauss and Corbin (1990: 23) define a grounded theory as 'one that is inductively derived from the study of the phenomenon it represents. That is, it is discovered, developed and provisionally verified through systemic data collection and analysis of data pertaining to that phenomenon'. Babbie and Mouton (2001: 499) define grounded theory as 'an approach that allows us to study a relatively unknown social phenomenon around which no specific theory may exist yet. In the process we will literally build a theory from the ground up'. This explanation of grounded theory highlights how well suited it is to research in developing contexts, where previous research and its results may have been skewed by 'colonialist methodologies' (Smith, 1999).

Researchers such as Barnes, et al. (1997) as well as Sampson (2001) and Suchar (1997, see also Section 3.4.1) have clearly demonstrated how visual data can be successfully analysed by means of grounded theory. They rely extensively on the work of Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss (1967; as well as Strauss, 1987; Strauss & Corbin, 1990) in addition to reputed theorists such as Kathy Charmaz (1983; 1990; 2003).

Irrespective of the method chosen to analyse data, it is important for researchers to engage in a process of reflexivity throughout the research process. Although images have a tangible

114

character, they are still seen through 'our varied "lenses" of personal and cultural identity and experience' (Collier, 2001: 35). For this reason, researchers should acknowledge the subjectivities and intentions embedded in images, as well as the cultural discourses, social relationships and broader political, economic and historical contexts in which images and their makers are situated. Pink (2001) emphasises the importance of reflection on the part of researchers as to how they experience participants' images, as well as their own contribution in collaboratively produced narratives. For this reason, several studies begin data analysis by reviewing images before incorporating text into them (see for example Gloor & Meier, 2000). This may also serve to highlight researcher subjectivities in the analytical process. Should the researcher be seeing the images very differently to how participants sees them, this may stimulate interesting reflexive investigation on the part of the researcher.

This section has outlined means of managing and capturing raw data, giving attention to labelling and storage. The discussion has also included an approach to data analysis, considering where and when this analysis begin as well as approaches that may be best suited for the analysis of images in cross-cultural research. By making use of content analysis researchers may be better able to familiarise themselves in the initial stages of research with the contents of images. In order to effectively manage data generated in the kinds of studies suggested here as well as with the methods outlined in Section 3.4, grounded theory analysis may be a more appropriate means of generating theory in these cross-cultural studies.

3.6 Presentation

Presentation of research findings is an essential product of the research process. Publications from research experiences and projects disseminate relevant information and knowledge to a host of audiences. This final section considers such presentation of research findings in visual methods studies. The discussion addresses documents or presentations compiled for participating communities as well as more formal academic publications. Specific attention is given to the incorporation of images in what are ordinarily text driven documents.

When writing up research findings, one of the primary considerations is the nature of the target audience, especially when the methods described here are aimed at such a wide variety of audiences. What does the final document look like that is given back to the community? What does the exhibition look like that is put on for community leaders or policy

makers? And what does the final academic document look like? Documents that are produced for the community or returned to the community should ideally be created in collaboration with research participants. These 'documents' or displays should be created in such a manner that they are accessible and useful to community members. Consequently, participant input should guide this.

Academic or funder documents require a completely different type of documents prepared for communities. Many important aspects to consider when compiling academic documents however are also applicable to community reports. As such many of the points addressed below apply to both types of documents.

Incorporating images meaningfully in research reports aimed at any audience can be particularly challenging. Various authors give attention to the inclusion of visual data in reports (Banks, 2001; Chaplin, 1994; Pink, 2001). These authors criticise approaches that treat visual data as illustrations or supplements to text, and analysis as the translation of images into words. They argue the seriousness with which images should be included in publications, stating that images should not be included as 'an afterthought, or thought to be self-evident - communicating their internal narrative transparently and naturally' (Banks, 2001: 144). The challenge is to represent new knowledge by effectively situating images in relation to both words and other images. Chaplin (1994) and Pink (2001) believe that when photographs and words are incorporated effectively in a document, they can work together to produce the desired meanings. In this regard, captioning is not always appropriate and in fact, at-times, it can work to the detriment of images. Chaplin (1994: 207) claims that an image presented in this manner 'looses its autonomy as a photograph and thus any claim to make a contribution in its own right'. Following on Chaplin's reasoning, Pink (2001: 116) continues, saying that

> the idea that written text inspires reflexive reading, while visual text does not, also underestimates the potential of photography and video for ethnographic representation and is challenged by the practical and theoretical work of "visual" ethnographers (e.g. Biella, 1994; MacDougall, 1997). ... film narrative ... [and] photography is ... "experienced" by viewers. Therefore an ethnographer's role would be to inspire viewers to question self-consciously the content and meanings of their photographic representations. In constructing written and visual texts ethnographers are concerned not simply with producing different forms of representation and knowledge, but also with what their readers, viewers and audiences will do with these representations.

Effectively structuring research reports when using visual data is akin to effectively structuring research reports when using only textual data. In this regard, Banks (2001) argues that as with good academic writing, good visual representation is a skill that can be developed and honed. He believes specifically, that as with writing, the creation of a visual

narrative requires a depth of judgement, 'allied for the social researcher with a clearly developed analytical perspective' (2001: 147). In final presentations text and images should balance one another. To achieve this, researchers should explore the relationship between images and text, using 'images and words to contextualise each other' (Pink, 2001: 96). In order to do this, authors such as Collier (2001) and Banks (2001) advocate writing from the images, thinking carefully about the work that the image and text are doing mutually and independent of one another.

In the presentation of research findings, some visual researchers have gone so far as to produce visual narratives or essays that either contain only images, or that make the images dominant in the presentation. Here, the written text is often reduced to an introductory statement and a number of captions. Such documents are normally driven by a strong narrative which links one image to the next in sequence, 'either in a more or less strict chronological fashion or through a more abstract association of ideas' (Banks, 2001: 145).

As with all other aspects of the research process, reflexivity is as important when presenting findings. Pink (2001: 121-2) believes that contemporary ethnographers have incorporated an understanding of 'ethnographic text as a subjective, but hopefully "loyal", representation of culture and experience into their work'. This has resulted in increased attention to writing and how researchers present their findings. Pink cites numerous authors who stress the value of reflexivity for both reading and writing reports. There has however been little discussion surrounding the implications of these debates for the inclusion of visual data such as photographs or drawings in or as text themselves. Grady (1991) argues though that all textual accounts of research are narratives and that there is little reason why visual narratives cannot take the same approach.

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter has taken a more practical view of visual methods situating them within the research process. Issues surrounding the source of visual data and type of images to be used have been addressed. The appropriateness of drawing on pre-existing images, as well as the benefits of both the researcher and the participant creating new images has been set out. Various types of visual methods relevant to research conducted in developing contexts have been set out. This typology has progressed from more researcher driven approaches that are apt to establishing a contextual understanding of a community in shooting scripts, to Participatory Action Research driven methods such as photovoice that include participant involvement in image construction, analysis and presentation. In all the types of methods for

data gathering presented here the researcher is engaged with a tool that allows for greater communication and interaction with research participants. Used effectively, they draw researchers deeper into communities and direct focus to where it is needed and necessary. Furthermore, these methods will enable participants to critically reflect on their lives, resulting in a self-representation that is better aligned with their personal perspectives of their lives. In this manner, participants in studies making use of visual methods become empowered. Empowered participants are then better able to work as a community in raising consciousness and working towards the improvement of their environments.

How data should be stored and captured as well as how one would approach data analysis when working with visual material has been reviewed. As regards data analysis, specific mention has been made of content analysis and grounded theory. These two methods allow for researchers to not only gain new perspectives on the knowledge emerging from communities in which the researcher is a border-crosser, but also to formulate theory from the constructions of participants themselves. The chapter concludes with a consideration of presenting research findings, where images and text need to be incorporated into documents in a manner that allows images to function effectively as data in and of itself, as opposed to mere illustrations subsidiary the text.

The following chapter draws on the theoretical discussion presented in Chapter Two, as well as the methods presented in Chapter Three, to create the methodological framework of an exploratory study of the experiences of teenage motherhood. As previously stated, this study occurred in a sub-economic community presenting many of the contextual issues highlighted in Chapter One. As such, the context required not only a qualitative approach, but a research method that would account for the issues and barriers discussed in Chapter One (see specifically Section 1.1.1).

Given the research topic, 'The experiences of teenage motherhood in a sub-economic community' (elaborated on in Chapter Four), and the research context, the case study presented in Chapter Four and Chapter Five makes use of participant produced images as the basis for photo elicitation interviews. By asking of participants to construct images reflecting their experience of motherhood (see Chapter Four, Section 4.4.2), participants constructed the data brought into the interview setting. The nature of the interview schedule (see Chapter Four, Section 4.4.2) meant that participants introduced topics they wished to discuss. This was enhanced by the opportunity to reflect on their lives as mothers, over the period of a week, while constructing images. It was anticipated that in this manner, themes would be brought to the data analysis that would be truly relevant to this community of

women. Furthermore, it was hoped that the use of images would facilitate communication between the researcher and the young women participating in the study. Images could potentially create a central point of reference as well as a focal point during interviews. They would also hopefully expose the taken-for-granted in the lives of participants, prompting conversation about facets of daily life that would otherwise not be discussed. Various aspects of the research process are further explored in Chapter Six.

CHAPTER 4

THE EXPERIENCE OF MOTHERHOOD FOR TEENAGE MOTHERS LIVING IN A DISADVANTAGED COMMUNITY: THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

4.1 Contextualisation

Teenage pregnancy is often highlighted as one of the most critical issues confronting South African society (see for example the Reconstruction and Development Programme; Fraser-Moleketi, 1997). As Kaufman, de Wet and Stadler (2000: 2) point out, 'South Africa's total fertility rate is estimated to be one of the lowest in sub-Saharan Africa, less than 3.0 births per woman nationally and declining. At the same time, adolescent childbearing levels remain high; more than 30 percent of 19-year-old girls are reported to have given birth at least once'. A review of several other studies supports this. The Planned Parenthood Association of South Africa for example reports that 330 in every 1000 pregnancies in South Africa are teenage pregnancies (www.ppasa.org.za). Similarly, the South African Department of Health shows that 35 percent of all teenagers in South Africa have either been pregnant or have had a child by the age of 19 (SADHS, 1998). Teenage pregnancies affect mostly communities in the Western Cape, Gauteng and Kwazulu-Natal (Swartz, 2002). For example, 53 percent of the participants in Pick and Cooper's (1997) study in Khayelitsha, an urban community adjacent to Cape Town, reported having their first pregnancy before the age of 20.

The highest incidence of these pregnancies occurs amongst Coloured and African teenagers – especially those with little or no education, who also make up the poorest and most disadvantaged groups within South African society (Swartz, 2002). Most of these pregnancies are neither planned nor wanted, and are compounded by the absence of paternal care and support. These factors force many teenage mothers to leave school prematurely so as to take care of their children as well as supplement or generate an income for themselves and their new families (Swartz, 2002), thereby continuing the poverty cycle. Some teenage mothers in this context will resort to child neglect and abuse, abandon their own children in an effort to survive, or run away from home. Literature regarding teenage mothers in marginalised communities is not considered truly representative of their needs. This shortcoming has a negative impact on the services offered to teenage mothers as well as interventions available to them (Bemak, 1996; Dallape, 1996; Volpi, 2002). When the needs of teenage mothers in high-risk contexts are not met, their chances of becoming 'street

children'[1] increase. Consequently, understanding such youth at-risk may assist in the establishment of tailor-made services (Volpi, 2002).

Many of the portrayals of teenage mothers focus on the negative consequences for both the mother and the child, framing teenage motherhood as a social ill, thereby marginalising the positive experiences of these young women. Teenage pregnancy and parenthood are often considered forms of dysfunctional behaviour, similar to the acting-out behaviours seen amongst other youth considered to be 'at-risk', such as substance abuse, violence, and truancy (Bailey, Bruno, Bezerra, Queiroz, Oliveira & Chen-Mok, 2001; Davies, McKinnon & Rains, 2001; Flanagan, 1998). Simultaneously though, several factors are often associated with teenage pregnancy and motherhood (as well as many other so-called dysfunctional forms of behaviour). These include poverty, limited resources, low education and school achievement, social isolation, unstable families, adult role models who experienced teenage pregnancy themselves and are often involved in other risk taking behaviours (Campion, 1995; Carolissen, 1993; De la Rey & Carolissen, 1997). Often, there is either rigid, or a lack of, parental discipline within the family structure of these adolescents (Romig & Bakken, 1990 and White & De Blassie, 1992, in Carolissen, 1993). Reports framing teenage motherhood in this manner raise questions as to the probabilities of these young women being prone to such 'dysfunctional' behaviour despite them being pregnant or mothers?

Poverty for example, is not confined to teenage mothers: women over 20, whether single or married, often find that becoming mothers without access to jobs and childcare imposes a lower standard of living on them. And many teenagers from a high-risk background are likely to need state benefits, irrespective of whether they become teen parents or not. Studies show that children who are already poor tend to begin their child bearing at a younger age than youth who are not poor (Henshaw & Van Vort, 1989). Literature also shows that girls as young as nine or ten years old who are struggling academically and living in poverty, are at greater risk for early pregnancy than girls who are coping academically and also living in poverty. Furthermore, the younger teenagers are, the more ambivalent they are about sexual activity, the more they believe that birth control is unpleasant, and the less likely they are to use contraceptives, effectively increasing the likelihood of an earlier pregnancy (Voydanoff & Donelly, 1990). Accordingly, even though pregnancy often precipitates an end to formal

---

[1] 'The United Nations defines street children as "boys and girls for whom 'the street' (including unoccupied dwellings, wasteland, etc.) has become their home and/or source of livelihood, and who are inadequately protected or supervised by responsible adults". This definition suggests that a child on the street may be a working child, a school drop-out, or a homeless boy or girl. … Not all working children or school drop-outs spend most of their time in the street, many street children are not homeless and some of them still go to school. … No term has yet been coined to capture both the peculiar nature of street life and its interconnection with other aspects of vulnerability' (Volpi, 2002: 2-3).

education for example, or becomes a barrier to training for employment, one must ask if this is so because of the pregnancy itself or the lack of social structures. Literature suggests that these young women are at-risk for not completing high school and continuing a cycle of poverty, irrespective of them being teenage mothers (Dryfoos, 1990; Holden, Nelson, Velasquez & Ritchie, 1993; Rauch-Elnekave, 1994).

Teenage mothers are also regularly labelled as 'bad mothers' due to their age. Teenage mothers are however not necessarily worse mothers than older women. Several studies (as highlighted by Campion, 1995: 193-4) illustrate the influence of extraneous variables on research findings. These findings suggest that a mother's age cannot be seen as a cause of children's maladjustment. Glenn (1994) for example, points out that in America, women of colour are prized predominantly because of their value on the cheap labour market. As such, there has been little space in their lives for the dominant model's ideal of a full-time mother. Similarly, in South African Coloured and African communities, the family unit is markedly different from the dominant western model of family and mothering. Strain placed on parents – especially mothers – by long work hours, harsh working conditions and a lack of support structures, diminishes their ability to invest in relationships with their own children. By implication then, many teenage girls of colour grow up in an environment where their own experiences of mothering are limited and perhaps even distorted. Research experience in the New Ways project has generated the hypothesis that parents in the poverty context cannot give to their children something that they themselves have never experienced (Smit & Liebenberg, 2003). Carolissen's (1993) literature review supports such a hypothesis. She discusses various research findings, which shows that it is because of limited parenting knowledge that children of teen parents generally receive inadequate parenting, resulting in their own physical, educational and social problems, and not because of the mother's age.

Conversely, outcomes for children are better when there is adequate support from other significant adults in the adolescent parent's environment (Carolissen, 1993). Sparks (1998) points to the support single mothers who live in poverty receive from especially their own mothers, as well as the function such support provides as a 'stress-absorbing system' (see also Belle, 1982). Such assistance may help mothers sustain their families and contribute to the maintenance of a positive sense of self in at least some women (Sparks, 1998). What is importance here, is the idea that,

> defining single mothers in terms of their lack of a male partner obscures the actual number of care-givers with whom the child may or may not have a relationship, e.g. grandmothers, aunts, child minders etc. Observation of a wide variety of family set-ups demonstrates that what children ideally need are a number of interested and committed adults who provide love, care and support. The success of a single parent is largely affected by the same sorts of factors as other parents, e.g. what other

support she has available both in terms of childcare and for herself (Campion, 1995: 212).

However, Belle (1994) has found that for poor women, the strain and distress associated with providing support to extended family members may diminish the effectiveness of any help they themselves receive. Here, one needs to consider the support given (e.g. grandparents 'raising' grandchildren) versus the cost of that support (e.g. by placing financial demands on teenage mothers they must go out and work, thereby limiting their own involvement with their children). This implies that support provided from extended family may come at a very high price, leaving mothers in a catch-22 situation.

Furthermore, personal empowerment and social norms are central to understanding teenage pregnancies. In the South African context specifically, lack of personal empowerment and the violent nature of interpersonal relationships are believed to play a fundamental role. Swartz (2002: 11) highlights these factors as deeper issues at play in understanding unwanted pregnancies:

> The high levels of unwanted and teenage pregnancies as well as the high unmet need for contraception … shows clearly that women, especially Africans and Coloureds, still lack control over their own reproductive choices and still experience emotional trauma with respect to fertility. They further lack the development opportunities to empower themselves in order to take full control over their reproductive lives.

Accordingly, although sexual activity begins at a very young age in many communities, it is important to realise that this activity ordinarily takes place within a context of unequal power relations, with males having power over females (Potgieter & Fredman, 1997). Sexual relationships for women of all ages are related to 'being loved, gaining materially, gaining experience, as well as being forced into it' (NPPHCN, 1995: 25, in Potgieter & Fredman, 1997: 105). These relations allow little if any room for negotiation on the part of women. Initial sexual encounters usually involve force. A recurrent theme in these relationships is how girls perceive sexuality as a boys' need that they (girls) have to accept and accommodate (Potgieter & Fredman, 1997). These findings echo those of Varga and Makubalo (1996) as well as Wood, Maforah and Jewkes (1998). A large percentage of their respondents discussed their attempts at refusing sex and both the resulting failure as well as the consequences of this. Such consequences included physical and sexual abuse, termination of the relationship and financial hardships. Many respondents mentioned these issues as reasons for not refusing sex. The same concerns are prevalent with regard to the use of contraceptives and discussions with partners about sexually transmitted diseases.

Numerous factors linked with the context in which teenage mothers find themselves, are implicated in the development of stress and depression amongst women living in poverty. There is now strong consensus that poverty increases stress and depression (Belle, 1982; Desjarlais, Eisenberg, Good & Klerman, 1995; Luthar, 1999; Schnitzer, 1996). Some channels by which poverty makes this impact on women include dangerous neighbourhoods, housing problems and strained social relationships (Belle, 1990; Luthar, 1999).

From the above, it is apparent then that many teenage pregnancies are already occurring in a high-risk group (i.e. before becoming mothers). It is adolescents with the fewest resources and least support structures who are most likely then to have an increased risk of becoming pregnant. They also have the least opportunity to express their needs (as a result of abuse from parents, intimate relationships and communities) and personal power. It can therefore be suggested that it is lack of support rather than teenage pregnancy that leads to a lack of education, poverty and possible negative outcomes for teenage mothers and their children.

The predominant negative focus on the issue of teenage pregnancy and motherhood often results in interventions that are either punitive or insensitive to their more critical needs: 'We as service providers have to realize that adolescent mothers are adolescents *and* mothers. These are two simple facts often lost among considerations of problems, statistics and societal ills' (Flanagan, 1998: 253). Ann Phoenix (1991: 86) suggests that by simply perceiving teenage motherhood as a social ill, we ignore and/or fail to notice many other relevant factors, 'a negative focus on mothers under 20 is common because little attention is paid to the circumstances in which most mothers under 20 live. As a consequence any problems they experience are attributed to age rather than to structural factors such as their employment histories and prospects'. Furthermore, 'increasingly there are reports which highlight the fact that the majority of teenage mothers and their children do not show the disastrous negative outcomes that have been so widely publicized' (Campion, 1995: 195). So perhaps the focus of researchers and policy makers should not be related to the 'social ill' of teenage motherhood, but rather to the improvement of services available to these young women.

Several authors (Davies, et al., 2001; Flanagan, 1998; Jewell, Tacchi & Donovan, 2000; Phoenix, 1991) point to the lack of existing research and literature that explores teenage mothering from the teenagers' perspective. Phoenix (1991: 86) highlights the disjunction between 'insider' and 'outsider' perspectives in the case of teenage mothers:

> In the case of issues like early motherhood, which are constructed as social
> problems, outsider perspectives constitute the dominant social construction and are

more likely to be explored and taken seriously than the accounts produced by mothers under 20 themselves.

Research regarding the personal perspectives and experiences of teenage mothers is necessary to change the dominant discourse surrounding teenage mothers and the subsequent policy issues that emerge. Currently, most policy fails to effectively support this sector of any population (Bemak, 1996; Dallape, 1996; Davies, et al., 2001; Jewell, et al., 2000; Luthar, 1999; Volpi, 2002).

A starting place to better understand teenage mothers more fully may be to examine the social and developmental contexts of adolescence and the experiences of teenage pregnancy within these (Carolissen, 1993). One can perhaps regard teenage pregnancy as a response to the perceptions and reality of these young women's life options. Flanagan (1998: 239) for example, highlights the role of developmental processes in the experience of motherhood for teenagers: 'given that adolescence is a stage of development where individual differences in rate, progression and growth in the social, emotional, and cognitive realms are immense, these processes have tremendous impact on teenage mothers and their babies'. She proposes that we understand the ways in which each of these processes affect decision-making, meaning making and reactions to the outside world:

> Each has her own set of life circumstances and conscious and subconscious motivations for early parenthood. ... In recognizing their individuality and circumstances, we can reinforce their resistance to be seen as myths that do not represent their real-life experiences. Perhaps more importantly we can help them find ways to build on their individual strengths to optimize their own developmental outcomes and the outcomes of their children (Flanagan, 1998: 243).

Finzi (1996) discusses how unplanned, and specifically, adolescent unplanned pregnancies, may reflect a desire to prove a worth of some kind, such as over-coming fear of sterility or entering an 'adult community' of mothers. One must of course then also consider the role of cultural influences:

> While ill-timed according to current, middle class social norms, early fertility and pregnancy may be psychosocially appropriately timed for some adolescents ... children may relieve the stressors. ... Teenage pregnancy, ... can also be an adaptive survival strategy which encourages personal and social development. These teenagers are not necessarily immature, problem-prone or emotionally symptomatic (Carolissen, 1993: 9-10).

Flanagan (1998: 251) discusses teenage motherhood in a similar vein, regarding it as a gift: she wonders if in poor environments, early motherhood does not act as a kind of social safety valve, 'a possibility when nothing else is possible'. It may connect these young women with resources in the community that perhaps only adults have access to. By becoming mothers, many of these young women are afforded adult status thereby ensuring them support and

roles that they would otherwise not have had, or would have to achieve via more destructive pathways, such as crime.

Jewell, et al. (2000) suggest that although adolescent parenting may well be perceived as problematic for society at large, it is not necessarily always so for the teenagers in question. Flanagan (1998) highlights that in her work with teenage mothers, she is struck by the individuality of each young woman – the heterogeneousness of this group. She now understands teenage pregnancy and parenting as an

> alternative developmental pathway, ... but always a complex, individually experienced event. Each young woman embarks on early motherhood under her own unique set of circumstances, motivations, assumptions about her world and her future, and her own personal experiences with mothers and motherhood. Focus on the 'problem' of teen childbearing as unidimensionally negative obscures and denies the complexity of how each individual ended up pregnant and chose to give birth and raise her children (Flanagan, 1998: 239).

It is important to remember that the experiences of most teenage mothers in South Africa are also compounded by their being women of colour and lone mothers. Concerns similar to those highlighted above regarding understanding teenage motherhood emerge when attempting to understand motherhood as it is experienced by women of colour as well as lone mothers (considering that most teenage mothers in South Africa are both). These aspects of their lives have to be incorporated in any consideration of their experiences. Glenn (1994) and Collins (1994) point out that motherhood is a socially constructed entity as opposed to a biologically inscribed one, '[i]n virtually all societies, motherhood is an institution with social recognition, rules and legal status ... Mothering can either be attached to motherhood, shared between mother and other persons, or done in the place of the mother' (Silva, 1996: 12), implying that the actual task of mothering a child in a community falls to whomever is available. In all cultures, motherhood places women (of any age) in a different position to other women, further compounding the impact of a woman's immediate background on the conceptions and realities of mothering. This positioning, as well as the meanings and values ascribed to it, is impacted upon by the social status and means of mothers (Frizelle & Hayes, 1999; Leira & Krips, 1993). Although gender, race and class all affect mothering, they do not always do so in predictable ways (Barnes, Taylor-Brown & Wiener, 1997). These findings imply that we need to understand the unique instances of mothering that exist in a society as diverse as the one found in South Africa.

Mothering has traditionally been defined by white middle-class experiences (Chodorow, 1978; Collins, 1994; Gilligan, 1982). During the past two decades, feminist theorists have argued for the importance of challenging this perspective of mothering (Collins, 1991; Dill, 1988; Glen, 1994; Naples, 1991, 1992). Despite the existence of extensive literature, much of

this neglects many important issues: 'Women's experiences as mothers, their insider perspectives are rarely examined. As a result little is known about how women experience motherhood' (Phoenix & Woollett, 1991: 217). In light of this, Collins (1994: 49) promotes the provision of the opportunity for women of colour to speak for themselves:

> We must distinguish between what has been said about subordinated groups in the dominant discourse, and what such groups might say about themselves if given the opportunity. Personal narratives, autobiographical statements, poetry, fiction and other personalized statements have all been used by women of color to express self-defined standpoints on mothering and motherhood. Such knowledge reflects the authentic standpoint of subordinated groups. Therefore, placing these sources in the center and supplementing them with statistics, historical material, and other knowledge produced to justify the interests of ruling elites should create new themes and angles of vision.

Collins (1994) points out that for women of colour their challenges stem not only from within the home but also from outside the home, implicating gender, race and class oppression in their experiences. In order to effectively understand the mothering experiences of women of colour, we need to consider the contexts in which women mother, as well as the ideas that surround such contexts and mothering, 'while ... decontextualisation aims to generate universal "theories" of human behavior, in actuality, it routinely distorts, and omits huge categories of human experience' (Collins, 1994: 61, see also Schnitzer, 1998 and Sparks, 1998). To consider the plight of these women without considering the impact of race and culture in addition to sex and gender is to negate a very real aspect of their existence. Schnitzer (1998) also highlights the importance of understanding a mother's – especially a single mother's – own needs and capabilities in the effort to address issues confronting her own children. She feels this is especially necessary because of the impact social, political and financial climates have on how issues such as single-mothering and poverty are interpreted and subsequently 'treated'. She also emphasises the challenge of overcoming mainstream assumptions regarding the 'proper timing' of life events, and that one needs to consider the influence of 'powerful subcultural norms' (1998: 162). Schnitzer (1998: 162) believes that by '[b]ecoming aware of assumptions that influence the interpretation of need in single-mother families would, ideally, include realization of the actual diversity among single mothers'. While 'lone mothering'[2] is ascribed to the liberation of women socially, sexually and financially in many first world societies today (Silva, 1996), lone mothering in developing societies such as those found in the Western Cape of South Africa, in most instances, can definitely not be ascribed to such factors.

---

[2] Although it is important to distinguish between lone adult mothers and teenage mothers, in the South African context, many may still regard both in the same fashion. It is important to note then that when it comes to the criticism of lone mothers, teenage mothers will often be included in this group, meaning that they are being doubly criticized (see for example Campion, 1995).

Understanding teenage mothers is complex. The diverse backgrounds from which many teenage mothers come, mean that we need to question reductionistic views that merely regard teenage mothers in a 'delinquent' light. One should question the nature of such correlations: what are the probabilities of these young women being prone to such outcomes despite their being pregnant or mothers? Research findings discussed here emphasise the enormous degree of variability that exists amongst teenage mothers – variability that is often ignored as a result of implied homogeneity. Women included in such a category differ in race, ethnicity, culture, household composition, employment and educational histories as well as marital status. Developmentally, teenage mothers also vary significantly on a psychological and social level (Flanagan, 1998). The variability with regards to any woman's background and context when she becomes a mother are essentially the factors that are deemed critical to the outcome for herself and her children (Campion, 1995). As such, '[i]t would be more productive to use the variability within the group of mothers under 20 to gain a better understanding of the range and operation of potent factors in their lives' (Melhuish & Phoenix, 1988, in Campion, 1995: 195). Studies such as those highlighted here, underscore Volpi's (2002) call for increased efficacy of services by means of improved understanding of these young women and the realities that confront them.

Aims of the study:

This study aims to explore the experiences and realities confronting teenage mothers in a sub-economic community outside of Cape Town. I aimed to do this in a manner that incorporates concerns about how teenage mothers are understood, as I have highlighted above.

The community in which the research took place has a population of approximately 34 000 people, covering an area of two point four square kilometres near the landing approach to Cape Town International Airport. Thirty one percent of the population is less than 15 years of age and 43 percent less than 20 years, which is similar to the age distribution of many developing African nations. There are 4682 single dwelling units and 633 multiple units in the community varying in size and quality. Nearly all of the housing in this mainly Coloured (mixed race), sub-economic community is brick with indoor electricity and water supplied. Tenants live in wooden shacks in the backyards of many of these houses thereby subsidising the income of local residents. This community has an unemployment rate of 60 percent and is mainly Afrikaans speaking (McVay, 2001).

Furthermore, this case study has been conducted as part of the 'New Ways' project, based at the University of Stellenbosch and established in 1998. This project addresses the issue

of youth at-risk and street children at all three levels highlighted by Volpi (2002). Based on a 24-hour service model (Smit & van Schalkwyk, 1998), the aim of the project has been to develop and implement an integrated, community-based home school strategy to address the needs of out-of-school youth and street children in their communities of origin and is in line with proposed success indicators (Volpi, 2002). The project now operates via street workers and support unit facilitators – all members of the respective communities. Street workers establish stable, trusting relationships with out-of-school youth in the communities in which they work, through which they can assist these youth in addressing problems confronting them. Additionally, street workers offer assistance by directing youth to appropriate sources of assistance. Many out-of-school youth are integrated into community-based support units (which operate in support unit facilitators' own homes) by means of both street workers and support unit facilitators where youth receive further support.

Research forms a central component of the New Ways project in order to design youth services and related activities that are relevant to the target population and in line with self-identified needs (Volpi, 2002). As such, the New Ways project aims to conduct research in ways that enhance the voices of youth. There is currently a growing body of literature advocating the incorporation of especially youth at-risk and street children in the research process as partners, as opposed to mere objects of studies, (Dallape, 1996; Kefyalew, 1996; Tyler, Tyler, Tommasello & Connolly, 1992; West, 1996; Whitmore & McKee, 2001; Young & Barrett. 2001). There are however many issues that remain to be addressed regarding methodology (such as the status and agency of youth within the research process) (James, Jenks & Prout, 1998; Pole, Mizen & Bolton, 1999) as children and teenagers in social research remain underrepresented (James, et al., 1998; Oakley, 1994).

In January 2000, I was appointed as researcher for the New Ways project. Numerous reports made by the project staff, as well as personal experiences in the field, highlighted the central role of mothers in this community. What was also apparent was that many women were becoming mothers in their teens. Social stigmas and practices appeared to then decrease the amount of support and resources available to these women and their children. Consequently, the need to have a better understanding of these women was identified.

The case study presented here formed the first part of what was to be a larger study aimed at aligning community resources with the needs of young mothers. This component of that larger study was undertaken as an initial exploratory phase, and the aim was to better understand the experiences of motherhood within this community, and was carried out over several months during 2002.

The use of visual methods within this study also seemed particularly apt. Not only would the participants come from a historically oppressed currently marginalised community, but as teenage mothers, appeared to form a stigmatised group within their own community. As stigmatised youth within this particular setting, experience had taught both myself and other staff of the project, that communication and trust would be barriers to the research process. The combination of these two issues together with the exploratory nature of the study suggested that the use of visual methods would be well suited to this research (see also Section 4.4).

Consequently, this study provides an ideal platform to explore the role and uses of image-based methods within South African social research. It is important to highlight that the fundamental consideration here is the use of image-based methods. As such, the aim is also not so much to test a theory, but rather to validate a research method.

4.2 Sample design and selection methods

4.2.1 Selection design

A review of the literature above highlighted the need for a more contextualised understanding of teenage mothers in previously marginalised groups. Consequently, 'the search for grand narratives is being replaced by more local, small-scale theories fitted to specific problems and particular situations' (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000: 17; see also Collins, 1994). The literature review has also shown that current theories about teenage motherhood lack an understanding from the perspective of mothers themselves. It makes sense then to conduct studies in such a manner that specific groups of teenage mothers can be better understood. Accordingly, in this study, purposive selection is considered to be a more appropriate selection procedure than random selection (Belle, 1982; Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995; Silverman, 2000; Strauss, 1987). Participants have been deliberately recruited to represent the range of experiences of teenage mothers within a select community and context in the Western Cape.

4.2.2 Selection techniques

A street worker from the New Ways project selected participants for this study. It is the task of street workers within the New Ways project to establish stable relationships with out-of-school youth in the communities in which they work. In doing so, they are able to provide meaningful guidance and support to the youth with whom they engage. They can then also assist any youth who decide to bring about change in their lives. As such, street workers are

often in touch with youth who are not perhaps incorporated within any formal systems, such as schools, social services and programs for out-of-school youth, as well as youth who are. I considered a street worker to be best suited for the task of selecting participants, as he was better able to select a more representative heterogeneous selection of teenage mothers.

The role assumed by the street worker (Terrance) in the research process essentially makes him a gatekeeper. Atkinson (1981, in Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995: 34) defines gatekeepers as, 'actors with control over key sources and avenues of opportunity'. A street worker's relationship with participants and his knowledge of the community (May, 1993: 42) allow for access to the community and participants – access that may otherwise be problematic. Furthermore, street workers in the New Ways project understand the dynamics and general make-up of the communities in which they work. As such, they have good insight into what would constitute a "typical" selection from this population. Their relationships with the members of the communities also means that they are able to identify, approach and recruit potential participants for a study. Boundaries of trust can be more easily overcome by accessing participants via street workers (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995), as youth who interact with street workers generally have a great deal of trust in them. As a result, should street workers introduce such youth to an outsider, they may be more willing to interact with them. Finally, street workers are not 'control figures' in the lives of youth in the community – as parents, teachers, social workers and other authority figures may be. By entering the field and gaining access to participants via a street worker, I may have been experienced as less threatening or forceful by participants. This was important for me because the research occurred in a context in which so many of these young women lack control over their lives. I have observed how they are almost 'bullied' by both the people who surround them and even their physical environment. Allowing participants a sense of control over the research process was therefore a crucial factor for me. Entering the field via an authority figure would very possibly detract from this.

Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) also highlight the potential danger that 'gatekeepers' pose in that they may wish to paint a favourable picture of the community being studied. In such instances, gatekeepers will try to control and direct the research process. Having known the researcher (i.e. myself) for two years prior to the research, the street worker was very familiar with my role in the New Ways project and understood the consequences of the research. Similarly, I was familiar enough with the street worker and his individual work to understand and realize that he has the best interests of the community at heart, including contributing to an accurate academic and policy-level understanding of the community in question. Accordingly, I trusted the street worker in the research process, as a knowledgeable insider

of the community (Creswell, 1994). He in turn responded with constructive comments on the research design and provided access to the community. This can be seen in the participants recruited. Once fieldwork in this community commenced, and I had the opportunity to get to know more about each participant, I began to anticipate that the research would produce the various pieces of information that would ultimately allow me to construct a cohesive 'whole' picture:

> Lucy[3] is 6 months pregnant, out of school and living in an extremely impoverished home where she lacks support of any kind. LouAnn is pregnant, in school and very well supported by her family, friends and boyfriend. What are their experiences? How do these correlate and differ? What do their stories tell me about the beginnings of motherhood? What do their contexts and age differences tell me? Nici and Carol both have young babies. Again, Carol is attending school, and Nici is not. How do their experiences and stories differ? And what do they tell me about this time with a newborn? Finally, Brenda is attending school, with a toddler. How does this teenager, whose child is becoming progressively more independent, experience motherhood? How do her experiences compare with Nici who also has a toddler but is out of school? How do Nici's experiences differ from the others, as a mother of two? (Liebenberg, 2002, 4 May)

By piecing together the experiences of these young women who are in school, and out; whose motherhood's are in different stages; and whose support structures are so different, I hoped to construct a 'comprehensive' understanding of the experience of teenage motherhood in this community. The street worker could have only selected participants that would have shown me a limited picture of the teenage mothers in the community. But he didn't, he selected participants that were varied and typical of teenage mothers in this community.

4.2.3 Selection criteria

Before the fieldwork began, I met with the street worker in this community to discuss both the selection criteria and research design. As regards the participants' profile, I had originally planned to include only participants who were already mothers and who were no longer attending school. After explaining the research, as well as the idea I had in mind for participants, he suggested that the participant group include school-attending mothers as well. His reason being that there are many young mothers in the community who do attend school. These young women also experience numerous difficulties and he believed that their participation would provide an important dimension to the study. He also suggested that we ask pregnant teenagers to participate. I saw the value of this, as participants who were already mothers – in this context – have very possibly moved on from that experience, and are caught up in the current events of their lives. Pregnancy is perhaps very far removed from where they currently find themselves. Accordingly we agreed that he would include one

---

[3] All names of participants have been altered to protect their identity

132

or two participants who were attending school at the time of the study, as well as one or two participants that were currently pregnant. We also agreed that he would recruit no more than six participants.

Participants of the study were between 15-19 years of age. All participants were either pregnant or already mothers to at least one child, and may or may not have been attending school. Participants were required to speak either English or Afrikaans. This decision was made because as the researcher conducting the fieldwork I am proficient in only these two languages. It would be preferable not to use a translator, so as not to loose density of data, in either the interviews or the data analysis. Between four and six participants were to be selected, and ultimately, five young women consented to participate.

4.3 Participants' profile

As stated in Section 4.2.1, purposive selection was used to identify and recruit participants, by means of the street worker of the New Ways project, operating within this community. Five participants were included in the study: two were pregnant and three were mothers. None of those asked to participate in the study refused. This contrasts sharply with studies such as those of Carolissen (1993) where the refusal rate amongst young women asked to participate in the study was quite high.

Certain factors were the same for these young women. They had all become pregnant as a result of their first sexual experience. All stated that because it was their first sexual experience, they had not been using birth control at the time. Participants' reasons for not using birth control reflect findings in both South African and international literature (Carolissen, 1993; Dryfoos, 1990; Norton & Da Fonseca, 1989; Preston-Whyte & Zondi, 1992; Voydanoff & Donelly, 1990), and include infrequent intercourse; unplanned intercourse; fear that parents would find out if they used contraception; a conscience problem with contraceptives as there was no support from parents; and incorrect or poor knowledge about contraception. As with Carolissen's (1993) findings, despite reporting no difficulty in obtaining contraceptives, participants' use was poor prior to becoming pregnant.

The participants whose children had already been born, had all carried their babies to term and all their children were still alive. They had all given birth naturally in a hospital. These young women were now on birth control – all using the three-month injection (see also Swartz, 2002). Initially, none of the participants admitted to having considered giving up their child for adoption or having an abortion, citing the support of their families as the reason for

keeping their children. All participants had had a relationship with the father prior to becoming pregnant and all fathers appeared to still be involved in the lives of participants in various ways, albeit limited. Furthermore, all participants attended the clinic regularly and as scheduled. Only two of the participants received a Child Support Grant (CSG) from the Department of Social Development (of the South African Government) when the study began (an amount of R150 per month that ceases to be paid when the child turns seven).

At the time of the study, Carol was 15 years old with a five-month-old baby. She had Sumarie when she was 14. Her daughter is registered at the Department of Home Affairs and is receiving a CSG. Carol lived with her parents in a permanent structure dwelling and was enrolled at the local secondary school for grade eight. From my fieldwork experience as well as our interviews, I formed the impression that she did not attend school often. She considered attending evening classes (provided at the local high school), but her mother who initially supported the idea, would not allow this citing personal safety as her reason. At the start of the study Carol was still involved with the child's father, who was 16 and no longer attended school. Their relationship was emotionally and physically abusive however, and by the end of the study, Carol had left her boyfriend in addition to having dropped out of school and found employment.

Lucy was 16 years old and at the start of the study was seven months pregnant becoming pregnant when she was 15. Lucy lived with her mother in an informal dwelling (or a 'shack') and was not attending school at the time of the study. She did however intend returning to school (grade nine) once her baby had been born. In order to do this, she intended to place the baby in a crèche. Lucy had the support of both her family and that of the baby's father, who still attended school. By the end of the study, Lucy had given birth to a boy at the local day hospital, and although she was not receiving a CSG at the time, she did intend to apply for one.

Nici was 16 years old and had two children - both with the same father. They were four months and two years old respectively. She was 13 and 16 years old when giving birth to her children. At the time of the study, she and the children's father were living with his parents. She was in an extremely unsupportive environment and her relationship with the father's parents was strained. Her relationship with the father was very abusive both physically and emotionally. Despite several attempts to obtain a CSG for each of her children she had never managed to do so, citing government bureaucracy and her living arrangements as the reasons.

LouAnn was 17 years old and five months pregnant when the study began. She was 17 when she became pregnant. LouAnn lived with her parents in a standard government issued dwelling. Her parents, her boyfriend and her school friends were extremely supportive of her. LouAnn was completing grade 12 at the time of the study, despite the fact that her baby was due at the end of August (i.e. shortly before her final exams). She planned to study fashion design after completing school. Shortly after the study ended, LouAnn gave birth to a baby boy at the local day hospital.

Brenda was 19 years old and had a two-and-a-half year old son. She was 15 when she became pregnant and 16 when the baby was born. The father of the child was considerably older than Brenda (at the time of the research he was 28 years old) and lived in Vryburg (approximately 900km from Cape Town). Although he provided financial support to Brenda, he was doing so under a court order (which she obtained against him). Brenda and her child were living with her father in a permanent structure dwelling at the time of the study and she was receiving a CSG. Brenda's mother passed away the year before the study after being knocked down by a drunk driver. The research process with Brenda was prolonged due to the fact that she was under considerable strain during the first half of the fieldwork. During this time of the study, Brenda was involved in the court case against the driver as well as writing her grade 12 mid-year exams.

The majority of the adolescents in this study had not intended to become pregnant when they did. This points to a serious need for better contraceptive services and sexuality education (see also Bailey, et al., 2001: 230). As discussed in Section 4.1, increased contraception and sex education is often the proposed solution to the 'problem' of teenage pregnancy, and that the perpetual focus on teenage pregnancy and motherhood as a problem, and a problem that rests on the shoulders of these young women alone, may negate an understanding of teenage pregnancy and motherhood as seen and experienced by these young women themselves. Admittedly,

> the high rate of teenage pregnancies has far reaching consequences, especially for the Africans and coloureds that are the poorest and the most disadvantaged groups in the country. The majority of these pregnancies are neither planned nor wanted. The father of the child seldom acknowledges or takes responsibility for the financial, emotional or practical support of the child. The mother often leaves school thus ending her opportunities for personal development, making her vulnerable to poverty, exploitative sexual relationships and violence as well as low self-esteem (Swartz, 2002: 5).

In line with this, Volpi (2002: 3) discusses a scheme by which to assess the level of risk youth face regarding disconnection from family and society. According to these categories, teenage mothers from the community in which this study took place can be regarded as being at

135

secondary or tertiary risk, and accordingly deserve attention, especially as young women within these groups remain understudied:

> *Youth in primary risk* are still attached to the family, school, society, but because of poverty or other factors their situation could be compromised in the future. *Youth in secondary risk* have weaker social ties and are already exposed to some form of specific risk (such as school drop-out, abuse, child labour). *Youth in tertiary risk* are those for whom one or more of the previously mentioned risks are concrete realities. Their ties with family or society are severely weakened or severed. This group includes children in the street and of the street.
> (Barker & Fontes, 1996 and Schneidman, 1996, in Volpi, 2002:4).

Several recent South African studies also point to the importance of focusing on the degree of control teenage girls have in their lives, particularly their sex lives, when addressing the issue of teenage pregnancy, raising questions about the context in which these young women navigate their lives (see for example Wood, et al., 1998).

I propose that greater understanding of teenage mothers and how they see and experience their lives, may help in bridging the divide that currently exists between their realities and attempts to provide services and assistance to these young women. Based on Smart's (1996) discussion of the normalising discourse of motherhood, one can conclude that such discourses pervade through various cultural groups strongly and that a specific discourse therefore exists within communities such as the one in which this study occurred. Smart (1996: 47) also draws attention to the fact that

> [t]here are now a myriad of ways of failing and, as the range of *expertise* on motherhood expands, so there are added new dimensions of success and failure … the public focus remains largely where it has always been, namely with working-class mothers. It is working class mothers and, within that group, unmarried mothers (both black and white) who are still most likely to appear to disrupt the carefully calibrated norms of motherhood. That is to say they are the ones who are deemed most likely to fail on the many tests of what makes a good mother … It is the boundary between the unwed mother and the married mother that has, for so long, been presumed to coincide with the boundary between the bad and the good mother.

I question whether that which we – in our western frameworks – define as bad, or deviant, is truly so for young women in communities such as this one, who become single, teenage mothers living in poverty.

4.4 Data collection methods and fieldwork practice

4.4 Data collection techniques

As the need exists to better understand the experiences of teenage mothers, this study is interpretative and descriptive, centring on the explorations of the subjective perceptions of these teenagers. A qualitative research design is best suited to such a study (Belle, 1994;

Charmaz, 1990). Such an exploration also serves as an excellent site for a case study regarding the use of visual methods.

As discussed in Chapter Two, visual media offers marginalized groups an opportunity to reproduce and understand their world as opposed to the dominant representations depicted in the mass media. Goffman (1979), studying advertisements of men and women, traced how the dominant culture perpetuates various and conflicting images of gender to the disadvantage of women. Press (1991) demonstrates in *Women watching television*, the conflict women have between self-identity emanating from their lived experiences and how they are represented in the mass media. Women, minorities and other marginalised people can however use this same medium to create and express their own prerogatives and perspectives of their lives. This idea builds on Hammond's (1989) work, where he argues that although minorities have limited power to influence the public media, image-producing technology provides marginalised groups with the opportunity to represent their culture at least to themselves. Such use of technology provides people with an alternative image of themselves as they themselves wish to be presented. For this reason Schratz and Steiner-Löffler (1998: 246) suggest that, 'breaking down reality into photographic images is always an act of constructing new realities in our conceptual world'.

The idea of producing a desired representation of the self is also discussed by Beloff (1985: 181-183; 211-216). She talks about the need to control cameras and the images produced: we will pose in ways that are acceptable to produce the desired image that we wish to project outwardly (images by implication then, also speak of the qualities valued in various communities and societies). Beloff bases this on Susan Sontag (in Beloff, 1985: 206), who wrote, '[e]ven when photographers are most concerned with mirroring reality, they are still haunted by tacit imperatives of ... conscience'. Therefore, by encouraging participants to make their own images of their own experiences, we can assume that we do get an impression of their underlying 'conscience'. An aspect such as this may assist the aims and goals of certain types of research: What do the images participants produce say about both their realities and their dreams? How do visual messages correlate with the verbal stories participants relate about their lives while viewing the images (i.e. the stories the images unlock)? How we choose to present ourselves via the pose we, or others, assume (or ask others to assume) speaks to how we see ourselves (or our subject).

Simultaneous to creating more personalised and accurate images and representations of marginalised lives, photography may also serve to validate these perceptions:

> What is plain is that we have to have a sociological perspective in the analysis ... A photographer can express his or her own vision, or the demands of the patron, or the values of a dominant social class. ... Photography ... is crucially shaped by our ideas, influenced by our behavior, and defines our society. ... we express ourselves in a photograph. The more fragile our identity, the more we need to reinforce it. To show that we exist. To prove that we ... are worth such a record. / Our personal histories are not contained in family albums, but are validated by them (Beloff, 1985: 22/179).

With this in mind, I decided to equip participants with cameras and film, with which they could produce images that reflect their experiences of motherhood. By using cameras, participants could construct a form of visual diary, through which they would be able to disclose themselves (Solomon, 1995) – taking the researcher into their 'private' worlds – worlds to which the researcher would ordinarily have no access (Karlson, 2001). This idea is loosely based on Beloff's (1985: 5) notion that 'the camera can enter the secret places of our civilisation. It can literally "take", steal, the hidden scenes that are closed to our gaze' (see also Chapter Two). This aspect of incorporating image-based methods into this study is important considering the complex and violent nature of communities such as the one in which the participants live (see for example, Spangenberg & Pieterse, 1995; Steenkamp & Sidzumo, 1996; Steyn, 1996) as well as the intimate and sensitive nature of the research topic.

A further practical point in the consideration of visual methods in the research process relates to language. Walker (1993: 72) proposes the use of photography in research because 'it touches on the limitations of language, especially language used for descriptive purposes'. This is reiterated in Daniels (2002: 7), where in her interviews with Black women from informal settlements, 'photographs became a source richer in data than the interviews because they overrode linguistic constraints that some of the women had in expressing themselves'.

By asking respondents to focus on an aspect of their lives, they must face it, acknowledge it and thereby capture it (or representations of it), so as to ultimately think about it. As Beloff (1985: 7/216) explains, '[s]ometimes we have the chance to see what is all around us, but that we've never "seen" because we've never looked at it / Photographers ... want to understand life'. I assume that the experience of making images regarding participants' experience of motherhood allows them to reflect on motherhood as well as converse about it. I wanted these young women to understand their own lives before they related it to me. I see the use of image-based methods within this research context as a means of transcending the inherent pit-falls of researchers in cross-cultural settings, where they are 'border-crossers' (Giroux, 1992). As Jo Stanley (1995: 19; 26) points out,

> photography, ... provides a new and dramatic way of recording, communicating and
> understanding aspects of women's lives ... access to a camera – however
> problematic the cost of film or daunting the posing/framing convention – can mean
> the finding of ... a new and potent way to 'speak'.

Studies such as those of Bissell, Manderson and Allotey (2000) and Daniels (2002; 2003) as well as those discussed by Smith and Woodward (1999) highlight the value of image-based research methods, especially photo-elicitation. Accordingly, the image-based strategies employed in this study include participant-produced photography and photo-elicitation.

As discussed in Chapter Three, the underlying idea of photo-elicitation is that particular photographs may assist in jarring the memories of the participants, triggering improved recall and focus (Banks, 2001; Dempsey & Tucker, 1991). Furthermore, because photography can be regarded as a form of 'social exchange' (Beloff, 1985: 206), it is proposed that the discussion of images creates a link between the differing realities of the researcher and the participant (Pink, 2001).

I also chose to encourage participants to create images that have meaning for them personally so that, ideally, they could share those meanings with me. There are several reasons for this. First, although I could use existing images from sources such as newspapers and magazines, as previously stated, such images are seldom representative of marginalized groups. Furthermore, by selecting or creating images myself and bringing them into the research process, I would possibly be imposing my 'outsider' views and thereby not allowing for the possible development of new information and perspectives that I am hoping for (see also Chapter Two). This is particularly important in the study of women in poverty because, 'without personally experiencing poverty it is difficult to comprehend the lives of poor women or view the world through their eyes. ... We fail to see individual women confronting specific life circumstances and grappling with them in specific ways. Our own hidden advantages in life distort our perceptions of the lives of others' (Belle, 1994: 37).

The second reason for encouraging participants to create their own images is that one cannot assume that people living in the context of poverty ordinarily have the luxury of family albums. More importantly however, even in the existence of such albums, it is highly unlikely that the images contained there will portray the sort of information required in a study such as this one. As Beloff (1985: 190) points out,

> [w]e do not represent ourselves and our relations, neighbours and friends in the more
> mundane aspects of our daily lives. We do not show work, even if it were available
> for showing. We do not show the hurly-burly of argument. Boredom, disagreement,
> preoccupation, sadness – none of these are allowed to exist. They are expunged by
> two manoeuvres – the narrow focus of events snatched, and the commands of 'the

pose'. The latter ensures that the person with the camera may righteously demand *the smile*.

Third, the complex nature of the research context as well as the private nature of the research question precipitated the use of 'private' photographs. As stated in Chapter Three, Berger (1991) explains that a private photograph is a photograph that belongs within the realm of the lived experience. It is a photograph of the individual's own choosing, thinking and making. She alone may know why it has importance for her. The private photo is surrounded by meaning and cannot be understood without 'engaging subjectivities' (Walker, 1993: 83). Walker suggests that we look at private photographs as keys to memory, rather than facts. The image is not important but what we make of the image and the relationship with it. As stated in Chapter Three, the questions are not about photographs as records so much as about the ways in which they are interpreted.

The fourth reason underlying the decision that participants should create their own images relates to power and personal control issues within the research setting (see Chapter Three as well as authors such as Collier & Collier, 1986 and Harper, 2002). Interviewing in settings such as the one in which this study occurred, can often be difficult and an awkward process that does not always make sense to the interviewee. In this context, I faced the challenge of establishing open communication in a setting where I was from a very different background to that of the research participants and where unequal power relations would invariably exist between us (see also Anderson, 1993; Morris, Woodward & Peters, 1998; Oakley, 1981). By allowing participants to make their own photographs I removed some of my power as an educated, middle-class, white woman, whilst simultaneously giving participants a greater sense of control over their own stories and their representation of their world and environment.

4.4.2 Data collection procedure

Once the street worker had identified participants, I met with all the young women, as well as the street worker to further explain the research project, the consent form (Appendix A) and implications of participation. Regarding the venue for the research interviews, the street worker suggested approaching the local secondary school, as they were very supportive of the New Ways project and would be best suited to provide us with a quiet and private space to work in. He offered to arrange this.

On the day of the first meeting however, Carol voiced her anxiety about going onto the school grounds. Due to this, we moved the meetings to one of the support units of the New Ways project. The support unit provides skills training to parents in the community, making it

a relatively quiet environment. Furthermore, we would have the use of the facilitator's lounge, which is private and very separate to where the parents work. The venue worked well and most of the interviews took place there.

Participants themselves – as opposed to their parents - were asked to sign consent forms. Participants each received a copy of the consent form and had a week in which to sign it. This gave participants time to consider their commitment to the study as well as the implications of participation. A meeting date for the following week was also scheduled at this meeting.

Although the participants of this study were legally speaking minors, a number of contextual issues had to be considered in order to approach the research setting sensibly. The practicalities of obtaining informed consent for minors - especially in the case of extreme poverty contexts and homelessness - when conducting research in developing countries, has been well documented (Bissell, Manderson & Allotey, 2000; Hutz & Koller, 1999). Limited literature exists though that could assist in guiding the researcher in a realistic manner. As Bissell, et al. (2000) highlight, there are two basic underlying assumptions in requiring consent to be given by parents or guardians: 1.) Children are not able to exercise discretion in decisions relating to themselves, and 2.) Adults are better suited to make 'the right decision' on their behalf. The reality is though, that in communities such as the one in which this study took place, most youth are often better able to exercise discretion in decisions relating to themselves, than adults who are not necessarily *better* suited to making 'the right decision' on their behalf. The demands of a context such as this one require a high degree of survival skills of both adults and youth. Accordingly, many of the youth in these communities may be more 'mature', than their 'first world' counterparts, due to their efforts to protect themselves and survive (Bissell, et al., 2000; Dallape, 1996; Volpi, 2002). Furthermore, many parents or guardians who do in fact have work may be working long hours that require of them to leave home in the mornings before light and return after dark (Volpi, 2002). Establishing contact with these parents in order to explain the project to them so that they may give informed consent may prove difficult and even dangerous. Experience gained from working in these communities has shown that gang violence increases substantially after dark and during weekends. Violence may even increase to the point where researchers cannot enter the community for weeks at a time even during weekdays (as occurred during this fieldwork too). An option around long work hours could be to send consent forms home with participants. Low levels of literacy among adults in these communities and the practicality of asking them to understand written consent forms, however, detract from this option. In previous research conducted on children at-risk in similar contexts, researchers

have accommodated these issues by ensuring that details of the research are explained at a level understandable to the participants, so that they themselves can make informed decisions (see for example, Ennew, 1994 and Young & Barrett, 2001). For these reasons I decided to rather gain consent from participants themselves. Stellenbosch University's ethics committee approved this decision. Fieldwork and the resultant findings have reaffirmed my choice. Mothers in communities such as this one are considered to be adults, irrespective of their age. I cannot help but believe that by asking consent from their parents as opposed to participants directly, I would have completely undermined their sense of autonomy and that this would, in turn, have had serious repercussions on our working relationships.

At the second meeting, participants who agreed to participate and who returned their signed consent forms were each given a camera[4], with a role of film (24 exposures). At my meeting with the street worker, he told me that most youth in this community enjoy making photographs and are familiar with cameras. He did however agree that I should explain the use of these specific cameras to participants. He also recommended that I give participants the interview guide to direct their image construction. From this, I decided to select some of the interview questions and reformulate them, thereby creating a 'photo guide' (Appendix C). We discussed the possibility of taping up the cameras (Rich & Chalfen, 1999: 54). The street worker felt that this would be unnecessary, but due to my existing knowledge of crime and violence in this community, I chose rather to tape up the cameras in the interests of participant's personal safety.

Based on this discussion, the technical use of cameras was explained and illustrated to participants. The focus was on turning the camera on, making the image, when and how to use the flash, winding film on, and not to open the film compartment. Initially I decided that to illustrate their understanding, participants will be asked to take one photograph of each other (i.e. A takes a photograph of B with B's camera), indoors. This would serve a dual purpose by also providing a classification image that could be attached to each participant's data set (Daniels, 2002; Karlsson, 2001). Once the meeting began however, I decided to rather pass a sixth camera around the group and let the young women take photographs of whatever they wanted until they felt comfortable using the camera. I began by sitting with each participant while she turned the camera on, put the flash on, made a picture, wound the film,

---

[4] Cameras were not disposable, as is ordinarily used in this type of research (see for example, Karlsson, 2001; Sampson, 2001; Young & Barrett, 2001), but rather those that are purchased as part of so-called 'camera kits'. In doing so, I hoped to establish if using these cameras is a viable option for settings such as this. With the limited resources in developing countries like South Africa, it makes more sense to purchase a camera that is re-usable – especially as the camera kit is the same price as a disposable camera. To physically protect the cameras and to make them appear less valuable, decreasing the risk to participants when using cameras in their communities, cameras were covered in masking tape (Rich & Chalfen, 1999: 54) and brand names crossed out with a permanent black pen.

and turned the camera off. It was reassuring to see participants assist each other as difficulties were encountered. At the end of the meeting the participants seemed much more content with the process of making photographs.

Participants were asked to take photographs of anything that they felt is related to their being a mother (i.e. their experience of motherhood). They were encouraged to 'take pictures of things which are very important to you – good [and] bad' (Graham, 1995: 136). This instruction was carefully worded with the assistance of the street worker prior to meeting with participants. They had one week within which to make photographs. The 'right' number of exposures for this kind activity is an unknown. To prevent sending any subliminal signals as to the 'correct' number of photographs to produce, I gave each participant one role of film with assurances that while not all exposures need be used, additional film was available.

At the end of the session, our next meeting date was scheduled and a meeting place was agreed upon.

At the third meeting, participants returned their cameras and a debriefing discussion was held. Here participants had the opportunity to discuss their experience in creating images. Based on my early experiences in the field as well as my readings, I constructed a short, informal questionnaire (Appendix E), which I asked participants to complete at this meeting. After studying the questionnaire, I used participants' responses to construct questions that I could further explore during the individual interviews. At the end of the meeting, individual as well as focus group interviews were scheduled. Initially, I had intended to schedule individual interviews for two days after the debriefing interview, and the focus group interview for two days after the individual interviews. However, LouAnn had school commitments until quite late in the afternoons, except on Fridays. Accordingly, we agreed on the Friday afternoon preceding the focus group interview, which had been planned for the following Monday. Brenda became ill shortly after the research began. Consequently, her individual interview was postponed until her health had improved. Although she was present during the first two meetings, and made her photographs at the same time as the other participants, the remainder of the research with her took place approximately one month after the research with the other participants. Furthermore, I held her debriefing interview, as well as her individual interview during a single session. It was also during this session that she completed her questionnaire. All other interviews with the remaining three participants proceeded as intended.

All films were developed at a commercial business and two sets of prints were made of each role of film. The second set of prints was to be given to each participant at the end of the individual interviews to keep (Graham, 1995; Karlsson, 2001; Young & Barrett, 2001). Participants were not informed of this before the time, as I did not want to influence the content of their images. In other words, I wanted to keep participants focused on the research question and not the images they would be receiving as a result of their participation.

Individual interviews were then held with each of the participants regarding their own photographs. Epidemiologists working in developing countries have noted how both the content and the format of standardized instruments sometimes lead to the disempowerment of respondents (Gillis, Elk, Ben-Arie & Teggin, 1982; Parry & Swartz, 1997; Swartz, Ben-Arie & Teggin, 1985). Unstructured, or open-ended interviewing, by contrast, is believed to provide greater breadth as well as depth to the research process, thereby resulting in data that allows for a greater understanding of the subject's lived realities (Burgess, 1980; Fontana & Frey, 1998; Silverman, 2001). This kind of interviewing allows for access to the '*subject* behind the person' (Silverman, 2001: 90). This is achieved precisely because of the lack of rigid structure within the research process. Open-ended interviews allow respondents to define their own realities in ways that they regard as apt as well as for respondents to raise issues that may have been omitted from the interview schedule (May, 1993; Silverman, 2001). This approach is said to challenge, 'the "truths" of official accounts and cast doubt upon established theories' (Anderson, Armitage, Jack & Wittner, 1990, in May, 1993: 94). These theories are supported by the research experiences of Cathy Reissman (1990) and Sandra Hill-Lanz (1994) who found that interviews yielded richer material when more open-ended interviews were used. I therefore conducted open-ended interviews that were guided by an interview guideline and participants' photographs.

At our meeting, the street worker and I discussed the interview guide (Appendix D). The street worker believed that the guide addressed important issues and that the questions would work well in the way that they had been structured. He also told me that all participants would be Afrikaans-speaking.

Interview questions were aimed at exploring how the participants themselves interpret and make sense of their experiences as teenage mothers in the context of poverty in sub-economic communities. The following questions were asked:

1. Pick the photograph you like the most as well as the one you like the least. Explain to me why it is that you selected these photographs

2. Pick the photograph that expresses/represents motherhood the best for you, as well as the one that is most removed from the realities of motherhood for you. (These two images are then discussed)

3. Which photographs illustrate what you most and least enjoy about motherhood? Explain them.

4. Is there any other photograph here that you would like to discuss?

5. Is there any other photograph here that you would not like to discuss? Why is this?

These questions were reworked with the street worker of the New Ways project. In doing so, the questions were formulated according to the language dialect and cultural norms of the research participants (Daniels, 2002). The final Afrikaans version of the interview schedule is attached as Appendix D.

The following issues were also assessed by means of probes:

1. What is difficult about being a mother?

2. What is rewarding about being a mother?

3. What could help you in your efforts to raise your child?

4. What are your parents' attitudes towards your pregnancy and your role as mother?

5. What have you learnt through motherhood? What has motherhood taught you?

In addition to these questions, I followed up specific aspects of topics as introduced and elaborated on by participants.

To conclude the interview, each participant was asked if there are any photographs that she could not, or was unable to, make that she wishes she had. As Sampson (1999: 24) says of her research experience,

> [m]ost times, participants would return to a subject discussed earlier during the interview or would enter into a new area of discussion. In several cases, the response to this question of the untaken photograph would produce more text than any other single photograph. Perhaps participants talked more about these 'mental' photographs because they had already had opportunities to 'think' with cameras, to write about their thinking, and to talk and think more during the photo-interview. In being asked to make mental pictures, participants, unfettered by a physical camera, might have been able to better visualize and to reach further in their thinking; they could make connections to and extensions of what they had already produced, as they considered what those pictures might be and why they are important to them.

Responses to this question were then discussed. If the participant chose, she could even draw the image (Daniels, 2002).

At the end of each interview, participants were asked to sign a release form (Appendix B) regarding future publication of their photographs (Barbash & Taylor, 1997).

The focus-group interview was used to cross-reference information gained from the individual interviews, as well as to further explore any questions that arose from these interviews.

Interviews, visual data and research processes were analysed and follow-up questions relating to each individual research participant were structured. Participants were then asked to take photographs relating to these questions followed again by individual interviews.

The second round of research consisted of three more meetings – all of which were conducted on an individual basis. At the first meeting, follow-up questions were asked regarding previous interviews. Here any issues that required clarification were addressed. The remainder of the research process was then explained to each participant, as well as the research question (Appendix G). Where applicable, some of the research questions were supported by means of excerpts from the interview transcriptions. Participants were then given cameras and a date was set for collecting cameras and films. At the second meeting, a debriefing session regarding the making of images was held where cameras and films were collected. A follow-up date was set for individual interviews. Interview guidelines (Appendix H) for the third meeting were structured according to the original interview guidelines (Appendix D) in combination with the second research questions of each participant.

Confidentiality has been ensured at all times (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995). Names of participants will not be released. Photographs used in any publications or presentations, will be 'censured' so as to ensure anonymity (Young & Barrett, 2001). In this regard, use will also be made of Sampson's (1999) conception of 'photo erased'. Issues of vulnerability prompted Sampson to devise a data representation method for her dissertation study. As her research site was small and intimate, it would not take much to discover the source of any criticism that emerged from a participant's photographic representation of aspects of school and community. As such, she developed the 'photo erased' - an empty text box used in lieu of a photograph created by a participant that is dangerous for the participant or others connected to the participant's discussion – to stand in the place of the original image. Consequently, only photographs with a signed release form are presented in this study. As far as possible, research findings have been re-assessed with research participants before any form of report or literature is released.

146

During the fieldwork I kept a journal, in which I recorded contexts, field-relations and various relevant observations and experiences in conducting the research (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995). Journal entries have been considered additional data especially with regard to the methodology under consideration. The journal has also served to increase my reflexivity as researcher (Belle, 1994; Daniels, 2003). Smith's (1987) reflective critical inquiry stance challenges researchers to realise that we are unwittingly caught up in our own world view, as women researchers of different race, class and status from the women we collaborate with in our studies (see also Belle, 1994; Mauthner & Doucet, 1998). This idea is still reflected in literature today, and especially in literature relevant to this study. Authors such as Strauss and Corbin (1994) and Pink (2001) believe researchers should recognise and account for their impact on the research process. As Hammersley and Atkinson (1995: 16) argue,

> [w]e cannot avoid having an effect on the social phenomena we study. Consequently, we need to understand this influence in order to account for it throughout the research process. As researchers, we need to understand how we are shaped and influenced by our 'socio-historical locations' and the related values and interests, so as to take responsibility for our own personal role in the production of knowledge.

A central aspect to the process of reflexivity is for the researcher to gain awareness of her own subjectivities. Pink believes that this 'subjectivity should be engaged with as a central aspect of ethnographic knowledge, interpretation and representation' (2001: 19), and that 'researchers should maintain an awareness of how different elements of their identities become significant during research' (Pink, 2001: 20). Mauthner and Doucet (1998: 121) define reflexivity as 'reflecting upon and understanding our own personal, political and intellectual autobiographies as researchers and making explicit where we are located in relation to our research respondents. Reflexivity also means acknowledging the critical role we play in creating, interpreting and theorizing research data'.

Reflexivity is not an act limited to the interpretation of data, but is rather something that should flow throughout the research process, and should be evident (to at least the researcher) in all decisions taken, especially however with regard to interpretation, writing and ethics (Edwards & Ribbens, 1998; Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995). Pink (2001: 20) feels that the researcher's subjective reality is combined with the participant's subjective reality resulting in a 'negotiated version of reality'. In this process, she emphasises the importance of how the researcher chooses to present herself to her participants because this influences how they construct their understandings of her. This in turn influences the kind of information participants will impart to the researcher (Pink, 2001). Similarly, Mauthner and Doucet (1998: 127) believe that 'being reflexive about our data analysis process involves for us: (1) locating ourselves in relation to our respondent; (2) attending to our emotional responses to this person; ... (3) examining how we make theoretical interpretations of the respondent's

narrative; and (4) documenting these processes for ourselves and others'. They conclude by highlighting the importance of reflexivity at especially the data analysis phase, where 'the voices and perspectives of the research participants are especially vulnerable' (1998: 138).

Hammersley and Atkinson (1995: 17) emphasise the importance of reflexivity in the research process, when they say that they 'do not see reflexivity as undermining researchers' commitment to realism. ... it only undermines naïve forms of realism which assume that knowledge must be based on some absolutely secure foundation'. Therefore, to add to researcher reflexivity, I also made images for one week of how I understand teenage motherhood in a high-risk community. This occurred in my immediate environment and during the course of my daily activities. As Berger (1980) and Walker (1993) have both suggested, it is not the content of what is photographed but the context and the process for thinking about experiences that are important. I then used the images to create a photo-essay of my own conceptions of teenage mothers in high-risk communities. For the purposes of this study, I used Sampson's (2001) definition of photo-essays, where images are matched with each participant's written and spoken elicitations, and then themes are created with written and transcribed text and photographs. In my photo-essays, I wrote about my 'experiences' as a researcher coming from the academic environment of a university-based community support project and as a white, middle-class woman.

4.4.3 Field Relations

As a result of the past political oppression and continuing divisions in South African society, '[s]uspicion and distrust are bound to remain inhibiting and distorting factors in the research process for many years to come' (Schutte, 1991: 128). This needs to be borne in mind by researchers conducting fieldwork in South Africa. This context emphasises the need to work with an 'ethic of care and responsibility' (Surrey, 1987: 9). Collins (1991: 215) believes that 'an ethic of caring suggests that personal expressiveness, emotions and empathy are central to the knowledge validation process'. As with the exploration of visual methods, my approach to relationships with participants in this study was informed by feminist theory and its 'rejection of hierarchical relationships within the research process by making those being researched into partners and collaborators. ... the establishment of rapport and intimacy confers the obligation of reciprocity on the interviewer' (Morris, Woodward & Peters, 1998: 221; see also Oakley, 1981). Attention was therefore given to how my interaction with participants would foster an empowering context in which participants were able to voice their experience of mothering.

Hammersley and Atkinson (1995: 83) point out that people 'will often be more concerned with what kind of person the researcher is than with the research itself', implying the need for field workers to consider every aspect of their field relations. Furthermore,

> [i]n the course of the fieldwork, then, people who meet, or hear about, the researcher will cast him or her into certain identities on the basis of 'ascribed characteristics', as well as aspects of appearance and manner. This 'identity work' (Goffman, 1959) must be monitored for its effects on the kinds of data collected. At the same time, the ethnographer will generally try to shape the nature of his or her role, through adaptation of dress and demeanour, in order to facilitate gaining the necessary data (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995: 99).

When entering the research context, I made a point of paying attention to my physical appearance. I dressed 'down', wearing jeans, a t-shirt and hiking boots. I wore no jewellery. I made these decisions for two reasons: first, the poverty in the community meant that a certain dress style could easily highlight the enormous gap that already existed between these young women and myself; second, the crime rate within the community itself, meant that as a lone white woman going into the community I was already setting myself up as a target. By entering the community with the added appearance of wealth would only increase my vulnerability. I then paid attention to my use of language. Having worked in the community for some time before the research began, I had a fair idea of the colloquial use of Afrikaans and I had always done my best to adopt this use of the language. Again I made this decision in an attempt to narrow the gap between research participants and myself as well as to show respect for the context of these young women and their way of life. As Hammersley and Atkinson (1995: 95) point out, '"Race" is, of course, not merely a matter of physical characteristics, but relates to culture, power and personal style'. By adopting as much of this community's culture and style as possible, I was hoping to diminish some of the power I inherently come to this community with. 'Age is another important aspect of the fieldworker's persona' (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995: 96), and for this reason I took every opportunity I could to engage with participants in discussions about movies, television programmes and music to try and connect with them in this way.

On a deeper and more important level, I decided to engage with participants as honestly as possible. This meant that questions they asked, directed at my own life, I would answer as best I could. I also felt that the nature of the research meant that participants were divulging their most intimate and personal selves to me. For this reason I felt it only proper that I provide them with any assistance that I could. On occasions when I was approached for help, I tried to gain as much understanding of the issue and its context as possible, so that instead of merely providing 'hand-outs', I could find a possible means of empowering these young women so that they could handle similar situations on their own in the future.

Much time was spent with participants in the car waiting to collect other participants, giving me the opportunity to talk with them on an informal level. We discussed music, television movies and programs that they had seen, life ambitions and so on. These encounters gave me some insight into their lives that I believe would otherwise have been missed. These insights were incorporated into interviews, making them more personal and relevant to the participants. It also gave me the opportunity to share of myself with them, building up relationships that allowed them to see me as more accessible. This in turn allowed participants to approach me with other problems that they were experiencing. For example, Nici approached me for help obtaining registration papers for her second child. The problem was not so much knowing where to go and what forms to fill out, but more the fact that the dynamics of her particular situation meant that she could not physically get to the Department of Home Affairs office due to a lack of taxi fare (approximately ZAR10). When I asked her why she did not go to the one support unit of the New Ways project where she could register her child without having to go to Bellville personally, a whole new dynamic was exposed regarding perceived support in the community and how such support may not actually be effective. In this case, access to available support was hampered by where the support is provided and the people involved. In this sense, I was able to get a better perspective on the control and empowerment dynamics operating within the community.

Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) discuss how perceptions communities hold of researchers can either help or hinder the research process – especially when members of these communities do not understand or believe reasons given as to why the researcher is there (i.e. to conduct research). Participants in this study seemed to understand and accept my reasons for being there. It was other members of the community who had incorrect perceptions: several people, including staff members of the New Ways project, believed I was there to provide guidance or counselling to these young women. This however provided me with the opportunity to understand that many people in this community define counselling, guidance, or more relevant to their positioning, support, as authoritative directions. I was frequently told what teenage mothers 'needed to hear, understand and do'. These statements were often very far removed from the experiences of participants themselves, highlighting the lack of voice these young women actually have, as well as how misguided the attempts at providing them with support are.

I believe that my approach to working with these five young women was successful. During a group interview, they told me how when we began with the research, they believed I was a social worker. This made them very cautious, as they were afraid I was going to judge them and take their children away from them:

150

I: When we got together that first time, was there something then that you were worried/concerned about?
R: I thought maybe afterwards social workers would come check on the children or so.
I: Are you afraid of the social workers?
R: I am actually afraid, but you don't really want your child to be taken away from you.
I: Do the social workers come take children away a lot?
R: Yes.
[*Focus Group Interview; Lines 32-39*]

Through the research process however they were able to realise that I really was there to learn from them and not to judge them and make decisions relating to their lives. Consequently, they were able to open up to me. This ties in with Silverman (2000: 199), who states that 'being non-judgemental is often a key to acceptance in many settings, including informal subcultures'.

4.5 Data capturing and editing

Interviews were conducted in English and Afrikaans, according to the preference of each participant, and audiotape recorded to accurately record data. All interviews were then transcribed. Both the visual and transcribed material was entered into Atlas/ti where it was analysed according to grounded theory principles (Glasser & Strauss, 1967).

All negatives were captured on CD-rom and stored on two sets of compact discs. A copy of the compact disc containing scanned images, the negatives themselves, back-up interview tapes, a $3^{1/2"}$ disc copy of the transcriptions and fieldwork journal notes as well as all signed forms were stored separately to the working copy of all data.

4.6 Data analysis

There are numerous theoretical and practical approaches to analysing image-based data (see Chapter Three). These approaches should however 'begin with traditional assumptions and practices of sociological field work and sociological analysis' (Harper, 1998: 24). Choosing an analytical framework must be guided by the same logic that guides any social researchers' approach to fieldwork and data analysis (Prosser & Schwartz, 1998).

In this study, I placed the participating mothers in the centre of the data analysis, and avoided preconceived categories and dichotomous reasoning as much as possible (Andersen, 1993; Belle, 1994; Collins, 1991). I explore the interconnectedness among multiple issues, referred to in the literature as the 'matrix of domination' (Collins, 1991: 225)

151

as well as exploring the 'matrices differentiating experience' (Smith, 1987: 141) in the participants' everyday social world. A 'matrix of domination' (Collins, 1991: 225) is an interlocking system examining gender, race, ethnicity, class, age, sexual orientation, and religion and their (oppressive) effects on an individual's everyday social world. Constructing mothering in this manner avoids dichotomous reasoning by examining the matrices and interconnectedness of multiple marginalities. Studying such matrices demands the avoidance of preconceived categories. To achieve this, Smith (1987: 10) suggests beginning 'with women's experience from the woman's standpoint and explore[ing] how it is shaped in the extended relations of larger social and political relations'. Building on Collins' (1991) work, I place the young women in this study at the centre of the analysis examining their experience of teenage mothering within their specific social context. As Collins (1991: 224) has said, '[s]uch analysis must retain the creative tension between the specificity needed to study the workings of race, class and gender in Black women's lives and generalizations about these systems created by cross-cultural and transhistorical research'. In doing so, I am striving to 'produce knowledge that is "for women" rather than "about women" which casts women in the role of active producers of their own lives' (Keller, 1985, in Chaplin, 1994: 11). Based on this perspective, I have used grounded theory principles as developed by Glaser and Strauss (see Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss, 1987; Strauss & Corbin, 1990) together with social constructionism to analyse the raw data.

The emphasis in grounded theory is on the generation of theory. Strauss and Corbin (1994: 273) believe that 'grounded theory is a general methodology for developing theory that is grounded in data systematically gathered and analyzed'. The perspective taken in the analysis is to assume nothing, but allow the 'reality' to emerge from the data (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

Categories have been developed in accordance to the process suggested by Charmaz (1990), a process that combines grounded theory with social constructionism. As discussed in Chapter Two (see Section 2.5.2 The construction of meaning), social constructionists believe that how people choose to construct their realities reflects their understanding of their experiences and the contexts within which these experiences occur. Social constructionists further believe that the meanings individuals ascribe to their realities will also, in turn, inform their subsequent behaviour (Charmaz, 1990; Hacking, 1999). This leads one to question the consequences that people's construction of their reality hold for them (Charmaz, 1990). As such, social constructionism assumes an emergent reality based on (social) interaction with others (Charmaz, 1990). Charmaz (1990: 1162) believes that '[b]y starting with the data from the lived experience of the research participants, the researcher can, from the beginning,

152

attend to how they construct their worlds. That lived experience shapes the researcher's approach to data collection and analysis'. Accordingly, coding, creating categories and generating theory are all done by paying close attention to the way in which participants themselves articulate and describe their own realities. Instead of prescribing the use of pre-existing theory, there is a greater emphasis on contextual interpretations. This is reflected in Lather's (1993) work where, 'theory as interpretation is always anchored in the texts that it analyses and reads' (Denzin, 1994: 510). In this sense, social constructionism retains the basic analytical 'guide' of grounded theory. Therefore, a social constructionist regards 'the research report as a social construction of the social constructions found and explicated in the data' (Charmaz, 1990: 1165) precisely because the researcher is not a neutral observer but rather an active participant in the research process. This is particularly relevant to the data analysis itself, where the questions asked and the theories developed will stem inherently from the researcher's own frame of reference: 'How the analyst uses the method and which questions he or she brings to the data shape the results' (Charmaz, 1990: 1165).

The data analysis in this study was also informed by Suchar's (1997, see also Collier, 2001) use of grounded theory and visual data (see Chapter Three, Section 3.4.1 Shooting scripts). He discusses the use of grounded theory in analysing 'shooting scripts', and defines these scripts as 'lists of research topics or questions which can be examined via photographic information. ... They provide a means by which photography can be grounded in a strategic and focused exploration of answers to particular theoretically-generated questions' (Suchar, 1997: 34). In other words, shooting scripts, involves the production of images by means of predetermined categories or questions. I followed Suchar's (1997) production of images by asking participants to photograph their experiences of motherhood and then aspects that related to each of them individually, as these aspects emerged from their initial set of images and the accompanying interviews. His procedure then involves writing descriptive narratives following the development of each role of film. He explains that 'a descriptive narrative is written for each significant frame identifying the way in which the frame is a response to the shooting script question(s). Initial interpretations of the meaning or significance of visual representations can be made at this point' (Suchar, 1997: 37). Descriptive narratives for the images in my study were generated by means of photo-elicitation interviews with each participant. Each descriptive narrative was then awarded an open code, as in the initial coding procedure developed by Glasser and Strauss (1967: 61). Suchar (1997: 39) goes on to explain that 'the assignment of labels to the photographs and their attached narrative explanations is not just organizational. It also has the function of raising questions about the subject matter'. This process allowed me to formulate the second set of research questions for participants.

Private photo-essays (explained earlier in Section 4.4.2) – consisting of the participant's photographs and interview transcriptions – were then created for each participant. These essays form what Patton (1990: 386) calls 'the case record'. They are private in the sense that they are not created for public display, but are with-in case arrangements of data by the researcher. Once private photo-essays were organised, they were used to create themes for analysing and representing findings. Here I planned to analyse transcriptions and photographs from each (within-case) and all (across-case) participants. When looking at within-cases, each case is seen as a complete case in and of itself and analysis is confined to data collected from that case. Cross-case analysis comes about when the researcher looks at all the cases in the study to discern themes or patterns across the cases. Cross-case analysis occurs after within-case analysis is complete (Merriam, 1998).

Problems were however encountered with the data capturing and changes had to be made to this process. Once data had been captured and edited, photo-essays were created in Microsoft Word. I then attempted to enter the photo essays into Atlas/ti. This proved problematic, as documents could only be saved as 'text only with line breaks' or as 'JPEG' files thereby making it impossible to accommodate both written and graphic data in a single file. The photo essays were therefore abandoned and each participant's images were entered followed by the relevant interview transcription. Segments of transcriptions that related to images were coded with the label of the relevant image and I made use of 'Hyperlinks' to connect interview segments to images.

At this point of the analysis I also made use of the ideas of other visual researchers. Collier (1979) recommends beginning data analysis by grouping and regrouping photographs looking for patterns in the photographs taken by particular individuals (within-case) as well as across the group (across-case) – paying attention to what is focused on and what is not (i.e. what is central to the image and what is in the background). Wagner (1979) recommends 'analytic editing'. Here one considers how each photograph contributes to statements regarding the entire set of photographs, as well as about the larger set of images that could have been constructed in the field (based on the researcher's field observations). Orellana (1999) makes use of both these analytic techniques before introducing participants' verbal narratives. I decided to follow this method as I believe that the visual data should form the basis of the analysis. Transcripts can be used to facilitate the analysis of visual media (Bottorf, 1994). Banks (1989: 68) believes that in the visual essay, 'the text should mediate, not dominate'.

I also believe that the processes of interacting with the participants, conducting the interviews as well as transcribing them has allowed me enough 'insight' to each participant to assess their photographs in a manner that contributes to a comprehensive understanding of their overall data sets. I have therefore assessed each set of images as a whole, and then particular images within each set individually. I began by laying out a single participant's initial set of photographs. I then considered patterns in the images by grouping and regrouping various photographs. Whilst doing this, I asked questions based on Weber's (n.d.) ideas regarding analysis. These questions include:

- For whom are the images intended? What significance does that have?
- How were the images produced or created? By whom and under what circumstances? Are there power relationships involved?
- What stories do the images tell?
- What does the image-text say about whatever you are researching, e.g. learning, teaching, love, play, politics, work, technology?
- How do these images create meaning? What social, cultural, or political knowledge is required to be able to interpret the images?
- What is the main "text" or messages conveyed by the images?
- What are the counter-texts or the hidden (implicit) messages?
- How are visible minorities represented or portrayed?
- How are gender differences and similarities portrayed?
- How is the group you are focussing on (e.g. children) represented?
- Who has power or how is power distributed or used?
- What is the relationship between the image-text and the status quo?

From this initial analysis I conducted a detailed analysis of images that had been set apart during the initial analysis. As a result, not all images were included in the final data analysis. Through the process of data analysis, the visual data included became increasingly selective. A similar process was followed when analysing verbal or text data. Not all sections of transcriptions were included in the final dissertation or even the entire analysis, but rather those sections that emerged as relevant during the larger process. This analysis is similar to line-by-line coding, where attention is paid to the fine detail of the image.

I then included the relevant interview transcripts. Initially, I had intended to only consider text relevant if it contributed to the theory being generated by the images in some way. Here it would be important to see the images as supporting or contradicting the text. As Walker and Moulton (1989: 170) recommend, '[t]he analyst must continually keep in mind that photography conveys a world of appearances and that it does not take much inventiveness

155

to create fleeting appearances'. The same applies to narratives however – and so the inclusion of images in conjunction with the text may mean that these stories and images can be cross-referenced to highlight inconsistencies. This is also where the question of 'what is absent from the image' emerges. Loizos (2000: 101) explains that '[t]he interpretation requires reading both the presences and the absences in the visual record, and while some of the absences may be explained by "opportunity cost" features (who carries the camera, when, where and why?), the homogeneity of the images recorded must carry semantic weight. A study of what is and is not photographed can be suggestive'. Walker and Moulton (1989) do caution though that the discovery of such inconsistencies can only result in hypothesis and nothing more. Based on the literature review of this study however, I believe that the photographs will represent a far greater 'projection' of how a participant constructs her reality, than her spoken words. We are far more used to verbally 'presenting' acceptable and desirable statements. Photographs may tell different stories.

At this stage then, photographs within the narratives as well as the narratives themselves were also open-coded (beginning within-case analysis) as a whole. According to Suchar (1997: 38) 'the assignment of codes establishes the means by which I was able to compare images and attached descriptions on a whole variety of topics'. The topics that I compared in my own data analysis procedure were ones that had emerged from the participants' photographs and discussions. I believed that this would then enable me to compare the photo-essays that I created, that explore the same topic (as identified by their codes) with each other (cross-case analysis). These comparisons would then generate new categories (axial-codes), concepts and theoretical understandings.

Once I had been through this process with a participant's first set of images and interview transcripts, I repeated it with the second set. I then worked 'across' the 'two cases'. I subsequently moved onto the next participant. Once this process had been completed for all the participants, I worked across cases as defined by participants.

These experiences were later confirmed in an IVSA listserv discussion where other researchers voiced theories and similar experiences. Alice Sampson (IVSA listserv, 5 November 2003) for example wrote, 'I am not as interested in the images as much as I am in the trigger they create for memory, perceived experience and emotion. ... As a matter of fact, out of context – without the participants' comments of their photographs, photo representations of a concept usually make no sense nor do they provide any real information of their own'. Phillip Mizen (IVSA listserv, 6 November 2003) commented on the possible triangulation value of visual and verbal data, 'We also derived value from the photographs as

a means to confirm and expand upon the children's written and verbal accounts of their work and its significance to their lives'.

In the analysis of the data, I acknowledge that there is no single interpretation of social action that can claim to be definitive. Particularly with visual data, I agree with Chaplin (1994: 110) that 'the images introduce non-linear, even non-rational elements into the whole presentation, such that this presentation cannot pretend to convey one precise message, one clear set of meanings'. In post-positivist and feminist philosophy this study thus offers a range of suggestions, and an opportunity to construct a constellation of meanings about mothering.

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted the incidence of teenage pregnancy in South Africa and the need to pay greater attention to teenage mothers. The need for greater understanding of these young women stems largely from the fact that most teenage mothers in South Africa usually come from the poorest and most disadvantaged communities and are ordinarily African or Coloured. These mothers are also at increased risk of becoming street youth, exposing both themselves and their own children to even greater risks and poverty.

The literature review with regards to teenage mothers also addressed the need to refocus our view of teenage parenting: we need to move away from the formulation of this phenomena as problematic and a social ill, and rather move towards a construction of teenage motherhood that is informed by teenage mothers themselves. Such a construction within developing contexts is extremely important because these young women experience marginalisation from multiple sources, such as sex, race, culture, class, age and status as single, teenage mothers. Services aimed at this population cannot claim to be effective if they do not account for the lived realities of these young women themselves. Several theories exploring the experience of teenage mothering have been discussed as well as the positive consequences this experience may hold for mothers.

Against this literature review, the aims of the study were outlined as well as the context in which it took place. The decision to use purposive selection was discussed along with how participants were selected by means of a street worker in the community. Concerns relating to gatekeepers within fieldwork were also addressed. Why the study of teenage mothers makes for an excellent opportunity to explore the use of visual methods within a developing context was explored against the background of feminist and visual methods literature.

Issues of representation, access, reflection and language barriers were included in my argument.

The framework within which the research occurred was developed in the remainder of the chapter. First, the use of photo-elicitation was explained along with the reasoning behind asking participants to produce their own images. These reasons include representation, the nature of the research topic and issues of power and control. Second, the time frame in which the research was to take place was established, highlighting location, interview formats and interview schedules. Informed consent and confidentiality was then discussed. Obtaining informed consent from so-called minors in contexts such as the one in which this research occurred is particularly problematic. Certain measures were therefore taken to ensure that all fieldwork was carried out in an ethical manner. To begin with, all aspects of consent were communicated to participants in an accessible language. Participants were also asked to repeat what they had been told about the study and their rights within that process, in their own words in order to determine whether they had clearly understood what they had been told or not. The identity of research participants has also been kept anonymous. Finally, the willingness of participants to partake in the study was continuously assessed. Participants were asked at regular intervals how they were feeling about the research and their experiences in taking part, as well as if they wished to continue or not.

This chapter concludes with a discussion of the data capturing, editing and analysis. My analysis of the data was informed fundamentally by feminist theories relating to women of colour. From this, a connection is made with social constructionism and grounded theory. By exploring the manner in which participants construct their own experience of mothering as teenagers in this community, and using these personal experiences as a basis for theory generation, I hoped to place participants' own experiences at the centre of my analysis, building theory around these, accounting for their multiple realities. The manner in which visual and narrative data are dealt with in the analysis has also been explored.

This chapter has provided the framework against which to conduct a study considering the experience of teenage motherhood in a sub-economic community in South Africa, whilst simultaneously exploring the use of visual methods within a poverty research context. The following chapter presents the results and findings of the study of teenage mothers.

CHAPTER 5

THE EXPERIENCE OF MOTHERHOOD FOR TEENAGE MOTHERS LIVING IN A DISADVANTAGED COMMUNITY: FINDINGS AND RESULTS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the results and findings of the case study outlined in Chapter Four. Drawing on the theme of the study, 'the experience of motherhood' and the narrative of the participants, the focus of the discussion centers on the following two themes:

- (Mother/daughter) support relationships, and
- How motherhood impacts on the lives of participants.

The discussion explores how support relationships inform models of mothering in the lives of participants, as well as how the type of support these mothers receive impacts on how they are empowered or disempowered. The dynamics of these relationships forms the basis to how motherhood impacts on the lives of teenage mothers. Central to the experience of teenage mothering appears to be the sense of responsibility these young women feel towards their children. How they define and act on their views of responsibility however is linked to their sense of empowerment or disempowerment.

Teenage mothers in this study appear to be greatly influenced by the type of support they receive, especially from their own mothers. As Deborah Belle, who holds a specific interest in 'the importance of social relationships for well-being' (1982: 16) writes '[w]hen stressful life events and conditions occur, the woman who can share her troubles with a supportive confidant or circle of friends is less likely to be overwhelmed by them' (1990: 387). Similarly, Judith Jordan of the Stone Center says that,

> [t]he Stone Center relational model emphasizes the centrality of connection in women's lives. Disconnection is viewed as the source of most human suffering. In particular, we suggest that women grow through growth fostering relationships. Due to our culture's handling of difference, through a system of hierarchy and dismissal, major, chronic and painful disconnection occur around diversity; racism, sexism, heterosexism, classism, and ageism all become forces in creating disconnection rather than connection (1997b: 3).

The idea that marginalised women are able to heal, grow and become empowered by means of connection and empathy in mutual relationships is reflected in the data. Findings show that *support relationships* can empower teenage mothers to adopt their role as mother efficiently.

These relationships can however also disempower these young women. According to Jordan (1997b: 2), 'engaging with difference in relationships can be a source of enlargement and

growth. But when differences are organised hierarchically by dominant groups[5], with some characteristics viewed as "normal" or "desirable" and others as "deviant" or "undesirable", diversity can be a source of disempowerment and pain'. Where a woman's difference is embraced and supported, there is the opportunity for healing and growth; where their difference is judged and prejudiced against, they experience pain and disconnection. The implication is that when teenage mothers find themselves in relationships that are accepting and inclusive, they are enabled to deal with the difficulties confronting them. Alternately, when they are in relationships that are critical and even hostile, they lose connection with themselves and their ability to grow and cope with their situation. Stated differently, how teenage mothers are supported and engaged with by others, becomes central in how they will develop the strengths that will allow them to grow within their personal context and thereby impact on their experience of motherhood. Gee and Rhodes' (1999) review of literature focusing on teenage mothers' support from, and relationships with, their own mothers highlights the complexity of these relationships. They point out that '[s]upport from mothers has been found to be positively associated with adolescent mothers' psychological well-being, academic attainment, financial status, disciplinary practices and responsive mothering behavior. ... As young mothers' reliance on their mothers increases, however, so too does their vulnerability to the problematic aspects of the relationship' (Gee & Rhodes, 1999: 513). Accordingly, my discussion of the data draws on the Stone Center's relational model to gain greater understanding of the connection that exists between personal growth as a teenage mother and the support relationships that participants engage in.

The *responsibility* related to having a child is central to teenage mothers in this study. All participants spoke about this at length. Responsibility for one's child permeates and affects many other aspects and experiences in a teenage mother's life. Responsibility also seems to stem from how participants are supported in their role as mother. The manner in which these young women are supported, impacts on the degree of responsibility they assume for their children as well as how they assume this responsibility. In addition to being central to participants' narratives then, the way in which participants experience responsibility for their children substantiates and reflects the impact support relationships have on their experience of motherhood.

The manner in which teenage mothers assume responsibility towards their children may also be impacted on by the broader context in which they are situated. The importance of the

---

[5] Within this specific context, I see teenage mothers as being a marginalised group both within their immediate community, as well as the broader South African context. Their marginalisation occurs on the basis of their race, sex, age, class and status as lone mothers (Collins, 1994).

broader context is suggested in the data by the value some participants (and those who surround them) attach to children. Accordingly, aspects such as finance impact on the mother's ability to meet her responsibility towards her child(ren).

5.2 (Mother/daughter) support relationships[6]

Mother/daughter support relationships appear fundamental to how teenage mothers in this community experience motherhood. Emerging from these (mother/daughter) relationships are several dimensions of, and aspects vital to, the experience of mothering. First, models of mothering are derived from mothers (or significant others in the lives of participants). Second, it would appear that mothers become primary sources of support to teenage mothers. For example, Lucy's mother is invaluable to her ability to mother and simultaneously complete school. So too is Nici's mother-in-law important to her in providing a house to live in and extensive support with her eldest child, Thembo - even though they do not have a good relationship with each other. Third, the support mothers provide to their daughters can either empower or disempower their daughters as individuals, thereby impacting on their ability to mother their own children (see also Jacobs, 1994; Davies, McKinnon & Rains, 1999).

The role of mothers in the lives of participants - their presence, their absence, how they provide support or not, and importantly, how participants deal with this – impacts on how participants are enabled to care for their own children. So, for example, Lucy and LouAnn have very supportive mothers, who respect their daughters' role and ability as mothers. This empowers these young women to be more involved with their children and to form stronger bonds with them. Carol's mother, who takes over most of the mothering of Carol's daughter, on the other hand, disempowers Carol. Carol appears to have little confidence in herself and her ability to take care of her daughter. Nici's mother is absent from her life, and her mother-in-law does have a good relationship with her. Lacking this support, she makes Veronica (her daughter) her lifeline and focuses all her energy on Veronica, drawing all her strength from her daughter. Brenda is also without her mother, and as such, the supportive relationships that she does have with other people are vital to her ability to cope with school, run her household and raise her child. Brenda has managed to surround herself with people who provide her with at least some of the support and assistance that she requires to simultaneously complete school and raise her son.

---

[6] I place mother/daughter in parentheses because not all participants had mothers in their lives at the time of the study. This relationship is then substituted for in some way. This too has a profound affect on the way in which these participants deal with motherhood.

The following discussion of (mother/daughter) support relationships reviews the data as it relates to:

5.2.1   Models of mothering,

5.2.2   The support teenage mothers receive, and

5.2.3   Empowering and disempowering (mother/daughter) support relationships.

5.2.1 Models of mothering

> I: You say you learn a lot from your parents?
> C & L: Yes.
> I: So they really are role models for you?
> C & L: Yes.
> [Carol Interview 1: Lines 532-535]

Participants in this study appear to develop their models of mothering and how they approach their role as mother from significant others that surround them, most notably their own mothers. LouAnn for example, experiences her mother as admirable and as such, she serves as a positive influence for LouAnn who looks to her mother for guidance in how she will raise and relate to her child:

LA7   LA9

> LA: [LA9] I look up to this woman. She is always there and she always gives you a
> word of encouragement. She is always there for the family. She does many things
> for the family. She always asks you if you are happy and she makes a joke if she
> sees you are down. She talks with you about things that you never thought you
> would talk about.
> I: So she is very involved with you and she cares about you – not just physically,
> but also emotionally? And this is how motherhood is?
> LA: Yes.
> [LouAnn Interview 1: Lines 175-183]

Similarly, Nici, whose mother is absent from her life, has developed a model of mothering that involves unquestioning commitment to her children. She also learns how not to treat her children and raise them from those in her immediate surrounds. Nici sees the father of her children as irresponsible (having been arrested for murder, interacting with local gang members and being a substance abuser), violent (he is abusive towards her) and

162

unsupportive (he does not support her in any way in her efforts to raise their children). His persistent verbal and physical abuse of her, in the presence of her children, also serves to undermine her efforts at raising her children in a particular manner. She experiences his family as hostile and similarly unsupportive. They too undermine her parenting efforts by spoiling her son and reprimanding her when she tries to discipline him in any way:
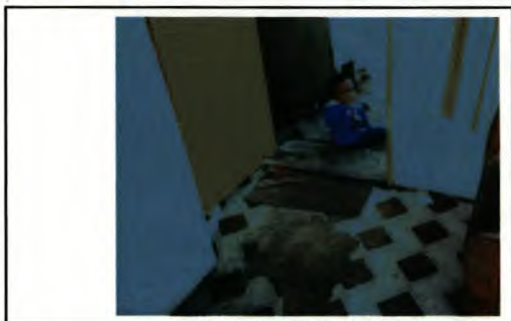
Nici7

I: And why don't you like this photo?
N1: Since here I was stressed because of Thembo. He cried about the camera and I became very angry with him. And then his grandmother said to me, 'why didn't you just put the camera away? Why do you keep allowing him to see the thing?' Then I said 'no but he cannot be allowed to cry about everything and to get his way when he cries.' And I was stressed, which is when I decided to just take a photo of him (laughing).
I: Do you find it difficult to teach him discipline?
N1: Yes, because his grandmother and them spoil him. Now he wants the same from me. Whenever he wants something, his grandmother and them will give it to him. Now I am not like that – I will not just give him something. Because he cannot just get everything just like that. Later on, when I don't have, then they will grow up and become big with those manners and then they become rude with you.
I: Ok, do you find it difficult because they are spoiling him whilst you are trying to maintain discipline?
N1: Yes, it is difficult. He is not even allowed to get a spanking from me before his grandmother or grandfather screams at me for doing so. He also cannot get hurt. If he has fallen and a person is near him then they shout at you. A person cannot even watch him properly or so. Even with that I am taking a lot of stress.
I: Ok. So that makes it very difficult for you. Have you ever discussed it with them and told them how you feel?
N1: I have told them, yes, he must get a hiding. He is rude – he says terrible things – because his dad tells him these things and his dad is rude with me, so he is as well.
[*Nici Interview 1: Lines 101-121*]

Furthermore, this family are particularly unsupportive of Nici's efforts to raise her daughter, Veronica, having been opposed to the pregnancy from the start. Nici's own family are divided and largely absent from her life. Although her mother lives in the same community, they do not have very much to do with each other. Her mother is also extremely unsupportive towards Nici, and at times even hostile. Nici has lost all contact with her father and her relationship with her twin sister is strained. Based on her experiences with those who

163

surround her, Nici tries to be dedicated to her children, be responsible for them, bring them up to learn from her own mistakes and in doing so to have a better life than her:

> I was really young when I had my first baby – from the age of 12 I was already having sex and then I had Thembo. This is why I don't want her to walk the same road as me. I want her to make a better life.
> [*Nici Interview 3: Lines 141-143*]

Brenda too draws on her mother's memory to inform her own mothering. Brenda's mother may have passed away, but she is certainly not absent from her family (See Bren4). Brenda's motherhood is defined by the death of her own mother. She constantly reflects on her life as a mother before and after her mother died and her current behaviour appears to reflect that of her mother. Brenda has taken over all her mother's responsibilities and the added ones of finalising her mother's estate and dealing with the court case resulting from the accident. Just as Brenda's role within her family is reflective of her mother, so must her behaviour towards her son be reflective of the way in which Brenda's mother must have mothered her (See Bren11).

In the midst of the added pressure Brenda now finds herself under, Brenda continues to care for her own son. She is attentive to a variety of her son's needs. For example, she has already begun instructing him in aspects such as personal safety. She is aware of greater issues, such as the importance of financial support, as well as her son's physical well being (See 2Bren8 and 2Bren11).

Bren 4

Bren 11

2Bren8

2Bren11

5.2.2 The support teenage mothers recieve

Mothers not only serve as models for their daughters' own mothering, they also form primary sources of support to their daughters.

> I: What do you think is going to help you the most when the baby is born?
> LA: What will help me is my mom – she will give him everything that he needs. She will tell him what to do and what not to do. But respect is important. The young mommies go with their children to the shebeens and that is not what I really want to do.
> I: So you are going to teach your child respect and discipline? And the role of your mother in raising your child – will this help you a lot?
> LA: Yes.
> [*LouAnn Interview 1: Lines 288-300*]

LouAnn can confidently look forward to having her baby and raising him because of the support she will be receiving from her mother. This support should not be underestimated: LouAnn has many goals for her future, and having a child at this point in life is clearly an obstacle for her. Yet, she is excited about having a child and being a mother. LouAnn obtains immense support from her parents, largely so that she can finish school. Because of the support available to her, LouAnn's plans do not dissolve, rather she alters them to accommodate her new life experiences. So, instead of abandoning her goals to study fashion design after completing high school, LouAnn postpones her plans for a year, allowing her to work and generate an income whilst simultaneously caring for her child.

Brenda and Lucy also mention the support they receive and the role this plays in incorporating the role of motherhood into their lives

> I: How did being a mother influence your schoolwork?
> B: Not a lot – when my mom was still alive, it almost felt as if I did not have a child. Really, my mother helped me a lot.
> [*Brenda Interview 1: Lines 66-68*]
>
> I: Tell me, how do you think it is going to be when you go back to school?

L2: I think it is going to be easy for me, because there is now someone who cares for the child – my mother – his grandmother – he will still be drinking a bottle. I don't have to worry – they will care for him. So when I am at school, I only have to think about my schoolwork. And of course when I am at home I will try to take care of him. I think it will be like it used to be, because I have friends at school who care for me.
[*Lucy Interview 3: Lines 126-132*]

An interesting facet of the support provided by mothers emerges in both Lucy and LouAnn's interviews. Before the birth of their sons, both ardently believed that they were alone as mothers emphasising a great sense of isolation. In Lucy's first interview she discusses how she can no longer rely on her mother because as a parent-to-be, she is now an adult. Motherhood raising a teenager's status to adulthood is not unique to Lucy's experiences or her community, and is well documented in local and international literature (Finzi, 1996; Flanagan, 1998; Kaufman, de Wet & Stadler, 2001). Lucy believes that as an adult, she is solely responsible for her child, and is therefore alone:

L: I don't really understand what it is to be a mother, because I am not one yet. But I must not look to my mother (for support) any more. I must stand on my own two feet, because I have someone to care for now. This is now my responsibility.
I: So do you feel that when the child is born, then you are going to have to be an adult person?
L: Yes.
[*Lucy Interview 1: Lines 293-297*]

Similarly, LouAnn says:

LA: Yes, because I cannot just rely on my mom and dad and boyfriend. I am the mother. I must first deal with that and then I can go on.
[*LouAnn Interview 1: Lines 250-251*]

In the following segment, Lucy is now a mother and discussing what is difficult for her. In the process she explains how her own mother is in fact there for her and how she assists her with these difficulties:

I: I got the feeling that you expected that you must be very self-sufficient and independent from your mother when the child came. Is this still so now?
L2: Yes it is actually.
I: Is it? But she helps you?
L2: She helps a lot where she can. If I cannot, then she is there. Without me having to ask her.
I: But she expects you to care for him because he is your child?
L2: Yes.
[*Lucy Interview 3: Lines 67-74*]

It is important to understand the way in which Lucy's mother is assisting her. Lucy's child is Lucy's responsibility: she is the primary caretaker of her son. Simultaneously, Lucy has the back up of her mother on which she can rely. What we see though is her mother limiting the assistance she provides, leaving the responsibility for the child to Lucy. Stated differently, Lucy's mother encourages Lucy to raise her own child by guiding her through motherhood, without taking over the role of mother from Lucy. In this sense, she is still raising Lucy as her

own daughter – teaching her about this role in her life. Passino, Whitman, Borkowski and Schellenback (1993) identify this type of social support as an important factor in the transition to parenthood for teenagers.

When discussing the image she likes the best, Carol also introduces the importance of her mother's support.

> C: Because my mom cares a lot for the child because the child's father doesn't work yet and I also don't work and my mom and the child's (paternal) grandmother buy more for the child and care about us and - my mom said if I must still go to school my mom will buy me what I want. My mom is very good to me and I love my mom.
> I: Your mother is very supportive?
> C: Yes.
> I: And her support is very important to you?
> C: Yes, and my mom always stands by me and …
> [Carol Interview 1: Lines 89-96]

As with Lucy, Carol is discussing how her mother always stands by her and how invaluable her mother's support is to her as a mother. Her narrative also highlights the forms of support she receives: care for her child and financial backing based on her current situation as an unemployed scholar. There is an undertone to Carol's words however that suggests she believes that she is unable to care for her child: her mother cares for her child because Carol doesn't work and not because she feels obliged in some way to assist Carol in raising her granddaughter. Carol's perception of her own inadequacy is supported by the way in which her mother provides care to her. Her mother cares for her and Sumarie by buying them things. Care, ability and means all seem to be measured materially and financially. Since Carol cannot provide in this way, she must be incapable. What is also interesting here is Carol's understanding of various roles and how they impact on social positioning. Where Lucy and LouAnn believe that motherhood *per se* makes them adults, Carol feels that as a learner, or conversely someone who is not yet working, she is still a child. And as a child, she cannot incorporate the role of motherhood into her life along with her role as learner. She also identifies her mother, and the support she provides, as the source of this understanding, echoing Unger and Cooley's (1992) findings that the *perception* of social support is especially important in the transition to teenage parenthood.

Not all teenage mothers in communities such as this have the support of their mothers though. In this study, Nici and Brenda find themselves raising their children without this support. Both participants however find ways of substituting for this. As Belle (1990: 387) says, 'Many poor women create mutual aid networks through which they care for and sustain each other in times of stress'. She also warns though, that 'social networks can serve as conduits of stress, just as they can serve as sources of social support' (1990: 387). As Nici

and Brenda deal with this absence in their own individual ways, they also substitute for this absence differently, with differing effects and consequences.

Nici feels she has no support and love from the existing significant others in her environment but relies on them for survival, reflecting Belle's (1990) findings. Nici has no choice but to stay with the grandparents of her children – it is the only way she knows of to get food and shelter for her and her children, other than living on the street with them. As stated previously, she finds living in this situation stressful. When discussing how her boyfriend abuses her, Nici says:

> N1: He fights with me. He kicks me and swears at me terribly.
> I: Ok, did he kick you?
> N1: He kicked and shoved me around.
> I: How does this make you feel?
> N1: It makes me feel sad. Then it feels like I simply want to take my child and rather leave and look for another place to stay.
> I: Do you think you can do it?
> N1: I think that I can do it, but I see it like this, that if I run away from their home, where will I go with my child? That is the problem.
> [*Nici Interview 1: Lines 136-144*]
> …
> N1: ... And when his mother is drunk, she loves swearing just as much and so.
> [*Nici Interview 1: Lines 150-151*]
> …
> N1: She always makes certain that there is food and so on – that he has his milk and things, but... when they are drunk, they love stressing. I then don't have anywhere to go with my child, but if I had a place to go, then I would go. Then I would take her, then I would go.
> [*Nici Interview 1: Lines 157-160*]

From Nici's interviews one quickly senses her sense of isolation from those who surround her. She constantly frames herself as an outsider to her environment. Veronica's birth and existence is articulated in the same manner:

> N1: ... His grandmother was very dissatisfied about the second child, and screamed a lot, and then she tells us that we must leave, go out, and f--- off, look for a new place to stay because she will not look after this child, and all of those things. But I just pulled through with everything that they said and so on.
> [*Nici Interview 1: Lines 252-255*]

Subsequently, Nici and Veronica are outsiders together. It is this that informs the bond that develops between Nici and her daughter, where Veronica becomes Nici's sole source of support. Accordingly, Nici focuses all her energies on Veronica resulting in the saturation of her life with Veronica. Reviewing Nici's photographs highlights this. Participants were encouraged to photograph how they see and experience motherhood, including both the good and the bad (see Chapter Four, Section 4.4.2). Of Nici's 25 images, 20 are portrait-like photographs of Veronica (see especially Nici1, 3, 11, 19, 20, 21, 22, 3, 24, and 25). Only six

include her son, Thembo, and it appears as if he has been included purely by accident in three of these (see Nici2, 3, and 23).

Nici1

Nici 3

Nici 11

Nici 19

Nici 20

Nici 21

Nici22

Nici23

169

Nici 24

Nici 25

Nici2

Bren5

Furthermore, in the photographs Veronica is usually posed and 'dressed-up'. Although at first glance, Nici has not really portrayed motherhood as one might (naively) have expected, Nici's images speak volumes. From her images and her interview narratives, it is clear that Nici places Veronica at the centre of her life. Furthermore, Veronica is the 'good' in Nici's life, her 'lifeline' – the person who makes her happy, gives her direction, regulates her behaviour and who gives her a reason for living. Nici may in fact be using Veronica's presence in her life to 'block-out' the negative aspects. Nici does not intentionally show the bad in her life (i.e. being 'trapped' in this house and this relationship). The end result is that Nici not only uses Veronica as her sole source of support, but she is also completely enmeshed with Veronica:

> N2: Yes, and maybe not worried about my life
> [*Nici Interview 3: Lines 160*]
> ...
> I: Do your children give you more reason to live?
> N2: Yes!
> I: I got the feeling last time that they are very valuable to you. They are almost a lifeline for you.
> N2: Yes
> [*Nici Interview 3: Lines 165-169*]

What is important to bear in mind is that Nici constantly refers to her children, but when one enquires about specifics, she always refers to Veronica. Very often she talks about Veronica

170

and then corrects herself, changing 'Veronica ' to 'my children', as if to portray the image of a mother who cares about both her children equally. Underscoring the centrality of Veronica in her life though, is her response to being asked if she would ever accept some sort of foster care for herself again:

> N2: Not without Veronica.
> I: And Thembo?
> N2: He can stay with his grandmother, but not without her.
> [*Nici Interview 3: Lines 241-243*]

Nici differs from participants like Lucy, LouAnn and Brenda who can incorporate their children into their existing relationships, as opposed to using them as substitutes for absent loving and supportive relationships.

Brenda fills her life with people who provide a measure of support for her. These sources of support include her friends, her father and her faith in God. Brenda's friends come from her school, her community, the youth group at church and her family. In her narrative, Brenda seems confident in her role as mother, she is in control of raising her son. She can organise her support structures around her needs. She therefore uses the support available to her to balance her various roles as scholar, friend, mother and head of the household. This support structuring may serve as an emotional buffer against chronically stressful situations (see Belle, 1990; 1994), allowing her to continue functioning despite the context in which she finds herself (See Bren5).

Of importance in Brenda's support structure, are the presence of her niece and a friend of her deceased mother (See Bren18, Bren20, Bren23, and Bren24).

Bren 18

Bren 20

Bren23

Bren 24

B: Yes, that is Cynthia. Say now, I am not there, like in her case a mother was no longer there like my mother was there. Now my mom and I were almost like one for her and she – my mom could pay for her, but I could maybe talk. Now if I am not there, then she will do it for him.
[*Brenda Interview 1: Lines 194-198*]

B: Yes, maybe if I go away or so. I won't worry, because she is there and she knows how it is to be without a mother and a grandmother and so.
[*Brenda Interview 1: Lines 200-201*]

B2: [Bren20] That's a friend of my mother's. But it has recently come out that we are family – distant family. With the funeral and that. She lives there in the wendy house[7].
I: Does she help you with your son?
B2: Look she pays us. And if the child is there then she looks after the child and so.
I: So she is a positive person in your life?
B2: Yes.
[*Brenda Interview 3: Lines 28-34*]

B2: [Bren20] This is to show that they love him. They argue over him and so. Yes! They love him. I trust him with those two and so. And with my father and so.
[*Brenda Interview 3: Lines 98-99*]

Both these women support Brenda by physically caring for her and her son, and even providing a source of financial income – something important after the death of Brenda's mother (her disability pay being the family's sole income when she was still alive). Cynthia's presence also reassures Brenda that if anything should ever happen to her, her son will have someone in his life that will love and care for him (See 2Bren20).

Brenda is the only participant who brings her own father into her experiences as a mother. She is also the only participant who relies on her father in any way to raise her child. He is central to her 'day care' for her son while she attends school, and also facilitates her ability to attend church (See 2Bren16):

---

[7] Informal dwelling on the property.

172

B2: [2Bren3] There he is crying. I don't want him to be heart-sore! I didn't make him cry.

I: Do you get very heart-sore if he cries?

B2: I get heart-sore if I – maybe if my dad hits him and so. He likes to cry – maybe if my dad hits hard and so then he cries. Then I get heart-sore, but I don't want to show him, because he must know it is wrong and so.

[*Brenda Interview 3: Lines 218-223*]

2 Bren 20

2Bren16

2Bren3

2Bren14

Brenda's father is actively involved in raising Brenda's son, and she trusts her father and his judgement in this regard. She believes he knows what is in the best interests of her son and she is willing to allow her father to discipline her son in any way he sees fit. The previous segment of interview transcript also illustrates Brenda's strength and resolve to do what she understands as being in the best interests of her child: what is important and in the best interests of her child are more important than what she wants or what will make her feel good. It is painful for her to see her son cry, but it is more important for her that he learns what is right and wrong in life.

There is a price to be paid for the support Brenda receives from her father though. He is extremely dependent on her, and in many ways, Brenda mothers him too. Just as with Nici, Brenda's situation mirrors Belle's (1990: 387) findings where, 'social networks can serve as conduits of stress, just as they can serve as sources of social support'. Specifically, Belle

(1990: 387) says that 'economically secure women may be able to extricate themselves from painful relationships more easily than poor women who rely on others for services they cannot afford to buy, such as childcare'. This appears to be the case with Brenda and her father:

> B: [Bren14] This one is of maybe I have money and the money goes towards food and so and say now my father is at the house, then he does not ask me for money or anything, but if people come here, then he will ask me. Then I will say that I cannot and then he will say that tomorrow he will get a job again and then give it back to me and so. Many times his friends will come with stolen goods and then my father will buy it and sometimes my father also takes the stuff into the house and sells it and then also like yesterday. I wasn't in the mood for talking – then I went to church – sometimes I say to my dad if he wanted help then he could go to a place where people who are addicted or so. But on the other hand, then I give my father money. But I am glad he is there, because he helps me with the child and so.
> I: But does that place a lot of pressure on you?
> B: Yes, especially if friends come here. If they don't come, he won't ask, but if they come, then he will ask.
> I: How does it make you feel that those people are around your child?
> B: Sometimes when I come out of school, I am so used to – I usually go see if they are here.
> I: Does it almost feel to you as if you have two children now?
> B: Yes, sometimes I say to my dad – the people who stay with us in the wendy house in the back – if they don't pay, I have to go talk and ask to pay, because the water must be paid. He always tells me I must go ask. That's how he is.
> I: Has he changed a lot since your mother's death?
> B: Yes, I also tell him a lot it is that.
> [*Brenda Interview 1: Lines 118-140*]

Brenda elaborates extensively on the pressure her father places on her in her interviews, becoming extremely upset. As with Belle's (1990) findings though, Brenda remains committed to her father in return for his assistance with her son.

One way in which Brenda deals with and balances the strain her father brings into her life, together with the assistance he offers her, is via her faith in God[8]:

> I: ...what can your father do to be more supportive towards you?
> B_FU: There is nothing that my father can do. Some days I say my father doesn't have to work, because he can look after the child, but if he also works, then he works so, he gives me money and just now then he asks for money and so. So I don't say that there is nothing that my father can do, but it is just because I am with the Lord now that everything is all right for me. The Lord helps me a lot. I trust in him for everything.
> [*Brenda Interview 2: Lines 98-104*]

Brenda has also replaced her mother's support with her faith in God. Her faith in God plays a vital role in her ability to deal with her personal struggles and her responsibilities.

---

[8] Brenda's faith in God is more than a practised religion. By this I mean that she truly believes in God and His power and relies extensively on Him for support. She does not merely attend church as a weekly ritual.

Bren21

2Bren21

> B_FU: It helps me a lot that I am saved. Now I have a child and now I can help other people and so. Other people that also have a child and so, I can explain to them in a better manner why I have the child and so. I can also say to them, that because my mom has passed away, and I have the child now and it is good like that! Maybe if I didn't have the child and my mom passed away, where would I maybe be today? Maybe I would have been promiscuous or something. But now I have a child and I know now what is right and so.
> I: Do you feel that because you are a mother, you have become more responsible – a sense of responsibility?
> B_FU: Yes, a lot yes.
> [*Brenda Interview 2: Lines 83-91*]

Brenda's faith helps her make sense of her life, in addition to merely coping. The support that her faith offers her includes an ability to deal with the greater events of her life that are sometimes extremely difficult to understand, such as her mother's death as well as her own motherhood.

Brenda's role as a mother also provides support to her life. She believes that if she were not a mother, she would not have been able to deal with her own mother's death in a constructive manner, 'I have the child now and it is good like that'. The sense of responsibility that motherhood affords her, has given her direction and new meaning, allowing her to work through the loss of her mother.

The value of her mother's support and the difficulties in replacing this should not be underestimated however. Brenda's narrative regarding her mother's actions when she was still alive and Brenda's behaviour and emotions after her mother's death reflects her struggle:

> I: This year you no longer have your mother's help – is this difficult for you?
> B: Yes, *it is very difficult*. I still have many school books and then I page through them and then I think but *I wasn't like this* – just look at how well I did and so. *But now if the teachers talk to me and so, I don't want to tell them more, because they won't understand.*
> I: *So you feel you cannot really talk to the teachers?*
> B: *Yes, they just want to talk, and talk alone.*
> I: And this is a difficult year

B: Especially now – to me it feels as though I can just fail now, because who am I
doing this for now?
[*Brenda Interview 1: Lines 77-85*]

At this point Brenda reflects on the combination of motherhood with a school career before
her mother passed away. Without that support from her mother, things have become
increasingly difficult for her (even with the potential or perceived support from school
teachers). Her words emphasise the enormity of the difficulties she faces since her mother's
death. Her words also illustrate the pressure she now finds herself under, 'it is very difficult'.
This in turn affects her mood and outlook on life: 'to me it feels as though I can just fail now,
because who am I doing this for now?' Brenda has changed from someone determined and
motivated to someone who is often despondent. Stress resulting from the loss of her mother
as well as the strain her father exerts on her, add to Brenda's pressures as a single teenage
mother. Simultaneously though, the support in Brenda's life allows her to continue despite
this. This contrasts with LouAnn, for example, who is quite optimistic about her future both as
an individual and as a mother. LouAnn talks about the difficulties she faces but never with the
despondency one sees in Brenda. Brenda draws on her support to counteract this, creating
yet again a contrast with other participants like Nici, who lacks these types of support and so
draws from her daughter, Veronica. Brenda however, has managed to replace her support in
such a manner that her relationship with her son remains 'balanced'.

It is apparent then that teenage mothers in this community receive various forms of support
from their mothers in their efforts to raise their children. When their mothers are unable to
provide them with support, they find substitutes. In both instances the support received takes
on varying forms. The following section will explore the various consequences of this support,
and how teenage mothers can be supported in ways that encourage them to grow as
individuals, or how they can be supported in ways that limit or suppress growth.

5.2.3 Empowering and disempowering (mother/daughter) support relationships

N2: Now that I have children – it actually makes me more peaceful. Thembo –
when Thembo was born – he grew up with his grandmother lived with his
grandmother. I walked around in backyards a lot, and made trouble. And now that I
have Veronica, I have to raise her. Now I am much more peaceful. I cannot go to
yards[9] anymore - go where I want to, because I must take her with. Everywhere I
go.
[*Nici Interview 3: Lines 153-157*]

Nici's words point to an important aspect of how teenage motherhood is experienced in this
community. When teenage mothers have significant others in their lives who assume the

---

[9] Implying a communal meeting place where youth 'hang-out'. In this instance it is often associated with activities
that lead to violence and crime.

care-taking role of their children, their own motherhood does not impact on the teenage mother herself. When teenage mothers are 'forced' by whatever means to raise their own children however, to assume responsibility for them, then their lives change. As logical as this connection may seem, I believe it still warrants discussion.

As I mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, the literature suggests that women in diverse contexts are not only enabled to cope, but experience personal growth via the connection and empathy they experience in their personal relationships (Belle, 1990; Jordan, 1997b). Section 5.2.2 suggested that when a teenage mother is allowed to raise her child by those around her, she experiences a sense of capability and increased self-confidence. Similarly, when a teenage mother's role is taken away from her (for whatever reason) she is perhaps being led to believe that she is 'incapable', rather than being supported as a capable individual. The magnitude of the role for which she is receiving this message, underscores how this may impact on her as an individual. Authors such as Barnet, Joffe, Duggan, Wilson and Repke (1996), Hall (1990), Hudson, Elek and Campbell-Grossman (2000) and Thomas, Rickel, Butler and Montgomery (1990) have found that adolescent mothers are typically confronted by issues such as depression, low self-esteem, loneliness and a need for social support. Hudson, Elek and Campbell-Grossman (2000) have also found strong significant relationships between these four issues. Hurlbut, Culp, Jambunathan and Butler (1997) found that teenage motherhood and parenting skills are associated with levels of self-esteem. Clearly then, social support impacts on how teenage mothers are able to mother their children, in turn impacting on the emotional well being of teenage mothers themselves. This section explores the connection between support, well-being and motherhood within the lives of teenage mothers within this context.

As suggested in the previous section (5.2.2), Lucy's mother respects Lucy's ability to mother her own son. Although Lucy's mother shoulders the financial responsibility for Lucy's child, and provides Lucy with assistance where needed, Lucy is still considered the primary caretaker:

> L2: It makes me feel very happy/lucky
> I: So you are glad that she does not interfere and take over too much?
> L2: Yes.
> I: Why does it make you feel good?
> L2: Just to think that she is there, she still cares about me. I thought that when the child came that she would not worry. Because before I had him, she did not actually worry that much. But that responsibility it helps, so. It makes me feel very happy/lucky, just to think that she is still there for me, she still cares about me a lot. And also a lot for the child. But she helps me a lot now.
> I: And the fact that she does not take over with the child, but that she allows you to care for the child – that also makes you feel happy/lucky?
> L2: Yes.
> I: Why?

> L2: Just to think that there are things that she taught me that she told me I must do and now I am doing it. She told me that she does not want to do it, I must do it. Then I feel happy. I don't want that if she has told me to wash the clothes that she then does it and then I feel out again and so.
> I: Do I understand you correctly – it is almost a feeling that she respects your ability to do it?
> L2: Yes!
> [*Lucy Interview 3: Lines 87-106*]

Although in many ways Lucy is now an adult/mother raising her own child, she is still her mother's daughter, and her mother is still there for her, providing her with the guidance and support she needs. Lucy's words also show the respect that exists between Lucy and her mother. Although I believe that this respect existed before the birth of Lucy's son, Lucy tells us how proud her mother was of her when she gave birth:

> I: what did your mom say?
> L2: They cried and said he is beautiful. My mom is very proud of me that I could give birth. That made me feel so different. So … Now I get more love and so – not that that I didn't get love but now I feel so warm and full of joy and so!
> [*Lucy Interview 1: Lines 182-186*]

Pride is associated with motherhood and giving birth. Teenage mothering is a scandal in this community and something that is seen as a problem, and even a sin. Producing a life however, is also viewed as an accomplishment and something to be proud of. I get the impression that this sense of pride has deepened the love Lucy and her mother hold for one another, as two mothers, two adults.

It could be suggested that it is this respect that informs the support Lucy's mother provides, providing Lucy guidance and assistance with learning how to mother. Brenda Tatum (1997: 98) argues that, '[t]he validation of one's own experiences by others who have shared aspects of that experience is empowering and contributes to the positive redefinition of racial identity'. Although discussing how marginalised women can move from internalised racism to empowerment by means of an affirmed sense of racial identity in their relationships, Tatum's (1997) discussion may also be relevant to other forms of diversity in the lives of marginalised women (such as teenage motherhood). In many ways, the mothers of participants in this study have in the past, and continue to, experience the same issues as their daughters. By working with their daughters, in a manner that empowers them to mother their own children, mothers can be empathetic. Jordan (1997d: 55) defines empathy as 'a sense of connection and expansion rather than control, domination, or satisfaction of individual wants'. It is empowering for Lucy that her mother respects her ability and responsibility to raise her child, guiding her where needed yet still being connected to Lucy in caring for her personally.

The respect that exists between Lucy and her mother is also characterised by clear boundaries. It is Lucy's role to raise her son, it is her mother's role to assist her where needed, teaching her what she needs to know. As Lucy says, 'Just to think that there are things that she taught me that she told me I must do and now I am doing it. She told me that she does not want to do it, I must do it. Then I feel happy. I don't want that if she has told me to wash the clothes that she then does it and then I feel out again and so'. These boundaries seem to be structured in such a manner that this assistance may become embedded in Lucy's self-confidence to mother and of herself in general, allowing her the space and confidence to develop her role as mother. Kelly (1999: 63) says that in her fieldwork with teenage mothers, she found that 'they desired to take responsibility, and with support they found a renewed sense of themselves and joy at demonstrating their competence as parents' (see also Davies, McKinnon & Rains, 1999 and Kaufman, 1999) reflecting literature on child development where it is believed that 'children develop best through their positive relationships to others, through their contribution to their community, and through the ways in which they realize their potential and find joy in life' (Lakoff, 1996: 108, in Kelly, 1999: 63). Kelly (1999: 63) believes that 'such successes should be built upon and encouraged, not only through the provision of material support, but ideologically as well'.

Lucy's mother also maintains a sense of concern and care for her daughter. Despite Lucy's new role as adult/mother, Lucy's mother is there for Lucy (as opposed to only being there for Lucy's son), 'Just to think that she is there, she still cares about me. I thought that when the child came that she would not worry... It makes me feel happy just to think that she is still there for me, she still cares about me a lot'. This care is also seen in instances where Lucy's mother assumes more responsibility for Lucy's child. For example, Lucy's mother appreciates that Lucy needs to complete her education and as such cannot generate an income at the moment. Accordingly, she shoulders this aspect of the responsibility for the child.

Carol's mother, on-the-other-hand, seems to take over mothering responsibilities from Carol and with little negotiation, 'If my mom holds her and maybe my mom sends me or my mom gives me a job to do, then my mom sits with her' [*Carol Interview 1: Lines 338-341*]. Carol sees her mother raising Sumarie, 'Because my mom says to me Sumarie is going to say to me "go, you're not my mother, you're my sister"' [*Carol Interview 1: Lines 525-526*]. Carol clearly believes that she is not in control of her position as a mother, 'To sit with the child all the time if you maybe want to go somewhere and there is no one to look after the child, so. And now when the child just cries and you don't know what to do' [*Carol Interview 1: Lines*

349-351]. This lack of control over who is mothering her daughter, may undermine Carol's personal belief in her ability to mother as well as her self-esteem.

Although Carol's narrative shows how the support provided by her mother relates to the incorporation of motherhood into her existing concepts of herself, her narrative relates to support that ultimately prevents her from incorporating or even assuming her role as mother. In order to illustrate this point, I feel it is necessary to place Carol in her larger context. This requires looking at Carol's abusive relationship with her boyfriend and the effect this has on her:

> C: ... I chase him away every time, but he did not want to stay away. Then he says no, he is not going to stay away.
> [*Carol Interview 1: Lines 124-125*]

> C2: Because every time he has got a different girl and if he is making out with them, then he comes and hits me or shouts at me and is just funny with me.
> [*Carol Interview 3: Lines 83-84*]

The abuse extends into her inability to control her sex life, her school career and her interaction with other members of the community:

> C: No, because it was my first time. In the first place I was afraid. I wanted to say no, but, afterwards -
> I: Were you afraid of the contraceptives or the sex?
> C: About the sex
> [*Carol Interview 1: Lines 26-29*]

> I: ... Why did you not say no to the sex that day?
> C_FU: I don't know
> [*Carol Interview 2: Lines 10-12*]

> I: Did you want to have sex that day?
> C_FU: No
> I: Did you feel he was placing pressure on you to have sex?
> C_FU: Yes
> I: Did he force you or convince you to have sex with him?
> C_FU: Convince.
> I: Convince. How do you feel about the fact that you did not really want to have sex and he talked you into it?
> C_FU: I feel like if I think about it then I wonder what my mom and them think of me and so.
> I: So you feel bad about yourself?
> C_FU: Yes.
> [*Carol Interview 2: Lines 13-25*]

> I: ... What do you mean when you say you feel bad?
> C2: Because he slept with me and now he doesn't stay with me and I have never done stuff like that to him (i.e. unfaithfulness).
> [*Carol Interview 3: Lines 53-56*]

> I: And then what do you do when he [hits you]?
> C: I tell my mom then she yells at him.
> I: But he does not stop?
> C: But he does not hit so much.
> I: How does it make you feel when he does that?

180

C: I feel heart sore and I don't want to talk to him and …
I: When - what causes him to hit you?
C: Maybe to, uhm, his friends also go to our school. And I cannot even talk to another boy at the school then they go make trouble with him at the house. He doesn't go to school anymore, then they go make trouble with him at the house and he also thinks it is the truth.
I: So he is jealous?
C: Yes.
I: How does that make you feel?
C: I don't feel good because I cannot even have guy friends.
I: Yes. Does it make you angry? Or sore?
C: No, not really.
[*Carol Interview 1: Lines 231-249*]

I: Why were you not at school today?
C: This morning when we took the child to Alex's mom and them, he threw a stone at me and so I turned around
[*Carol Interview 1: Lines 606-608*]
…
C: Yes and I said that I am going to tell my mom that he thinks that because he doesn't go to school anymore, now I must also stay at home. And my mom said I mustn't go after him. And if my mom must hear again that I wasn't in school today, my mom is going to shout at me.
[*Carol Interview 1: Lines 616-619*]

Carol raises several important issues. The combination of how she feels about herself as a result of the abusive relationship in which she finds herself, as well as her ability to minimalise what is happening to her is significant. Carol measures the abuse she is experiencing against how others see it, denying her own emotions: 'I feel like if I think about it then I wonder what my mom and them think of me and so'. Her feelings about herself being coerced into sex seem irrelevant to her and do not feature in her narrative. This is supported when I ask 'I: Does it make you angry? Or sore?' and she replies 'C: No, not really', again denying herself emotions and an opinion regarding her abuse and herself. She may be facilitating this by minimalising or 'playing down' her abusive relationship by suggesting that it is not really something worth concern: 'But he does not hit so much', unlike Nici who is also in an abusive relationship, but who has strong feelings about the situation in which she finds herself:

N: It (the abuse) makes me feel heart sore. Then I feel I rather want to take my child and walk and look for another place to live.
I: Do you think you can do it?
N: I think I can do it, but I take it so, if I walk out of their house, where do I go with my child?
I: Yes, but if you had another option, then will you do it?
N: Yes, then I will leave.
[*Nici Interview 1: Lines 140-146*]

In discussing one of her images however, we may be offered the opportunity to see how powerless Carol really feels in this relationship:

I: Why don't you like that photo?

C1: It doesn't look right. She shouldn't have stood like that and … its messy there. … Maybe she could have sat and said that he could take the photo or something like that. But she also didn't know he was going to take the photo, just that she looked around and ate the porridge and then the thing went off. I also wasn't around there, I was there in the room. When I came in I saw that he had already taken the photo.
[*Carol Interview 1: Lines 263-264 / 268-271*]

Car8

It is clear that her boyfriend, Alex, controls this photo and its construction. Furthermore, from the way Carol is talking about this image one senses that, for her, something has been done to her niece: the photograph was 'taken', without her having any say over it. I feel that Carol may be projecting the extreme lack of control she has in her relationship and the abuse she suffers, onto this particular image. She has no say in her relationship with Alex, no control over how it is structured, how things progress, or the rules, especially about the abuse and his infidelity. He did not ask Carol if he could use the camera and make the picture, he did not ask the niece if he could photograph her. He took control away from both of them. Even Carol's expression 'the thing went off' referring to the flash in the niece's face as she turns around, almost equates this to a punch in the face. Studies such as those of St Lawrence, Brasfield, Jefferson, Allyene and Shirley (1994) and Young, Martin, Young and Ting (2001) have found that low self-efficacy is linked with poor social support as well as increased likelihood of involvement with non-monogamous partners and coercive sex, supporting my impression of Carol's low self-esteem.

Within the data available, one cannot establish the origin of Carol's low self-esteem. However, Carol's low self-esteem is compounded and maintained by this relationship, impacting on her life and the decisions she makes. She denies 'herself', underplays the extent of the abuse in her relationship and by the end of the research, Carol has dropped out of school completely, not having the ability to stand up to the teasing of Alex's friends.

It is against this background that Carol's mother interacts with Carol in raising Sumarie. As with her relationship with Alex, many interesting dynamics emerge in this relationship. The

182

previous segments of interview transcript introduced Carol's low sense of self-value and how she sees herself according to what other people might think of her. When asked how she feels as a result of being coerced into having sex, she says, 'I feel like if I think about it then I wonder what my mom and them think of me and so'. Her parents, more specifically her mother, form part of her point of reference of her self-worth. Much of her mother's behaviour is meaningful enough to Carol for her to mention it in the interviews. Carol's mother's actions with regard to supporting Carol in raising Sumarie send unspoken messages to Carol that entrench and compound her sense of disempowerment and low self-worth.

There are many contradictions in the messages Carol's mother relays to Carol, to whom Carol turns for protection from Alex's abuse, 'I tell my mom then she yells at him'. Her mother's attempts at protecting Carol prove futile though and a closer look at the data suggests that she may even be maintaining this relationship:

> I: Uhm, does your mom baby-sit the child for you a lot if you want to go out or something?
> C: Yes. Especially if I tell my mom everything that he does and of the girls and stuff, and sometimes then my mom makes jokes then my mom says – he mustn't be that way, and if I get another, I may not even speak of another guy and then it is out. And then my mom says if I get another boyfriend then he is going to hit me again if he catches me with a boy because he also says so. He is going to make a scene.
> [*Carol Interview 1: Lines 222-228*]
>
> C: ... if I ask my mom can he (i.e. Alex) and I quickly go to them (i.e. friends and neighbours) and maybe it is late then she can't go with, then my mom keeps her.
> [*Carol Interview 1: Lines 339-341*]

Carol says that her mother tells her 'not to go after him' but at another point she says that her mother will baby sit for her and Alex if they want to go out. Even though Carol's mother may be saying that what Alex is doing is wrong and that Carol should leave him, she may also be sending Carol messages that contradict what she says. In this way, Carol's mother supports the very relationship that she says Carol should leave. Carol says that when she tells her mother what Alex is doing to her, her mother sometimes responds by making jokes. By turning the situation into a joke, Carol's mother minimises the seriousness of what is happening, and may very well undermine Carol's experiences and her feelings of self-worth. Carol turns to her mother with her pain and predicament, and her mother responds by making light of the situation. Carol's mother also reminds Carol that, 'if I get another boyfriend (Alex) is going to hit me again'. By reminding Carol about Alex's threat, she may be suggesting that Carol regulate her behaviour to meet his demands. The effects of this are evident in Carol's mother yelling at Alex to no avail: why should he take her seriously?

The nature and dynamics of Carol's relationship with her mother highlighted above extend into their relationships with Sumarie and affect Carol's role as mother:

Car2

I: Which photo shows what you enjoy the very most about motherhood?
…
C: [Car2] Because my mom cares a lot and my mom likes the child a lot and … in the evenings when my mom gets home from work then my mom grabs her first when she comes back from her grandmother and them (i.e. paternal grandparents) and she sits with her all the time.
I: Tell me … what is it about your mother's relationship with your child that makes it so nice for you to be a mother?
C: If my mom holds her and maybe my mom sends me or my mom gives me a job to do, then my mom sits with her and … if I ask my mom can he and I quickly go to them and maybe it is late then she can't go with then my mom keeps her.
I: … So your mother's relationship with the child … means that you can still do nice things? You can still go out and all. So she makes it easier for you to be a mother?
…
C: Yes
[*Carol Interview 1: Lines 328-329/ 333-346*]

When asked what she enjoys most about being a mother, Carol immediately refers to her mother's relationship with Sumarie. This is interesting because Carol talks about this relationship to the exclusion of herself. She is in fact saying that what she enjoys most about motherhood is when her mother gets home and takes over from her, and perhaps even sends her away. By role-bargaining in this manner with her mother, Carol is exempt from looking after Sumarie and nurturing her, making it 'easier for her to be a mother' thereby becoming linked to what she enjoys most about motherhood. Furthermore, Carol never talks directly about how having a child has improved her relationship with her mother, as Lucy does for example. Her frame of reference is always Sumarie and how much her mother cares about Sumarie:

I: Which one do you like the most (i.e. photograph)?
C: [Car2] This one my mom and the child.
I: … Why do you like this one?
C: Because my mom cares a lot for the child because the child's father doesn't work yet and I also don't work and my mom and the child's (paternal) grandmother

buys more for the child and care about us and - my mom said if I must go to school my mom will still buy me what I want. My mom is very good to me and I love my mom.
[*Carol Interview 1: Lines 86-92*]

I: ... Which photo best shows your relationship with your mom and the role that she plays in the relationship between the two of you? ... Why do you say so?
C2: [2Car4] Because she cares about us
I: OK. How does she show you that she cares?
C2: She buys for the child if the child needs something or so. Her father and them don't actually give anymore. A person must first ask, before they will buy a thing and so. And my mom has already given the most.
[*Carol Interview 3: Lines 93-99*]
...
I: Describe for me how your mother cares for you? What does she do that is supportive for you?
C2: When she gives me what I want and so ...
I: Like what – give me an example?
C2: Like when I want clothes or when I want shoes or so. Then she buys for me.
I: So it is important for you that she supports you?
C2: And love
I: OK. How does she give you love?
[Long pause]
I: Is it like when she gives you hugs and listens to you?
C2: Yes
[*Carol Interview 3: Lines 176-186*]

2Car4

Here we see how Carol includes herself in her mother's care for Sumarie: Carol says her mother cares about 'us', implying herself and Sumarie, because her mother provides for Sumarie. Her words also imply that her mother provides for her as Sumarie's mother, as opposed to as her daughter. So where one might expect that Carol's motherhood may serve to strengthen her bond with her mother, this does in fact not appear to be the case.

A further dynamic that emerges in Carol's narrative, is how care is equated with the purchasing of goods. The use of material goods to display degrees of care seems so pertinent to Carol that she adds as an after thought the idea of love in her description of how

her mother cares for her. When she is asked to describe this 'love', she cannot answer. This limited understanding of love is reflected in her approach to Sumarie:

> I: … which one of the photos shows how you think motherhood is?
> C: [Car2] To dry the child and how to wash the child and to give to a child and to give porridge and to keep clean and to keep healthy.
> [*Carol Interview 1: Lines 279-280/ 284-285*]

Carol's words also raise an interesting question relating to the nature of her mother's support as discussed so far. She says it would also help her if 'I am with her a lot', if she could just be with her child. To what extent is Carol allowing her mother to usurp her responsibilities, and to what extent is her mother simply taking away her responsibility? This idea echoes the hypothesis mentioned earlier: Does Lucy's mother's perception of her daughter inform how she supports Lucy? Similarly, does Carol's mother's perception of Carol (i.e. as incapable) inform how she usurps Carol's role as mother? Coming full circle then, do Carol's mother's actions compound Carol's low self-esteem, limiting her ability to mother?

> C: Because my mom says to me Sumarie is going to say to me, "go, you're not my mother, you're my sister".
> [*Carol Interview 1: Lines 525-526*]

Whereas other participants seem better able to articulate their role as mothers due to the type of support they receive, Carol appears to be assisting her own mother in raising Sumarie. Carol's mother assumes much of the responsibility for raising her granddaughter. As a result, Carol has not grown and evolved through the experience and seems to be ambivalent towards her daughter (see Section 5.3.2). Her primary focus is not her daughter, but rather Alex and the state of their relationship. In our final interview together, Sumarie was fractious and cried a lot. Carol appeared disassociative and ambivalent towards her. Every time I raised the topic of Alex, Carol began to cry.

The data presented above shows how Carol minimalises her experiences, denies her own emotions, and judges herself according to what she believes other people think of her. Furthermore, Carol's mother appears to be supporting the abusive relationship in which Carol finds herself. Although Carol's mother says verbally that the relationship is wrong, her support of Carol in maintaining it is perhaps confirming to Carol that it is acceptable for her to be in this relationship. Carol's mother also minimalises Carol's experiences and undermines her self-worth. As far as Carol's role as a mother is concerned, Carol excludes herself from the relationship that exists between Sumarie and her mother. Carol also appears to believe that her mother cares for her because of Sumarie. We see how Carol's mother takes over mothering Sumarie from Carol, perhaps because she feels Carol is incapable of mothering her daughter.

The work of Judith Jordan may help us understand why Carol can play down her experiences in her relationships and why she is unable to take control of mothering Sumarie. Importantly, we may begin to grasp why Carol never appears to take charge of her life, why she seems to allow others to 'deal with' her concerns and why Carol always judges herself according to how she believes others see her, having no personal views about herself and her experiences. Jordan (1997a: 146-7) links an extreme sense of isolation and disconnection with a sense of shame, which she explains as 'a heightened sense of vulnerability [where] our sense of initiative falters; in interpersonal failures we attribute personal responsibility and unworthiness to ourselves'. If Carol is filled with a sense of shame, then the manner in which she is treated in her relationship with her mother and Alex are, in some ways, acceptable to herself: at least she has these relationships. Jordan (1997e: 147) also explains shame as 'the loss of self-respect or self-esteem. … a felt sense of unworthiness to be in connection, a deep sense of being unlovable, with the ongoing awareness of how very much one wants to connect with others.' Understanding deeper causes of shame, Jordan (1997e: 147) believes that '[s]hame can occur in response to … exposure in which one is made to feel defective, weak, out of control, … babyish. … Loss of a sense of containment or of being in control figures importantly. … But all of these imply some interpersonal situation in which one can no longer feel valued or worthy of connection. The effect of shame is … immobilizing'. Drawing on the work of Jean Baker Miller (1988), Jordan (1997e: 149) concludes that '… a pervasive sense of deviance and inferiority leads to a profound disempowerment, and one loses the ability to represent one's own reality, ultimately, to even know one's truth (Miller, 1988). Shame becomes a way of being and a way of being disempowered; in shame we lose our ability to speak, initiate, and expect respect'. I believe that Jordan's theoretical framework accurately reflects Carol's understanding of her world and explains the impact Carol's relationships with her mother and Alex have on her.

Literature also suggests that the effect of these relationships on Carol creates a cycle, or a self-perpetuating scenario. Losing our ability to speak often compounds a loss of self-esteem. Brown and Gilligan (1992) for example, have found that young women will often silence themselves in attempts to maintain harmony within relationships. This silencing however, leads to an inner conflict that results in particularly the loss of self-esteem. Relational conflict is then manifested inwardly, resulting in self-doubt, confusion and psychological distress. This is especially seen in Carol, where 'a shame-ridden subject lacks a sense of entitlement, she settles for less than she deserves; she is more easily dominated' (Bartkey, 1996: 225, in Kelly, 1999: 62).

This theoretical background may help us understand Carol, and perhaps contribute to our understanding of Nici, but I do not believe that it provides a complete understanding of Nici. Nici experiences a profound sense of shame, but I do not think she experiences it as pervasively as Carol. Although Nici is in an abusive setting, she is still able to identify and express her own feelings; she does have a sense of personal value and entitlement. Instead of silencing herself, Nici appears to create boundaries around herself and Veronica: 'the need to connect and to make contact become subjugated to, and distorted by, the need to defend oneself from others. "Boundaries," then, are defined as a means of protection rather than as channels of meeting, exchange and communication' (Jordan, 1997c: 30).

The manner in which Nici and Carol are treated by those around them may also be connected to labelling: children become a 'disgrace' to their families by engaging in pre-marital sex and becoming pregnant thereby placing extra financial burdens on their family and the community (Carolissen, 1993). This label is not necessarily reflective of how teenage mothers see themselves, and as such may serve to further oppress these young women. As Kaplan (1997: 34) explains, '[o]ne aspect of oppression, then, is to label someone as an "identity" that belies her vision, or to treat someone as part of a category, not as a unique individual. But there are many times when others claim the right to define our core being or identity in contradiction to our own sense of ourselves'. Other participants in this study may be better able to articulate this. LouAnn for example, says:

> LA2: Sometimes they treat me as though I am big because I am going to have a baby.
> They should treat me like LouAnn, like always. I am still at school. I feel they should
> treat me like the child LouAnn.
> [*LouAnn Interview 3: Lines 201-203*]

Much of Brenda's behaviour may also be regulated by how she feels society labels mothers: 'people always say where's the mother' *[Brenda Interview 1: Line 164-165]*. Someone like LouAnn however is better equipped to deal with oppressive labelling via her strong self-image.

Part of LouAnn's self-image is that she owns herself and everything about her. Her personal 'style' forms a large part of her self-image, the way she dresses and presents herself to the world out there, providing a foundation and an expression of who she is.

> I: … describe LouAnn for me?
> LA2: LouAnn is a very positive person and she goes for what she wants. Sometimes
> she is very withdrawn – one day she is like this and then another day she is like that –
> she isn't the same everyday. Every time there is a function, a special day, she must
> have something else. When it comes to clothes – we don't all have the same ideas. I
> always go for something better – I always want something else, different, something
> better than my friends.
> I: So you would say you are a unique person.
> LA2: Yes! I like to be *different* to other people. My style is everything.

188

[*LouAnn Interview 3: Lines 58-65*]

LouAnn also believes that she is better than the community in which she currently finds herself, and she has the determination to move herself away from there. By means of her physical appearance, LouAnn goes to great lengths to separate herself from the rest of the community.

> I like to be different from other people – like clothes and hair and shoes and all. Then there must be someone who says look at her she looks weird! And laugh at me and then I really feel good, because I am the only one (i.e. unique). I have the courage to dress like this. Its mine – its my style. I know tomorrow someone else will also do this.
> [*LouAnn Interview 3: Lines 71-75*]

I believe LouAnn is trying to project her personal image of herself to the community. LouAnn draws attention to herself - not so much in the circles of people who are close to her, or even a slightly more distant community like her school, but in the broader community as a whole. She wants people who are removed from her to notice her, perhaps even be intimidated by her, but certainly admire her.

> LA2: Because I have the courage, I have the courage! Like everyone – everyone will: today she has red shoes on, her hair is red – I go out of here tomorrow dressed like that then they laugh at me, then they say, 'Oh! You look strange' and so. But then they see on the tv or in one of the magazines, 'oh wow! She looks smart! She's wearing something like that.' Then they think – but that child had something like that on! Then tomorrow she won't have the same, then she goes with something else – um, I like um, being different. Then I want people to *see* I am so! Then I want – it is almost like a challenge. I want people to challenge me. I like to be different and that is almost like a challenge.
> [*LouAnn Interview 3: Lines 80-88*]

LouAnn's speech is reflective of her believing that she is above this community and its people. She tries to dress like celebrities in magazines or on television - people who are part of another world. It is interesting to note that in many ways, LouAnn actively frames herself as an outsider.

Whereas Nici, for example, feels inherently separated from the community, LouAnn seems to actively attempt to separate herself from the community. Nici seems suppressed by those who surround her and the community in which she finds herself. LouAnn on the other hand rises above the community - she feels she is better than 'this', that she can move beyond this environment. Furthermore, Nici's sense of separation leaves her world extremely small and isolated. LouAnn's personal world has many people in it and they are all extremely supportive of her, they respect her and stand by her providing her with a solid platform from which to move forward.

Literature presents theories relating to the resistance teenage girls engage in when confronted by popular images of femininity, suggesting that this resistance results in higher self-esteem and self-regard (Brown, 1998; Erkut, Fields, Sint, & Marx, 1996; Robinson & Ward, 1991; Taylor, Gilligan & Sullivan, 1995). Some theorists go so far as to say that understanding this resistance is central to an enhanced cross-cultural understanding of female adolescent development (Gilligan, Rogers & Tolman, 1991; Leadbeater & Way, 1996). Carol Gilligan (1991) in particular suggests that resistance to idealised gender images enhances self-esteem because young women engaging in such resistance are able to maintain a sense of truth about who they are protecting themselves from. Participants themselves talk about the conventional understanding of Black and especially Coloured women in informal settlements. Their speech reflects how these women are more-often-than not seen as alcoholics, school drop-outs, abusive to their children, in abusive relationships and so on. LouAnn clearly resists the popular images of what happens to young women from her community, adopting instead her own understanding of success – Hollywood as it is portrayed on TV and in magazines.

> LA2: … then they say, 'Oh! You look strange' and so. But then they see on the tv or in one of the magazines, 'oh wow! She looks smart! She's wearing something like that.'
> [*LouAnn Interview 3: Lines 82-83*]

Robinson and Ward (1991) identify two forms of resistance for African-American girls: 'resistance for survival', and 'resistance for liberation'. Resistance for survival is characterised by so-called 'acting-out' behaviours and usually prevents 'healthy' personal development. Resistance for liberation on the other hand is an attempt at personal enhancement via empowerment and growth, by-passing cultural norms and barriers presented to young women of colour living in poverty, often resulting in pride in one's self and heritage. By using this model, we may be better able to understand the way in which participants in this study manage their lives. What is more, we may be able to see each young woman's behaviour as a constructive means of dealing with her environment, as opposed to deviant. Carol and Nici for example may be resisting for survival: they do the best they can with the resources available to them. Brenda, Lucy and LouAnn, to varying degrees, appear to be resisting for liberation, claiming their own identities and pathways in life and not succumbing to conventional prescriptions of how they should live their lives.

Ward (1991) also believes that marginalisation forces young women to generate their own identities. I believe a large source of LouAnn's self-image is her sense of heritage, her family history. She speaks of her matrilineal heritage; her great-grandmother, her grandmother, her mother; who these women were and are; she has stories to tell about them, stories that are part of her identity. These are women whom she respects and admires. What is more, these

women respect and admire LouAnn. Collins (1994: 55) suggests that 'racial ethnic women are not powerless in the face of racial and class oppression. Being grounded in a strong, dynamic, indigenous culture can be central in these women's social constructions of motherhood. Depending on their access to traditional culture, they invoke alternative sources of power' (see also Coultas, 1989; Gibbs, 1985; Pastor, McCormick & Fine 1996; Ward, 1991).

Despite LouAnn's strong, positive self-image, her pregnancy still demotivates her at times, especially in the later phase. Her de-motivation stands in stark contrast to her usual demeanour. I think her emotions and where they are situated are very telling about what is going on beneath the surface - beneath that 'go-getter' who is going to 'show them all'. Out of her nine images, this is the photograph which LouAnn likes the least:

LA3

On the one hand, LouAnn says that she likes people to 'challenge' her with their gossip of her. She likes to prove them wrong. Here though, her image represents how her classmates tease her. This teasing occurs in a 'private, personal' space, and even perhaps a valuable space, school. She says that the boys in her class really do like her and that they say they are just teasing her, but I don't think she believes them.

> I: [LA3] Why did you choose this one and say that you don't like it?
> LA1: I like these boys – they are my classmates. They are always the ones that say things to you that you don't like and afterwards they say it was a joke. They tease you. Then you feel bad. It makes me very angry, but they do care about me.
> [*LouAnn Interview 1: Lines 158-162*]

LouAnn chooses this image as the one she dislikes, or likes the least. Furthermore, she went to the trouble of making this image, emphasising the importance of this situation to her. I believe that these two factors in and of themselves highlight the importance of these experiences in her life. Perhaps she feels that they really are trying to hurt her, and that they do enjoy seeing her hurt. Even though we see her continuing resolve where, irrespective of the challenges posed by the teasing boys in her class, she will simply come to school and get

on with achieving her goals, LouAnn's third interview reveals at least some of her vulnerabilities.

Although LouAnn has a very bombastic attitude towards the community in which she lives she does not want them to know about her pregnancy, indicating that broader public opinion perhaps does in fact matter and that she is vulnerable.

> LA2: ... I said to my mom that I am going to show the people that I am better. ... there were many people that put me down. They said that I always just want to be up there and so. Then I thought why me? I am also just a person – I also have feelings. I when I became pregnant, I thought, must I give up or what? And then I thought if I give up, then the people will think, we've got her!' Now she's down – she's not LouAnn anymore, that LouAnn that wanted to be up there. She is just like the rest of us – like the girls [here] – a young teenager that became pregnant and her life is going to be the same. But then I thought to myself, my life is not going to be the same, I am going to make it to the top.
> [*LouAnn Interview 3: Lines 19-28*]

It appears though that the perception of public opinion does matter to LouAnn in the sense that she feels they will think they were right about her being no different to the rest of the community. Her pregnancy detracts from her ability to differentiate herself from the rest of the community.

> LA2: When I sit at home over weekends, then I can see the young girls – how they are dressed and then I think could that not have been me? I was better – not better, but I always wanted to be something different. I feel down about that, but I am going to be who I was again. So when I look at these photos, then I feel very sad.
> [*LouAnn Interview 3: Lines 135-139*]
>
> I: ... in the future – as a result of your experiences now, would you perhaps design a range of clothes for pregnant women?
> LA2: No
> [*LouAnn Interview 3: Lines 140-143*]
>
> I: ... is that because this has been a bad experience for you?
> LA2: Yes! Like at the moment I don't really have clothes that I can wear. And I also cannot buy clothes, because when I am finished, who is going to wear them?
> I: So it would just be too much of a reminder of this time?
> LA2: Yes.
> [*LouAnn Interview 3: Lines 144-148*]

Looking at this photograph reminds LouAnn of her situation, emphasising her 'predicament' and eliciting feelings of sadness and regret. She is reminded of her past plans and ambitions for the future.

LouAnn often uses the past tense when discussing herself: she *was* unique and different to the rest of the community. Now that she is pregnant and about to be a mother, she can no longer separate herself from the community so drastically. Just wanting to sit around and do nothing very much reflects what many people in this community do. So does looking

192

unkempt, and not well dressed. I think much of her anger and frustration lies in the fact that she feels she too closely resembles the very people she is trying so hard to get away from. She will resume her individuality again though - she will get it back - and therein lies the challenge for her. Despite what LouAnn is saying, the opinion others have of her is important to her. She wants them to think certain things of her and she appears to be going to great lengths to get them to think in a certain way when it comes to her. Through community gossip, and her own feelings of vulnerability, she has created an approach to life in which she will not let others 'defeat' her. She has created a means of protecting herself. Authors such as Coultas (1989) and Taylor, Gilligan and Sullivan (1995) suggest that when young women can establish and retain a strong and authentic self-image despite the hardships confronting them their sense of self can be seen as authentic.

I believe that central to the idea of empowering support, is the ability to incorporate motherhood into the existing roles, identities and relationships of teenage mothers. This idea has also been alluded to in Section 5.2.2 LouAnn, Lucy and Brenda all talk about the ways in which their mothers provided them with support that allowed them for example, to continue with their education and role as scholars (see Section 5.3.2.). The support structures and relationships Brenda has in her life, perhaps illustrate this best.

The support Brenda appears to have received from her mother enables her to continue with her responsibilities after her mother's death, whilst additionally taking on her mother's responsibilities (see Section 5.2.1 Models of mothering). Brenda has also managed to replace her mother's support with that from other sources (see Section 5.2.1 Models of mothering). These sources are supportive in ways that she needs. For example, despite the pressure Brenda's father places on her, he still fulfils a vital role in caring for her son. Without this, Brenda would possibly find it impossible to complete school. She would also be limited in gaining access to other valuable sources of support (for example, attending church, where she does not take her son, but rather leaves him in the care of her father).

> B: ... But I am glad he is there, because he helps me with the child and so.
> [*Brenda Interview 1: Lines 127-128*]

> B_FU: ... Some days I say my father doesn't have to work, because he can look after the child, but now if he also works, then he works so, he gives me money.
> [*Brenda Interview 2: Lines 100-102*]

Brenda also discusses the support she receives from her church group that allows her to grow as an individual:

> B2: Yes, initially I was afraid of many people and so, but now since I have accepted the Lord and so. Now we go out and so. And now that my mother has died, I have taken them on like my own people. And then I go out together with them. ... like our

pastor. They help me – not with money, but people that say positive things to me
and so. That is enriching/uplifting for me.
[*Brenda Interview 3: Lines 112-115/126-127*]

These factors mean that Brenda can retain a sense of her own self in which she can mother her son. The end result is support that allows Brenda to assume her responsibility as a mother by assimilating it into who she is, and growing as an individual as a result, rather than losing her sense of self and individuality. We see this in Lucy too:

I: Tell me – you sound different to before you had the baby. You sound far more
mature.
L2: Yes it is so.
I: Do you feel like that?
L2: Yes, I feel very mature, because she told me many things that I must do on my
own and I did not expect that. Not that I feel big – I feel big to do things, but I still
feel the same.
[*Lucy Interview 3: Lines 107-113*]

Lucy's role as a mother makes her feel mature. Simultaneously though, she can separate her role as mother from that of a scholar and who she is fundamentally. She is still 16-year-old Lucy, who is completing school and has dreams for her future. Together with this now is a dimension of maturity that is required of her (by her mother's actions towards her) in order to raise her son, as his mother.

Ordinarily, teenage mothers who live in disadvantaged communities, have high levels of stress and depression, less education, few psychological resources, and are unprepared for the responsibilities of parenthood (Miller & Moore, 1990; Sommer, Whitman, Borkowski, Schellenbach, Maxwell & Keogh, 1993). These factors highlight the importance of resources such as (mother/daughter) support relationships. To summarise, the dynamics of primary sources of support (usually from mothers) appears to impact on a teenage mother's ability to care for her own child. Such impact seems to occur by way of empowerment or disempowerment, possibly based on a mother's perception of her daughter's ability to mother. The dynamics of this support however also allude to a relational context in which teenage mothers may or may not be enabled to continue to grow and develop as individuals. As Jordan (1997c: 31) explains, '[t]he full realization of relational development depends on the flow of mutuality. An individual must be able to represent her or his own experience in a relationship, to act in a way that is congruent with an "inner truth" and with the context, and to respond to and encourage authenticity in the other person'.

5.3 How motherhood impacts on the lives of participants

All participants in this study reflect a sense of responsibility towards their children, to varying degrees. The data also shows that how participants assume responsibility for their children is inherent to how they mother. How they mother is derived from models of mothering (see Section 5.2.1). Accordingly, a sense of responsibility is something participants appear to learn in their own home environment, from the way in which they themselves have been raised. In most instances, responsibility has been learned through the example of parents, and particularly mothers, set for their children. As with models of mothering, such examples may be either positive or negative. Stated differently, teenage mothers either adopt the behaviour of their own primary caregiver, or reject it entirely.

All participants believe that a mother's responsibilities are linked to the needs of a child. How a child's needs are understood however, varies. This understanding appears to be linked to how participants are enabled to assume their role as mother (see Section 5.2.3). How the needs of children are understood by participants in this study, range from basic physical needs, to deeper educational and emotional ones. These needs are met individually, or holistically, again depending on how participants adopt their positioning as mother.

Davies, McKinnon and Rains (1999: 45) found that 'teen mothers are more likely to claim independence once they have become comfortable with the tasks of motherhood' suggesting a link between responsibility and empowerment. This statement also highlights the need for (teenage) mothers to be taught and assisted with their tasks as opposed to either having these tasks done for them or having no guidance at all. Simultaneously, mothers in this study who are more empowered to assume this role, have more clarity and depth in their understanding of a child's needs and how these needs are met, identifying aspects such as communication and respect as central components to responsible mothering. Participants, who are disempowered in their role as mothers however, maintain a more superficial view towards their responsibilities.

Underlying the perception of responsibility is a financial dependency pertinent to all participants. The extent to which this aspect is met in the lives of participants, affects not only their ability to see to their children's needs, but also to what extent their responsibility as a mother actually serves as a source of stress and distraction from their ability to mother.

The following aspects are to be discussed in this section:

    5.3.1   Responsibility and its meaning,

    5.3.2   Empowerment, disempowerment and their connection to responsibility, and

5.3.3 The impact of context, and especially finance, on how teenage mothers meet their responsibilities.

5.3.1 Responsibility and its meaning

Stemming from their own personal backgrounds, each participant has her own understanding of what responsibility as a mother means. In most instances, motherhood is equated with adulthood (see Section 5.2.1), and becoming an adult implies increased responsibility and independence. Before Lucy's son is born, she anticipates her experience of motherhood:

> L1: I don't really understand what it is to be a mother, because I am not one yet. But I must not be able to look to my mother (for support) anymore. I must stand on my own two feet, because I have someone to care for now. This is now my responsibility.
> [*Lucy Interview 1: Lines 293-295*]

Lucy is honest about not fully understanding what motherhood is about. She is however clear in her belief that she alone is the mother of her child, and that becoming a mother changes her positioning in her family. Having a child that is dependent on her means that she can no longer be dependent on others, 'I must stand on my own two feet'. She must become independent, and her reasoning is that she now has someone to care for. Lucy must now do her part, as she put it 'this is now my share'. This child is her responsibility.

Before LouAnn's child was born, her sense of responsibility as a mother is at the forefront of her preparation for what lies ahead. She explains postponing her own career plans because of the responsibility that she carries as her child's mother, 'I cannot just rely on my mom and dad and boyfriend. I am the mother. I must first deal with that and then I can go on' [*LouAnn Interview 1:Lines 250-251*]. Nici expresses a similar understanding of motherhood:

> To feel like a mother. To be peaceful. No longer doing what I did in the beginning before I had them – like going to sit in the yards and fighting or so. And I am glad that I am out of those things. They actually keep me from doing things like that and thinking about it. I am always in the house. It keeps me away from trouble. And I am happy about this.
> [*Nici Interview 2: Lines 27-31*]

Responsibility, for these young women, entails providing for a child's needs, open communication with and respect for one's child. Provision of needs is central to all participants' understanding of responsibility. These needs are understood individually. First, there are basic, physical needs:

> C: [Car2] To dry the child and how to wash the child and to give to a child and to give porridge and to keep clean and to keep healthy.
> [*Carol Interview 1: Lines 284-285*]

L: [Lucy6] To keep her child neat.
[*Lucy Interview 1: Line 118*]

B: [Bren11, see pg] Like this one where I must wash my laundry and so. My father always says that I heap the washing up, but it isn't like that. He (the child) likes to mess and so in the sand and so and I like to dress him up. I enjoy washing him and so.
[*Brenda Interview 1: Lines 147-150*]

L_FU: [Lucy2] Now that I am a mother, now I have to wash a lot of laundry and be busy and so.
[*Lucy Interview 2: Lines 139-140*]

2 Bren 1

Second, providing for a child's needs includes seeing to their physical safety. When discussing violent crime that participants have been exposed to in their community during a focus group interview, I asked how this made them feel. Lucy replied:

L: I feel really afraid
I: Afraid for your own safety?
L: Yes and for my child.
[*Focus Group Interview: Lines 148-150*]

Nici expressed similar concerns:

It makes me afraid! Because those guys that raped the child of nine months – I just thought, I have also got a daughter, I have also got a son. You cannot trust anyone. Even if it is uncles or so! I rather take my child with me. Maybe they behave well in front of you, but you don't really know. I am very careful about that!
[*Focus Group Interview: Lines 144-146*]

Brenda constructs images expressing her wish to be able to raise her son in a safe and secure environment:

2 Bren 5

2 Bren 18

> B1: Sometimes when we stand outside here and the small children are walking
> around alone outside, then I think that maybe I am not right, but I wouldn't be able
> to let my child walk like that. I am too afraid!! How can a mother let the child walk
> alone like that?
> [*Brenda Interview 1: Lines 155-158*]

Brenda constantly talks about how hard it is for her to leave her son when she must go to
school, or wants to go to church. She is extremely concerned that something may happen to
him. In her efforts to address her concerns, Brenda educates her son about personal safety:

2Bren15

LouAnn discusses how mothers can voluntarily expose their children to potentially dangerous
situations, and how she will not do this:

> But respect is important. The young mommies go with their children to the
> shebeens and that is not really what I want to do.
> [*LouAnn Interview 1: Lines 293-296*]

Safety can also relate to health. Lucy, in discussing the neighbours who smoke and drink,
says, 'it is unhealthy for me – it also affects the child. Now we also breathe in that [smoke]
and the child can maybe get sick or so' [*Lucy Interview 1: Lines 173-174*]. As with LouAnn,
Lucy feels she should keep her child away from situations like this.

198

The third important consideration is the provision of an education and life skills. Brenda invests in her son's life skills by explaining to him the dangers involved in playing on or around streets. Because she is unable to enrol him in pre-school or crèche, she spends time on his early education:

2 Bren 11

2 Bren 8

Nici highlights the importance of, as well as her efforts, to educate her children to be well behaved, to have good manners and have a sense of right and wrong:

> N1: ... he cannot always get everything. Later on if I don't have, then they get big and grow up with those manners and then they become rude with a person.
> [*Nici Interview 1: Lines 109-111*]

> N1: I give them love and I don't want them to grow up to be rude and swear and so on. I don't want them to grow up raw. They must have respect for me. They must always respect me and that!
> [*Nici Interview 1: Lines 173-175*]

> N1: ... even though they are not in a decent place, but they most grow up decently.
> [*Nici Interview 1: Line 177*]

> I: What does respect mean to you? When you say Thembo must grow up to treat you with respect. How is that?
> N2: Be obedient to me and if I talk to him, he must listen to me and perhaps if he does something wrong, he must say sorry. And that I must treat him with respect - I must also not fight or shout or so. I must also talk softly to him and talk nicely to him, and say, 'Thembo what you are doing is wrong' and 'don't do it again' and that.
> [*Nici Interview 3: Lines 181-187*]

> I: ... how do good mannered children look?
> N2: They must not be rude if they go to someone else's place - have respect: sit still and that. And don't with bad manners ... They must have respect for others too.
> I: So they must also be considerate towards other people? OK. Tell me, how would you like Thembo to treat his girl friend one-day?
> N2: With respect and maybe if they have a problem not fight, he must talk to her. Or maybe if he makes a mistake now - not just fight and so. Not like his father treats me now.
> [*Nici Interview 3: Lines 193-201*]

Fourth, some participants believe that raising a child requires a holistic approach to responsibility. Lucy understands responsibility as behaving in ways that reflect your

responsibility for your children and in a manner that serves as an example for them. She also sees behaviour as being connected to how mothers should carry the best interests of their children at heart:

> L: [Lucy13] This is the child's (i.e. father of Lucy's child) mother. Loves to drink.
> I: Does she drink just in the evenings or
> L: Just weekends
> I: So you are saying a mother doesn't do this. Does she get angry if she is like this?
> L: She is very, how can I say – vulgar.
> I: So she makes dirty jokes and so?
> L: Yes
> I: Why do you say that this is not being a mother? Why is it not good for the child?
> L: The child looks up to his mother. He wants his mother to be there for him through the day. Now the mother is drinking.
> *[Lucy Interview 1: Lines 135-144]*

Lucy believes that children are dependent on their mothers and expect their mothers to be there for them in that capacity. In this sense, children trust their mothers to be there for them. When mothers behave in an irresponsible manner (which for Lucy means being drunk) they violate their responsibility towards their children as well as their children's trust in them. Being there for your child, letting your child know that she can trust her mother is a very central idea for Lucy. This is seen in her image relating to the previous interview transcript segment:

Lucy13

Lucy is looking down on her 'mother-in-law' in this image. She condemns the woman's behaviour – especially within her role as a mother. And ironically, she is standing over the woman when she makes the image. Not being there for your child may be disrespectful to your position as mother. Lucy does realise however that motherhood need not be an all-consuming role in one's life. Although a central priority in one's life is one's child, there is also room for one's own self. For Lucy, there should be a balance, where one keeps 'one's step'.

LouAnn also equates respect with responsibility, and perhaps even a reverence to motherhood and mothering.

> I: What do you think is going to help you the most when your baby is born?
> LA: What will help me is my mom – she will give him everything that he needs. She will tell him what to do and what not to do. But respect is important. Young mommies go with their children to the shebeens and that is not really what I want to do.
> [*LouAnn Interview 1: Lines 288-296*]

In her explanation of how her mother will help her, LouAnn links physical and moral care with respect. *Shebeens* are illegal liquor trading centres, where alcohol is sold without a license. They are often unsafe places rife with crime such as drug trading and gang violence. Taking one's child to a *shebeen* would be placing him in harm's way. She says that many young mothers do not carry the best interests of their children at heart, and only do what makes them happy. LouAnn suggests that not seeing to the safety of her child would be disrespectful. I see this in two ways. First, LouAnn feels that children should be raised and treated with respect (perhaps her mother will help her, but her mother must treat her child with respect at the same time). Second, she feels that mothers should respect their responsibilities towards their children.

Nici has her own understanding of how mothers reflect responsibility for their children via their behaviour:

> N.FU: To give them love. And to give them what – not actually what they want – if she has, and if she can give it to them or she can do it for them, to do it for them. And to always be with them and to stand by them and if they want to talk to someone
> [*Nici Interview 2: Lines 102-105*]
>
> N: She must always be with her children and talk with her children if they do something wrong. Always be there to see to them and to give them food and to give them love and to give them more attention, and if they come to you and if they ask you for something, not to swear at them. Tell them, mommy doesn't have, but if mommy has, then mommy will give to you.
> [*Nici Interview 1: Lines 179-184*]

According to these women, responsibility is not about giving children what they want, but what they need. Nici's words imply that in order to recognise this one needs to be focused on the welfare of one's children. This may be achieved by means of open communication: 'always say to them "if you want to talk, if there is a problem, come to mommy, talk with mommy"'. Nici also acknowledges that mothers are only obliged to do what they can – there are limitations – she realises that no one is perfect.

To most participants, communication is central to effectively raising one's child, and by implication meeting one's responsibilities. Participants express the need for open and effective communication in order to understand and recognise the needs of their children, as well as to effectively provide for those needs, especially as regards their emotional and intellectual needs and growth:

201

> N: ... And to always be with them and to stand by them and if they want to talk to someone – to always say to them 'if you want to talk, if there is a problem, come to mommy, talk with mommy'.
> [*Nici Interview 2: Lines 104-106*]

Communication used effectively, can communicate life lessons in a manner that allows children to grow emotionally and gain in life skills:

> LA2: I will tell her how it was with me. She must get on with life. She mustn't have friends that are going to experiment with sex. She must wait! I will tell her that if she wants to have sex, then she must go, but I don't want what happened to me, to happen to her.
> I: Do you think you will have a more open relationship with her?
> LA2: Yes!
> I: More accepting – of contraceptives?
> LA2: Yes.
> [*LouAnn Interview 3: Lines 294-301*]

In her desire for her children to learn from her 'mistakes', LouAnn wants an open and honest relationship with them. She will tell them about her mistakes, she will tell them about how she would like it to be for them, but also that she will accept their decisions for their own lives. Implied in LouAnn's words is a respect for her children and their individual abilities.

As with LouAnn, Lucy too says that she will have an open and communicative relationship with her children one day:

> I: If you have a daughter one-day, what will you tell her about sex?
> L2: I will tell her everything about what I have been through now. How I feel about it now. I will tell her everything. I will tell her she must not make the same mistake as me.
> I: Would you tell her this in a friendly, loving manner, or this is how it is and you are not going to?
> L2: This is how it is, yes!
> I: So you would be stricter?
> L2: Yes! Because I don't want this to happen to her too.
> [*Lucy Interview 3: Lines 252-260*]

In attempts to give children what mothers understand they need, one's own comfort may also have to be set aside. As highlighted in Section 5.2.2, Brenda's concerns for her son's life skills come before her own emotional comfort and reinforce her sense of responsibility towards her son:

> B: I get heartsore if I – maybe if my dad hits him or so. ... Then I get heartsore, but I don't want to show him, because he must know it is wrong and so.
> [*Brenda Interview 2: Lines 221-223*]

This also highlights the unquestioning acceptance of responsibility that motherhood entails:

> LA: ... I am the mother. I must first deal with that and then I can go on
> [*LouAnn Interview 1: Line 251*]

> L_FU: [Lucy2] Now that I am a mother, now I have to wash a lot of laundry and be busy and so.
> I: Do you enjoy doing these tasks?

> L_FU: If there is a lot, then it is not nice. Some of it you must just do. That is just the way it is.
> [Lucy Interview 2: Lines 139-143]

Even Carol will sit at home with Sumarie when there is no one else:

> I: What do you do if there is no one there [i.e. home] to look after the child?
> C1: Then I must stay there and do it myself.
> [Carol Interview 1: Lines 353-354]

5.3.2 Empowerment, disempowerment and their connection to responsibility

As shown in Section 5.2.3, the (mother/daughter) support relationships teenage mothers have, can be either empowering or disempowering, depending on how they assume their own role as mothers. The evidence provided in Section 5.2.3 established that Lucy and LouAnn both have very positive and empowering relationships with their own mothers. Although Brenda now lacks her mother's support, our discussion in Section 5.2.2 showed how she has surrounded herself with other relationships that offer her the necessary support she needs to mother her son. By implication then, these relationships empower Brenda. As with Brenda, Nici finds herself without her mother's support. Although the relationships in Nici's life force her to assume full responsibility for at least her daughter, she is not empowered by these relationships. She tries to substitute what her relationships lack, with her relationship with Veronica, thereby skewing this relationship (see Section 5.2.2). Finally, data discussed in Section 5.2.2 demonstrates how Carol is completely disempowered as an individual. Her relationship with her mother not only appears to be maintaining her abusive relationship, but also usurps Carol's positioning and role as a mother in her own right.

Participants who are more empowered to adopt their role as mother and incorporate it into their lives also have a far greater sense of their responsibility towards their children (see Section 5.3.1). These participants accept their responsibility towards their children completely and unconditionally. Deeper levels of responsibility also relate to life-style changes on the part of these teenage mothers:

> N_FU: To feel like a mother. To be peaceful. No longer doing what I did in the beginning before I had them – like going to sit in the yards and fighting or so. And I am glad that I am out of those things. They actually keep me from doing things like that and thinking about it. I am always in the house. It keeps me away from nonsense. And I am happy about this.
> [Nici Interview 2: Lines 027-031]

For Nici, motherhood has made her more peaceful and responsible. She equates this responsibility with 'feeling like a mother'. She believes that when you feel like a mother, you feel responsible, and when you are responsible, you are focused on the welfare of your children. This is also seen in LouAnn who delays her career plans for a year:

> I: So next year you are first going to be at home for a while.

LA: And work, yes.
I: Is that because the baby is still going to be very young that you made this decision?
LA: Yes
[*LouAnn Interview 1: Lines 107-111*]

LouAnn has made it very clear that she has career ambitions and that having a baby impacts negatively on those goals. She is however, clear about her sense of responsibility towards her child. She is putting her plans on hold for a year to take care of her son. The data suggests that a sense of obligation and responsibility is tied in with locus of control. How participants like Nici and LouAnn assume responsibility for their children is tied to their sense of empowerment and control over their own lives. LouAnn maintains control over her life and works towards her goals by taking charge of what is happening in her life and rescheduling her plans. Part of this reconfiguration involves going to work. Money and what it can buy are very important to LouAnn and the way she defines herself and projects herself to the community around her. It stands to reason that her child, as someone she loves and treasures, will be part of this. She sees providing financially and materially for her child as part of her responsibilities. LouAnn clearly changes her goals and plans so as to incorporate the needs of her child:

> LA2: Before I was pregnant, I always thought that I was not going to sit at home over weekends. Everyday is going to be different. I don't want to be like other girls. I am going to be someone different. But like now, I … must remember when I have the baby, I cannot come and go as I please. I must first care for the baby and then I can go my way.
> [*LouAnn Interview 2: Lines 119-125*]

It is important to note that LouAnn is not implying neglect for herself, but a reordering of priorities and future plans. How LouAnn is empowered as a mother, allows her to assume full responsibility for her child, whilst simultaneously allowing her to maintain a balance amongst the various other roles she has in her life. In doing so, she can incorporate being a mother with who she is, prioritising herself and her own needs as well as those of her child.

Maintaining a sense of balance in one's life is evident in Brenda's case as well. Although she feels guilty at leaving her child to attend school and church, she does so in order to see to her own needs. Despite the loss of her mother's support, she manages to raise her son, stay in school, and see to her spiritual needs. Brenda has the insight to recognise that meeting her own needs enables her to better meet the needs of her son. Talking about her fears for her son, and leaving him alone she says:

> B: [Bren14] Maybe to leave the child at home and go. Maybe when I go to church and so, then he must stay, because I don't want him to run up and down … People always say where is the mother and so [referring to when something bad happens to a child in the community].
> [*Brenda Interview 1: Lines 162-165*]

204

But the church is also central to her ability to cope:

> I: Which photograph do you like the most? Why?
> B: [Bren21] This is the youth and so and the minister and church. … the things they talk about – the church – it encourages me a lot. And they support me – there are some of them that are also single mothers and I look up to them. They help me a lot.
> I: So you receive a lot of support from the church?
> B: Through the church, yes. The witnessing of the people is so good.
> …
> I: Does it help to not feel quite so alone?
> B: Yes it helps. If I am alone and looking for company, then I go to church.
> [*Brenda Interview 1: Lines 097-109*]

Lucy expresses her fears at being able to be an adequate mother, highlighting her appreciation of the magnitude of the responsibility related to mothering:

Lucy6

Lucy discusses this image with regards to her pending motherhood. She wonders what it is going to be like when the baby arrives, and is she will be able to take care of her child. I see this as a reflection of her belief that motherhood is a position of responsibility. Her fears and concerns at not being able to adequately mother her child underscore her sense of the enormity of motherhood.

Lucy13

As indicated before, Lucy equates motherhood with responsibility and identifies the change that this brings about in one's life. She believes that one is no longer at liberty to do what one pleases. When you have children, you need to behave in ways that reflect your responsibility for your children and in ways that serve as an example for them. But she also highlights that mothers can only do their best and that there is a limit to what they are capable of:

> I: [Lucy 13] So why don't you like this photograph?
> L: They tease me and maybe if I have cleaned up here, then they scratch here again and that makes me angry.
> …
> I: And they are both your sister's children?
> L: Yes
> I: If you look at these two, how does it make you feel about the child that you are expecting?
> L: I don't really know what to think.
> I: Are you afraid that your children are going to be the same?
> L: Like these two. Because she taught her these cheeky manners.
> [*Lucy Interview 1: 086-088/095-100*]

Although Lucy appreciates her responsibilities as a mother, she realises that there are outside influences that will also have an impact on the way in which her child grows up. This reflects Lucy's sense of balance in life: although she places emphasis on the responsibilities of motherhood, she also realises that mothers are not solely responsible for the way their children develop.

Alternately, Nici assumes full and unconditional responsibility for her children placing extreme pressure on herself. We never hear her voicing concerns for her own well-being as we do with LouAnn or Brenda. All her actions are motivated purely by her concern for her children. The irony is however that in the process she skews her relationship with Veronica, and she places enormous pressure on her son. In all my interviews with Nici, she had both her children with her. During all the time I spent with Nici, she never once let go of Veronica, and she always regulated *Thembo*'s behaviour very strictly.

Finally, Carol has a very limited view of what her responsibilities towards Sumarie involve. She sees her responsibility as a mother being limited to seeing only to Sumarie's physical needs and never discusses or refers to any other aspects of how she mothers her daughter. Motherhood is very much associated with the practicalities of looking after and raising a child in Carol's mind. Whereas participants like Lucy, Nici and Brenda automatically include emotional nurturing and support with the cleaning, clothing and feeding of children, Carol keeps motherhood on a very practical level:

> I: What would really help you to raise, properly raise your child?
> C: Just if there is milk and porridge and I am with her a lot and she is healthy.
> [*Carol Interview 1: Lines 418-420*]

Carol seems to be saying repeatedly that being loved relates purely to physical and material needs whilst other participants communicate the notion that mothering is about providing holistically for one's child and her needs. Carol does not appear to be prioritising Sumarie at all:

> I: What is it about your relationship with your mother that makes it nice for you to be a mother?
> C: ... if I ask my mom can he and I can quickly go to them and maybe it is late then she can't go with then my mom keeps her.[*Carol Interview 1: Lines 336-341*]I: What about being a mother don't you like?
> C: To constantly sit with the child maybe if you want to go somewhere and there is nobody else to look after the child, so. And when the child keeps crying and you don't know what to do.
> [*Carol Interview 1: Lines 347-351*]

Later she reiterates:

> I: What is really difficult for you about being a mother?
> C: When she is so naughty and cries unnecessarily. That is all.
> I: Do your hands feel cut off?
> C: Mmm.
> [*Carol Interview 1: Lines 421-424*]

Other participants in this study seem to be able to cope more effectively with this side of mothering. They realise the extent to which they need to nurture their children and appear to manage care and discipline accordingly. Carol seems stumped by this – her hands are 'cut off' when she needs to deal with her daughter's emotional needs.

In summary, participants like LouAnn and Brenda show that meeting the responsibility for one's child is about more than a child's needs – it is also about meeting one's own needs and maintaining some form of balance. LouAnn and Lucy reflect this balance by realising that they can only do their best in raising their children. These three participants also appear to be the most empowered in this group. Jordan (1997c: 30) believes that empowerment coincides with an ability to 'integrate individual and relational goals'. She continues

> in the paradigm that recognizes the relational and interdependent nature of our lives, we might replace 'autonomy' with the capacity to be clear in our thoughts, feelings and actions; to act with intention; to be creative and effective, but always with awareness of the source of our energy in relationships and with recognition of the impact of our actions on others. ... An appreciation of relational responsibility and context does not impair our effectiveness in the world; rather, it can positively influence and support the direction that our creative and productive energies take (Jordan, 1997c: 30).

Nici and Carol on the other hand, do not display this kind of balance, again perhaps reflecting their lack of personal empowerment and growth. Where Carol is completely unconnected to Sumarie, Nici is totally enmeshed with her children.

The effect of (mother/daughter) support relationships can clearly be seen in the manner in which these young women relate to their own children.

5.3.3 The impact of context on meeting one's responsibility

There is more to the way in which mothers of any age interact with their children than how they are personally empowered. Community values may contribute to how participants articulate the personal meaning of their children in their lives as well as how they can navigate themselves through any relationships. Although I do not explore community context in this study, participants' narratives make it necessary to mention some of these issues.

Lucy, LouAnn and Carol all mention how angry their parents were at discovering their pregnancy.

> C1: Yes, my father, when my father found out he also cried, and my father probably cried for two months. My father did not want to speak to me, because I am my father's only daughter.
> *[Carol Interview 1: Lines 098-100]*

> LA1:... My father did, when I took my boyfriend, it was almost as if he could not believe it... Because he always told us that he would put us out of the house. That he would not do anything for the child and so on. That is why – I was afraid!
> *[LouAnn Interview 1: Lines 319-320/328-329]*

> I: How did she react when you told her?
> L1: For a little while she did not speak to me.
> I: Was she shocked or was she angry?
> L1: She was both, but afterwards she became better.
> I: So did she accept it now and is she OK with it?
> L1: It looks like she is OK with it now.
> I: Why do you say that it looks like she is ok with it.
> L1: Sometimes she screams at me about it and sometimes she speaks well about it – then she is just good to you.
> I: Did she tell you why she is angry with you about this?
> L1: Yes.
> I: What are her reasons?
> L1: She said that she looked up to me a lot and that she thought that I would finish school without a child. She said that it made her very angry and that she would not forgive me quickly. She will, but it will take some time before she will get over it.
> *[Lucy Interview 1: Lines 060-074]*

As we have already seen however, participants also discuss at length how their parents now support them and their children. I believe this reflects a community value. Lucy's photographs, constructed after the birth of her son, clearly illustrate how the arrival of her child is celebrated. The living room of her mother's house is filled with cards and the remnants of floral bouquets. The neighbours captured in the images are dressed formally during their visit to congratulate the young mother.

208

2Lucy 20

2 Lucy 21

The arrival of Lucy's son is celebrated with gifts of flower bouquets and cards in a community that can ill-afford such luxuries. In this community (as in so many others), impressions and the messages they convey are inscripted in material goods. Most homes have television sets in spite of the need for, and absence of, basic necessities. Living rooms are often elaborately furnished and decorated whilst bedrooms and kitchens remain bare and run-down. With the scarcity of resources, priorities appear clearly defined as regards what money can be spent on. The prevalence of formal wear and gifts underscores the importance of the birth of a child.

Community values filter into the lives of participants and how they see their children. Lucy's child is not only embraced by her and her mother, but also by their friends and neighbours. Nici alters her life style (despite the lack of role models) to raise her daughter to the best of her ability. Brenda is entirely committed to her son and his welfare and safety. Despite the difficulties a child is creating in LouAnn's life with regards to her own personal goals, she still identifies children as valuable, and 'special'. As such, her goals are secondary to the welfare of her child. At separate instances, LouAnn says:

> LA: Because a baby is something very special to me and the feeling for me – I am
> very lucky. So when I see these dolls then I immediately think of what I am going
> to buy for him.
> [*LouAnn Interview 1: Lines 125-127*]

> LA: Because I am very happy at the moment, even if I haven't given birth to this
> baby yet, I love him very much and I will do everything for him.
> [*LouAnn Interview 1: Lines 219-220*]

Lucy also remarks on her feelings for her son:

> I: What is the best for you now, if you think 'wow I am a mom'? What is it about
> your interaction with him that makes you feel that way?
> L2: It is just that I can have him with me and that he is with me everyday.
> I: So just his being?
> L2: Just that he can be with me.
> I: So you are really happy with him?
> L2: Yes.

209

[Lucy Interview 3: Lines 058-064]

Brenda explains how her feelings for her son are reflective of her understandings of 'true love':

> I: Which photo shows what you enjoy most about motherhood …?
> B1: … There is not a photo where I am holding him.
> I: If you could have had a photo of you holding him, would you then have chosen that one?
> B1: Yes, to hold him, yes.
> I: Why do you say so?
> B1: Like maybe like now that he is born I am glad I have him. I cannot describe. Sometimes I think he is also a part of the father and so. Some people say he has my mother's nose.
> …
> B1: Like a boyfriend might come and tell me he loves me and so, but he can stay away from me for three days. But a baby that you have is your child and you love that child. But you cannot exist for one day without that child. Perhaps he is at the hospital and so, but you can't really enjoy yourself if the child is not there. That is real love.
> *[Brenda Interview 1: Lines 174-188]*

In Nici's life, this kind of understanding of love extends into her very reason for existing:

> I: So that is the impression that I get – if you did not have children, perhaps you would have done more irresponsible things.
> N2: Yes, and maybe not worried[10] about my life.
> I: Can I ask you another question – I have deduced that your life is really very hard. Do you think you may have done something – maybe become involved in criminal activities, perhaps committed suicide, or so?
> N2: Yes.
> I: Do your children give you more reason to live?
> N2: Yes!
> I: I got the feeling last time that they are very valuable to you. They are almost a lifeline for you.
> N2: Yes
> *[Nici Interview 3: Lines 158-168]*

Despite the hardships her current living conditions hold for her, she is not willing to improve on her lot at the expense of her daughter:

> I: Was it not perhaps better there (i.e. foster care) than where you are now? And if someone were to offer you that opportunity again, would you take it?
> N2: Not without Veronica.
> I: And Thembo?
> N2: He can stay with his grandmother, but not without her.
> *[Nici Interview 3: Lines 239-243]*

The value that is attached to children is underscored by the regret that most participants express at being teenage mothers. Nici highlights this when she is discussing her current views on sex, and where it fits into a person's life. She explains that it is something that should be reserved for when one is older and more mature. When I ask her why she believes this, she says:

---

[10] Taken her life seriously, or cared about herself.

> N2: Because I was really young when I had my first baby – from the age of 12 I was already having sex and then I had *Thembo*. This is why I don't want her to walk the same road as me. I want her to make a better life.
> I: So it makes life very difficult for you because you have children?
> N2: Yes.
> [*Nici Interview 3: Lines 141-145*]

Lucy expresses a similar idea:

> L2: I will tell her everything about what I have been through now. How I feel about it now. I will tell her everything. I will tell her she must not to make the same mistake as me.
> [*Lucy Interview 3: Lines 253-255*]

As with Nici, Lucy says that she will have an open and communicative relationship with her children. She will be honest about her experiences in the hope of her children learning from her. Lucy uses the term 'mistake' with regards to her pregnancy, 'make the same mistakes as me', despite her love for her son. In fact, Lucy feels so strongly about this, that she also says she will be very strict with her daughter should she have one, as regards sex in an effort to prevent her from also becoming a teenage mother. Her words at this point of the interview are emphasised by her anxiety that accompanies them. The tension between her belief that her pregnancy was a mistake and her current love for her son, underscores her value of her child.

LouAnn's experience of her pregnancy comes out in her discussion of clothing:

> LA2: When I sit at home over the weekends, then I can see the young girls – how they are dressed and then I think could that not have been me? I was better – not better, but I always wanted to be something different. I feel down about it, but I am going to be where I was again. So when I look at these photos, then I am filled with regret.
> I: OK, so the baby is coming one of these days. And it is exams now and so, but in the future – as a result of your experiences now, could you perhaps design a range of clothes for pregnant women?
> LA2: No.
> I: You won't want to do that? If you say that, is it because this is a bad experience for you?
> LA2: Yes! Like at the moment I also don't really have clothes that I can wear now. And I also cannot buy clothes, because when I finish up, who is going to wear it then?
> I: So it would just be too much of a reminder of this time?
> LA2: Yes.
> [*LouAnn Interview 3: Lines 135-148*]

It is apparent that LouAnn hates being pregnant. Her words indicate that she regrets this more than she is perhaps willing to admit. Her ability to stand out from the crowd, and express her individuality are factors that allow her to be proud and to believe that she really is better than the community from which she comes. She feels at times that these traits are curbed by her pregnancy and will possibly continue to be curbed (to a lesser degree) by motherhood. Perhaps it is really for this reason that she says in the first interview, that she

will never become pregnant again, and that later, in her second interview, she says that she will not marry the father of the child. She does not want to be reminded of this time in her life, and how her spirit and the very aspects of herself which give definition and meaning to who she is, have been dampened and curbed by this experience.

Irrespective of how participants understand and assume their responsibility as mothers, and how context impacts positively on their view of children, context also often undermines efforts to raise their children responsibly. Underlying the ability to provide many, if not all, of these basic needs, is money. Being teenage mothers, and unemployed, participants have to look elsewhere for an income. Money or the lack thereof can place enormous strain on teenage mothers, possibly detracting from their ability to focus on their children effectively. Brenda, for example, discusses the emotional strain she experiences as a result of the father of her son not providing financial support:

> B: And later I realised that I could get by without money, but not the child and the child is suffering
> I: How does it make you feel that you now have to run after the father and ask him for money?
> B: Sometimes I think that if I was not saved and I go there to their house, then I would do something to him, because I cannot handle it that I have to phone him for maintenance[11].
> I: So it makes you angry?
> B: Yes … It hurts me, and it is almost like – can he not think? He must send money for the child. After all, it is all that he does for the child.
> [Brenda Interview 1: 37-38/55-64]

This strain is compounded by her own father being unemployed and expecting Brenda to assume responsibility not only for her child but for the household as well (see Section 5.3.2).

Nici says that what would help her is if she could be in an environment where she could give more of herself to her children:

> I: What would help you raise your children?
> N: To get a job and not that I want to move away from his mom and them (i.e. parents) or so, but that I can get myself another place to live and I stay there with my children there.
> [Nici Interview 1: Lines 291-293]

Her words imply that it is her lack of income that is the reason she continues to live with the father of her children and his parents. If she could secure an income for herself she could live somewhere else.

By having to live as she does, Nici continues to expose herself to violent abuse, and have her parenting undermined by both her 'in-laws' and the father of the children:

---

[11] Providing financial support.

> N2: … and the children hear these things and now they talk about this stuff. And now he (the father) gets angry and then he doesn't even realise that it is he himself who is doing these things in front of the children.
> I: So do you think they learn from him?
> *N2: Thembo* yes!
> I: Can you already see it in his behaviour?
> N2: Yes, and I don't like it. *Thembo* has now also got that way in him – he just gives an ugly answer back and I don't like it.
> I: Tell me, do you feel almost helpless in these things?
> N2: Yes.
> I: And how does that make you feel?
> N2: It does not make me feel good – it feels as though I just want to walk away from all these things and just live peacefully with my children. That's how it makes me feel.
> [*Nici Interview 3: Lines 209-221*]

In conclusion, this section has highlighted the various ways in which teenage mothers understand their responsibility towards their children as well as how they assume this responsibility. The evidence has also highlighted how the support teenage mothers receive for themselves, as well as the context in which they find themselves, impacts on their ability to understand and meet these responsibilities. The data also shows how, in meeting their responsibilities towards their children, many participants also make changes regarding their own lives. This section has highlighted the importance of the broader context in which participants are situated and the impact this may have on their ability to assume responsibility for their children.

5.4 Conclusion

5.4.1 Summary of findings

Chapter Four highlighted the need to address questions within the literature such as Glenn's (1994: 4) questions, 'how does looking at mothering as a socially constructed, historically specific relationship redirect our attention to new issues? How does this approach change the ways we think about women and caring?' She also suggests ways in which to address these questions. Specifically, Glenn (1994: 13) says that 'to understand mothering free from ideologies, … we need to understand females who are also mothers as unique individuals with their own identities and varieties of roles'. The findings of this study suggest that if we really want to understand teenage mothers in communities such as the one in which this study took place, we also need to understand the support relationships available to them. The evidence shows that it is these relationships that most affect the identities of teenage mothers, as well as how they see their roles.

Our results show that how teenage mothers in this community experience motherhood is informed mainly by their immediate support relationships, and that in most instances their

mothers are the source of this support. It is only when mothers are physically absent from the lives of participants that they seek this support elsewhere. The experiences of participants in this study also suggest that their mothers influence their own experience of mothering on various levels. Mothers form role models for their teenage daughters, contributing to how these young women approach their own role as mother. The manner in which mothers provide assistance and support to their daughters also impacts on their experience of motherhood. In providing assistance and support to their mothering daughters, they inform their daughters' beliefs of their own competencies and understanding of their abilities. In this way, support relationships become sources of either empowerment or disempowerment, which in turn creates an environment in which these young women may or may not experience personal growth. The data also suggest a relationship between how teenage mothers are empowered as mothers and how they understand and approach their responsibility as mothers. Although all participants in this study reflect some level of responsibility towards their children, they do so in various ways and to differing degrees. Participants who have more empowering support relationships appear to have a broader understanding of responsibility towards their children, whilst participants who are in more disempowering relationships appear to have a limited approach and understanding of responsibility. It is important to bear in mind however that irrespective of how participants define their responsibility for their children, both the context in which they find themselves and their age or developmental stage impacts on their ability to meet these responsibilities.

The findings of this study are consistent with existing literature pointing to the connection between the 'self' and relational theories. Carol Gilligan (1982) found that because young women in Western society are socialised into more relational roles than their male counterparts, they are more influenced by human relations, and as such gain self-esteem primarily by virtue of connection with others. This trend is particularly strong during the transition to motherhood. Gilligan's argument is illustrated in studies such as Gladow and Ray's (1986), where it was found that 'informal support systems do have a positive impact on well being of low income single parents' (1986: 120). Support for Giligan's theory is also found in the work of the Stone Center and Deborah Belle. In her introduction to *Women's growth in diversity*, Jordan says that '"empathy across difference" ... can be one of the most compelling paths to personal and relational growth' (1997: 3). According to Jordan (1997b: 3) 'differences that could be sources of great growth and expansion instead lead to closing down and withdrawal, fear, shame and chronic disconnection. A tendency to "blame the victim" or project one's own unwanted vulnerability or anxiety onto others also leads to destructive perceptions and behaviors towards marginalized groups'. Collins (1994: 56) too believes that, '[d]espite policies of dominant institutions that place racial ethnic mothers in

positions where they appear less powerful to their children, mothers and children *empower themselves by understanding each other's position and relying on each other's strengths*. In many cases, children, especially daughters, bond with their mothers instead of railing against them as symbols of patriarchal power' (author's italics).

The findings of this study also reveal that the experience of teenage motherhood in this community is not uniform. Each participant has her own understanding and experience of being a mother. Observing how teen pregnancy impacts on someone like Nici, for example, we are reminded that it is 'unsatisfactory to categorize women who become pregnant in their teenage years as doing so for irresponsible reasons' (Phoenix, 1991: 87). Davies, McKinnon and Rains' (1999: 45) study demonstrates that for 'teen mothers ... from problem homes ... the experience of motherhood provided a different pathway to maturity by serving as a powerful motive for reforming their lives'. Becoming a mother can be positive for teenagers living in difficult situations. Our results also correspond with those of Bailey, Bruno, Bezerra, Queiroz, Oliveira and Chen-Mok (2001: 230), where it was found that many teenage mothers in fact experience an increase in self-esteem, indicating positive rather than negative consequences for their participants (see also Davies *et al.*, 1999: 45). Furthermore, their participants failed to indicate a perceived deterioration in their relationships with their own parents. The continuing emergence of studies such as these points to the regulating, if not life saving, experience motherhood can have on teenagers in challenging contexts.

The actions and experiences of participants within this study can perhaps be seen as 'mechanisms' or 'strategies' used in attempts to survive, pointing to resilience, where 'protective factors' buffer one from negative or harmful experiences (Garmezy, 1993; Masten, 1994). Looked at in this manner, young women like Carol may be understood not as deviant but as doing her best to negotiate her survival. Given her context, leaving school, disassociating herself from her daughter and letting her mother raise Sumarie are not necessarily what she would want for herself, but are none-the-less the only means by which she may feel she is able to take care of herself. We see, for example, how Nici relies on her position as mother and the responsibilities this entails to find not only a reason for taking better care of her life, but as her very motivation for living. Brenda also explains how motherhood allows her to deal with her own mother's death and manage her life in a certain manner. Participants in this study frame and manage their lives as best they can within their given context. In this regard, Ladner (1971: 12-13) suggests that

> African-American young women face not only the constrictions of patriarchy, but
> rather a "dual oppression" of racism and sexism. [As does Hill-Collins, 1990] This dual
> oppression impacts African-American adolescent girls' development in a variety of
> critical ways. These include shaping a unique ideal of womanhood, stripping away the

protections that are generally afforded to white young women, making the acquisition of self-esteem more challenging.

Similarly, Phoenix (1991: 100) concludes that '[w]omen do not simply accept normative assumptions about motherhood, age, marriage and employment. Instead they subscribe to ideas that suit their particular circumstances and beliefs'. This study reminds us that any attempt at understanding or assisting teenage mothers in poverty must take their attempts at managing their own lives into account.

Teenage mothers do not experience motherhood in a vacuum, but rather in the greater contexts of their lives. If, as the findings of this study have shown, the experience of motherhood for these young women is defined through their support relationships, then so too must the broader experience of their lives and by implication themselves be defined through relational contexts. As Abrams (2002: 21) concludes in *Rethinking girls at risk*,

> [f]or researchers, the theoretical direction of this paper points to the importance of considering the multiple contextual factors that shape adolescent girls' development and identity formation processes. ... understanding the risks involved in adolescent female development requires an in-depth examination of the multiple axes of *obstacle* and *promise* in the sociocultural environment(s). ... diversity in young women's experiences can be approached from a non-pathologising perspective, leaving room for authenticity and resistance in the growth process, and entertaining the capacity for change.

5.4.2 Larger significance of results

In many ways, for participants in this study, 'mothering appears as an aspect of feminine self-fulfilment rather than a social function' (Silva, 1996: 28). Instead of fulfilling a feminine need however, I propose that they are fulfilling the needs of an adolescent for love, affection, validation, and purpose. Even in today's 'progressive' society, we continue to label teenage pregnancy and mothering as deviant, and still point to the teenager in question as the source of the 'problem'. This approach needs to change. I suggest that when many young women become pregnant in communities such this it is more as a result of other 'problems'. Teenage motherhood in such instances is perhaps better seen as either a solution to, or a symptom of, a much greater societal problem, rather than a problem in and of itself. As Silva (1996: 33) argues, 'mothering is a shifting and complex issue that involves much more than women and children. It encompasses ideologies, resources, labor markets, ... men, law, choices and obligations ... rather than construct mothering as an essential psychological or moral attitude of women, constructions of mothering are more adequately addressed in a relational context'.

As with the findings of Davies, McKinnon and Rains (2001: 95), this study demonstrates that numerous opportunities exist for service providers 'to offer assistance and support to young

women as they make decisions about getting pregnant, "choosing" motherhood, and negotiating new family relationships'. This study has also highlighted important factors that could guide assistance and support provided in specifically this community.

Most importantly, this study has highlighted the need to consider how we as researchers and service providers interact with these young women, ensuring that we establish growth-fostering relationships with them. Support provided in this manner allows these young women to grow as individuals, as well as impacting on how their children develop. Kelly cites Callwood (1982: 38, in Kelly, 1999: 61) in arguing that '[t]he feminist approach of respect for teenage women and encouragement to enable them to achieve self-worth and independence happens also to be the most effective way of helping their babies to thrive … It provides what young moms, what *all* moms, need: friendship, information, relief'. When discussing a means of lowering teen pregnancy and birth rates, Kelly (1999: 62) believes that by blaming these young women, we produce denial and refuse teenage mothers a sense of entitlement, thereby contributing to the negative effects of teenage parenthood. Kelly concludes that instead of 'seeking to create more shame-ridden subjects, we should be nurturing agency in young people, partly by … supporting them as they attempt to "do the right thing" under difficult circumstances' (1999: 62). The evidence supports this when we look at LouAnn and Lucy, and see how their mothers do support and nurture them, increasing their self-esteem and confidence. They do strive to do the right thing, often focusing on the 'bigger picture' and working their way through the intermittent difficulties. This contrasts with Carol for example, who sees the moment, and works with that, settling for less, giving up any aspirations she may once have had.

In keeping with growth fostering relationships, we need to respect how teenage girls, and especially teenage mothers, construct their realities. This means providing them with the space and opportunity to tell their stories. Respecting these stories requires of us not only to hear and listen to them, but ensure that we have understood them. In doing so, we may be better able to understand how these young women perceive support available to them as well as their own skills and competencies as mothers – all important facets for service provision if we are to understand what it is exactly that these mothers require assistance with. When listening to teenage mothers, it may be beneficial for researchers to place their narratives in the context of their developmental stage.

Flanagan (1998) presents a model for understanding teenage mother's personal development as an adolescent. She believes that when young 'adolescent parents act like adolescents, they often defy conventional societal standards of how mothers should act and

think. They are labelled a "problem," rather than a person who needs support in her own growth' (1998: 247). Carol exemplifies this. When one considers her behaviour from frameworks such as that presented by Flanagan, in addition to other frameworks discussed throughout this chapter and theories relating to abused women and children, we may be able to see how she is doing the best she can with what she has available to her.

With middle adolescence, Flanagan explains, mothers are better able to understand and meet the more 'abstract' needs of their babies. Despite conflict that may exist in the demands being placed on these young women, they are capable of understanding these demands and creating priorities. As such, their relationships with their children become more conspicuous. It is important to understand however that this relationship is still defined in terms of the mother's own needs. Flanagan suggests that '[m]iddle adolescents often need to be refocused, given insight into a child's individuality, ability and needs. ... these mothers sometimes need to be grounded, brought back to reality, and walked through logical steps to plan and complete tasks' (1998: 249). We see this clearly how Lucy has achieved this as she identifies what children need emotionally from their mothers and yet how balance needs to be maintained on the part of mothers in meeting these needs.

Mothers in late adolescence, such as LouAnn and Brenda would benefit from guidance surrounding their own lives and roles, especially as regards their future. They may require assistance in assimilating their own persona with that of their child. This in turn may aid them in creating a clear vision for their own future as well as that of their children. They may also need help in obtaining the skills required to reach their goals (Flanagan, 1998). The support that LouAnn has in her life seems to have enabled her to achieve just such a clear vision of her future as well as the plans and skills to achieve her personal and family goals. Brenda on the other hand has aligned who she is with her son, but obviously needs assistance with managing their futures. Although she has a sense of what she wants, or rather what she does not want, she lacks clarity of vision and goals. What is more, she has no plan of how to achieve what she wants or even the skills to set out such a plan.

Flanagan (1998: 253) concludes that,

> adolescent parents need the same things that most parents need and the things that most adolescents need for healthy development: the support of extended families and the scaffolding of extended and collective parenting. Adolescent parents need to continue their travels through adolescence while they parent. They need strong communities that nurture young people whether or not they are parenting ... Until we recognize their unique developmental needs as adolescents and as mothers, adolescent motherhood will be the 'problem' that never goes away.

The value of incorporating the mothers of these teenagers into assistance and support programs cannot be overstated. This study clearly illustrates the central role mothers play in the lives of these young women. The issue of support relationships is however a complicated one, emphasising the need for a greater understanding on our part. Gee and Rhodes (1999) interviewed 375 minority teenage mothers around the time of the birth of their children, and re-interviewed 186 of these mothers a year later. Amongst other things, they found that most mother-daughter relationships (where teenage mothers relied on their mothers for support) 'increased in strain and became less supportive. In particular, adolescents' mothers provided less support across a variety of domains (e.g. emotional support and tangible assistance), and were a source of greater strain (i.e. conflict and criticism)' (1999: 525) during the course of the year. Deteriorating support from mothers was accompanied by an increase in male partner support. None of the participants in the study presented here however, were situated in such a manner as to either support or refute Gee and Rhodes' findings. If such a decline in support were the case in South African communities however, careful attention would need to be given to sources of alternative support for teenage mothers. Very often these young women have only their mothers to rely on, and generally do not have the support of their baby's father.

Finally, when working with teenage mothers, particularly in sub-economic communities, we need to acknowledge the limitations posed on their lives through the broader context:

> For women of color, the subjective experience of mothering/motherhood is inextricably linked to the sociocultural concern of racial ethnic communities – one does not exist without the other. ... The locus of conflict lies outside the household, as women and their families engage in a collective effort to create and maintain family life in the face of forces that undermine family integrity. ... This type of motherwork recognizes that individual survival, empowerment and identity require group survival, empowerment and identity (Collins, 1994: 47).

As individuals do the best they can with their understood realities, the implication of Collins' work is that larger forces impact on that understanding and the resources available to manage and negotiate their lives. Applying this to the findings of this study, we need to remember that 'forces that undermine family integrity' effect how mothers provide support to their teenage daughters.

5.4.3 Limitations and shortcomings

Possibly the greatest shortcoming of this study is the small number of participants. To truly understand the dynamics presented here, further investigation should be done with more participants and over a longer period of time. Furthermore, the study occurred in only one community. The need to replicate it in similar settings is evident. Should the findings be the

same, this would certainly strengthen the value of the findings presented here for service provision and future studies. That said, I do believe that this study has generated a valuable theme to explore in this race group in similar contexts.

As the true aim of this study was to review the viability of the use of visual methods within the South African context, not all themes emerging from the data were explored. The research topic, 'the experience of motherhood' was closely adhered to, resulting in a very narrow focus on the data. Deeper exploration of the data gathered in this study would certainly add to the value and meaning of these findings.

Finally, literature emerging from at least southern Africa, and certainly South Africa specifically should be further explored to better place this study within existing theory. Currently the main literature source included here is North American and although this may contribute in some ways, it cannot be denied that this contribution is limited.

CHAPTER 6
CONCLUSION

6.1 Introduction

Chapter One identifies the need for methods that would accommodate the varied and diverse South African contexts explored in social sciences research. In particular, the need for methods that would allow researchers to bridge cultural, language, class and racial divides is discussed (Desjarlais, et al. 1995; Rogoff, 1998). The literature points to the need for cross-cultural and contextual research that engages with participants as self-determining individuals (Narayan, 1992), in ways that bring greater equality to the research context (Reason, 1994), building trust (Oakley, 1981) and increasing communication (Smith, 1999) thereby exposing the taken-for-granted aspects of day-to-day life that often maintain the status quo in communities (Comstock, 1994). As Rogoff (1998: 23) says,

> [t]o be able to assemble a group of materials and a variety of methodological analyses around an issue that is determined out of cultural and political realities rather than out of traditions of learned arguments, seems an important step forward in the project of reformulating knowledge to deal responsibly with the lived conditions of highly contested realities, such as we face at the start of this century.

The inability of large quantitative studies, independent of context-specific qualitative studies, to achieve this, is noted (Desjarlais, et al. 1995; Kotze & Kotze, 1996). The effects of research based on inappropriate and/or inefficient methods, include both continued oppression and disempowerment in addition to ineffective policy formation and service provision (Kotze & Kotze, 1996; Smith, 1999).

Consequently, I have argued in this study that qualitative visual research methods may provide one option for conducting culturally sensitive research within the South African context. Chapter One introduces visual images as constructions as well as representations. By asking of research participants to make images related to the research question, visual methods may provide the opportunity for communities to reflect on their lives in ways that allow researchers greater understanding of individual lived realities. Various examples of relevant studies are cited as well as the experiences gleaned from these studies.

Although visual methods may at a glance be potentially well suited for use in situations where researchers are 'crossing borders' (Giroux, 1992), the lack of theoretical clarity surrounding visual methods (see for example, Emmison & Smith, 2000; Grady, 2001; Harper, 2003; Morphy & Banks, 1997; Pink, 2001; Prosser, 1998b) restricts the accuracy with which one can assess the relevance of such a method to the realities of research contexts in South Africa. This study has set out to establish better understanding of the theoretical debates

surrounding visual methods. Furthermore, this study also illustrates the use of visual methods within the South African context by means of an exploration of the experience of teenage motherhood in a sub-economic community. In this chapter I draw some conclusions both from the theory regarding visual methods and the practical application there-of.

6.2 Conclusions to be drawn from this study

6.2.1 What does the theory tell us?

The history of visual methods demonstrates that right from the very beginning, visual methods have been used as an effective tool with which to conduct cross-cultural research. The potential use of visual methods as a communication tool where informant feedback is central to the research process is seen in the work of Robert Flaherty in his *Nanook of the North* (1921- 1922). Other early studies using visual methods also point to its later use as a means of challenging oppressive practices in various societies. Franz Boas' work in British Colombia, Canada for example, was explicitly aimed at challenging racist theories. Similar examples exist in the work of Jacob Riis and Lewis Hine, where the realities of inner city poverty in the United States were exposed in the early part of the 20th century. Various studies incorporating the use of images in their call for social reform can also be seen in early issues of the *American Journal of Sociology*, as well as Charles Bushnell's study of the Chicago Stockyards. The inherent power contained in visual images is demonstrated throughout the history of photography and film. Authors such as Harper (1989) and Chaplin (1994) consistently point to the crucial role that images have played in the development of control systems during the previous century, where images exercised real effects of power. Visual images were also being made use of in colonial contexts, environments that would later become today's developing and third world settings. In these communities images and image producing equipment were once, and in many cases are, still used for exploitation as well as to establish and maintain domination. Ironically, it is in these very same settings that members of these communities can now use this technology for their own empowerment and enhanced communication.

Much of this early use of visual methods has also contributed to current critique of image use in research. Such critique views visual based-methods as voyeuristic and exploitative, largely due to the power inherent in images and image producing technology. It is precisely this inherent power that allows images to be used by marginalised groups to empower themselves. Historically disadvantaged and oppressed peoples can now recreate personal representations of how they see themselves, as opposed to how their oppressors and the developed world see them. Su Braden's (1983) work with children in developing countries

clearly demonstrates the divide that can exist in the various representations of a people. More often than not these youths see themselves as capable beings whilst aid organisations often portray them as vulnerable and incapable, negatively impacting on services provided to these youths. The essence of Braden's work demonstrates the value of giving members of oppressed and exploited communities the opportunity to speak for themselves: thereby articulating their problems as they experience them, whilst simultaneously presenting their inherent strengths and abilities. This in turn may allow for research findings that make constructive suggestions that are meaningful to these communities and will ultimately extend limited resources through relevant allocation. In tracing the development of visual methods research, we can however see the value of various critiques that in many ways have informed such progressive and participatory uses of visual methods as we see today.

Despite the diverging paths of photography and the social sciences during the early 1900s, largely due to sociologists wanting to loose their image of amateurism in favour of being a hard-core science, discussions, especially theoretical discussions, continued around the nature of images. These discussions continued to point to the inherent power contained in the visual. Authors such as Walter Benjamin pointed to the ability of elite groups to control society through the use of images, where they could determine people's reality. Other authors, such as Siegfried Kracauer, believed that images reflected the conscious and unconscious ideas of groups and therefore the mindset and reality of the masses, regarding images more in a sense of representation. Either way, the central point being made was the power of images in reflecting and shaping reality. Irving Goffman and John Tagg continued this discussion in later years, ultimately contributing to the theory that if a community can alter representations of itself it can alter various conditions within that community (Braden, 1983; Chaplin, 1994; Hammond, 1989; Wang, 1999).

As visual methods have re-emerged over the years, particularly during the 1940s in anthropology, and the 1960s and 1970s in sociology, researchers have become increasingly aware of the important role visual methods can play in giving voice to participants. Bateson and Mead (1942), in particular, illustrated the value of images as data in and of themselves. They demonstrated the value of images in identifying aspects of communities that could otherwise be easily overlooked through conventional anthropological research methods. With the initial re-emergence of visual methods, this focus may merely have been on using images to enhance communication with participants. Over the years however, asking participants to participate in increasing aspects of the research process has enhanced this role.

It was during the 1960s in particular that the subjective nature of images was brought to the fore. Various authors such as Henley (1998), Cheatwood and Stasz (1979), Sorenson (1975) and Stasz (1979), pointed to the type of data visual methods are able to produce: specific, culturally contextualised, unique to each community. This is seen in the work of researchers such as Jean Rouch (1975), Colin Young (1975) and David MacDougall (1975, 1978). These authors emphasise the notion that film cannot be an objective recording device, and that it is this very aspect of the visual that provides its strength. In this way, visual methods have forced researchers to engage reflexively with their data and to consider the greater significance of their work, correlating with the similar move in the broader field of qualitative research. During the later years of the 20th century, more and more studies were conducted that increasingly involved individuals on both sides of the camera in the research process, and increasingly drew participants into the research process. It was also during this time that interpretive methods were drawn upon in visual research. The self-directing quality of individuals, the constructed nature of how individuals see and understand their world was increasingly being recognised. Visual methodologists believed that using images in the research process could help researchers understand this aspect of societies better. It was particularly the work of Howard Becker and John Collier Jr. that highlighted this aspect. Becker (1974; 1998) argued for the importance of a strong theoretical basis for visual research because of the constructed nature of the data being analysed. Collier (1957; 1975) placed emphasis on the ability of visual methods to act as a catalyst for eliciting subjective views of participants, the 'taken-for-granted' in their lives, and to assist researchers in understanding these aspects of society.

Work carried out by the documentarians in the 1960s demonstrated the value of deep involvement with research participants and the type of knowledge that could be gleaned from this. Visual methodologists of the 1970s and 1980s in particular drew on this work. Such involvement with participants resonates with the aim of groups such as the phenomenologists, interpretivists and ethnomethodologists to understand individuals in terms of their own interpretations of reality and understanding communities in terms of the labels people ascribed to their societies. More specifically, postmodernists emphasise the constructed meaning that surrounds images. Furthermore, postmodernists align with social constructionists who maintain that by understanding socially constructed meanings in broader communities, individuals can better assess whether the meaning attached to them is applicable. People can better assess if society's labels are truly aligned with who they are. In creating images and interpreting the meanings individuals attach to their images, researchers can create a space in which participants can review how they construct themselves, as opposed to society's labels that are imposed on them.

It was particularly with the rise of critical theory that visual methods became relevant to research in situations such as those encountered in South Africa. The work of researchers such as Braden (1983) and Hammond (1989) illustrates the value of placing the camera in the hands of participants. In doing so, researchers allow participants to show us how they see their lives and not how we would like to see them. Furthermore, by allowing participants to engage in the analytical process by means of techniques such as Photo-elicitation, we allow communities to verbally express their understanding of their realities. This allows us to provide assistance that is meaningful and constructive as opposed to assistance that in essence maintains the status quo, to create policy and services that are efficient and effective.

By the end of the twentieth century, authors such as Becker (1998) and Harper (1982) were attempting to clearly define the place of visual methods in social sciences research. Harper (1982) suggests including images in studies of interaction, the presentation of emotion to elicit information in interviews and studies of material culture. These theories all alluded to the value of visual methods in studies where researchers are border crossers (Giroux, 1992).

The place of visual methods in South African research is evident from the review of theoretical arguments pertaining to visual methods. Research approached from critical and constructionist theories for example enable us to understand the individual views and experiences of various, diverse and newly emerging communities. The ability of visual methods to enhance communication and extend the range of data brought to the research impacts on the insight researchers gain of specific cultures and communities within South African society. The empowering nature of visual methods also brings a new dynamic to the research context, situations in which it is often difficult to elicit information given the barriers that inherently exist in research relationships.

Chapter Three presented a view of visual methods that provide more voice to participants within the research process and may therefore be of use in developing contexts such as South Africa. The methods discussed in this chapter aim to avoid research that is directed by the norms and assumptions of the background from which the researcher comes. By providing participants with a unique way of reflecting on their lives and communicating these reflections, we invite new insights into research findings. It is for this reason that images produced and brought to the research process by research participants may be most useful. By allowing participants to play an integral part in the analysis of these images, by discussing and analysing the images, data and consequent findings are then situated in a relevant and

meaningful way within the research context. The process also allows research participants to explore meaningful interventions that make the best use of existing resources within the community. The value of research conducted in this manner has been demonstrated in various studies (see for example, Collier, 2001; Daniels, 2003; Karlsson, 2001; Niesyto, 2000; Wang, 2003). Not only did these researchers find their data being dramatically enriched through the use of images, but that participants experienced a greater sense of personal empowerment and ownership of the research process (see also Grey, 1995; Gloor & Meier, 2000).

6.2.2 The case study: Theory in practice

The case study presented in Chapters Four and Five allows for a reflection of some of the theory discussed in Chapter Two and the methods discussed in Chapter Three. Chapter Four highlights the need for a contextualised understanding of teenage mothers living in sub-economic communities within South Africa. The discussion points to the extreme marginalisation of this population group, both within their own communities and the broader society of the country. In many ways, it was argued that this group represents a community in which visual methods would be well suited for use in research. These young women represent a culture that is different from the researcher's by way of language, culture, race, class and education. More importantly, many teenage mothers in South Africa experience great personal disempowerment and are often voiceless. It stands to reason that issues of communication, basic understanding, and importantly, trust, would arise in such a research context.

In the case study, participants produced their own images by means of broad shooting scripts. During the first round of field work, participants were asked to make images that illustrated their experiences of motherhood: what was difficult about being a mother, rewarding about being a mother, what made participants happy, what made them sad. Based on these scripts participants produced images that were then used in photo-elicitation interviews. These interviews generated new scripts that each participant could use to explore her own experience of motherhood more deeply. Ideally, the fieldwork should have allowed participants to then engage in a further process that would allow them to generate visual diaries. These could then have contributed towards communal essays and Photovoice presentations to at the least their community to enhance understanding of their own positions as mothers and more accurately reflect their needs. Such presentations could have incorporated service providers and community leaders (such as school and clinic staff, social workers and so-forth). A larger group of participants would also have strengthened such a presentation.

226

In many important ways, the case study presented in Chapters Four and Five, echoes the literature review undertaken in Chapters Two and Three, demonstrating the value of visual methods in cross-cultural research in South Africa in various ways. First, the mere act of handing cameras to participants altered the research context. As mentioned in Chapter One, issues of trust, or lack thereof, complicate and exacerbate already complicated research issues within the South African setting. By handing the young women in this study cameras and walking away for a week, I was inferring my trust in them. Their actions and acceptance of the interview process was also contrary to the opinions of others in their surrounds. LouAnn, for example, mentions during the focus group interview (specifically aimed at exploring participants' experiences of the research process) that her boyfriend had wondered at the wisdom of agreeing to participate in the study:

> R: My friend asked me if I really wanted to take part and why me and if I wasn't afraid that they were going to show my face to everyone. Then I said no because they had explained it all to us.
> [*Focus group interview: Lines056-058*]

LouAnn in essence took it on face value that she could trust this process and me, the researcher. This was contrary to previous research experiences within this community. A further example is seen in the interviews with Nici, who explained in her last interview, how she never expected anyone to trust her with something as valuable as a camera. The effect this had in our research relationship can be seen in the type of disclosures she made to me. Not long into our first individual interview together, Nici discusses details of her abusive relationship. Specifically, she says, 'He fights with me. He kicks me and swears at me terribly' (Nici interview one: Lines 136). Later, in the same interview she also tells me that her partner has been arrested for attempted murder, and that he is friends with the gang member who raped her sister:

> I: Did you say that his father was in jail when you were pregnant with him?
> N1: Yes
> I: For what?
> N2: For attempted murder
> [*Nici Interview 1: Lines 258-261*]
>
> N1: … now that my sister was raped, now my mom-and-them are like this with me – because it is a hoodlum, a gangster that raped my sister, and he and the gangster are actually friends
> [*Nici Interview 1: Lines309-311*]

Given the nature of her relationship with her partner as well as the degree of gang violence in the community in which she lives, one would assume that it would take a great deal of trust to make these types of statements to others.

227

Certain participants also approached me outside of the research setting (i.e. once the tape recorders had been turned off, and the notes put away) with personal issues. Some for example, raised concerns about future employment, whilst others needed information about registering their children with the Department of Home affairs. This had never happened before in this particular research setting, and these relationships continued well beyond the end of the research itself.

It is important to bear in mind that I had approximately six meetings with each participant, some of which occurred in a group format and only three in-depth individual interviews. The nature of the information and personal details shared with me by the participants attests to the quality of relationship formed by the methodology. Similar experiences are reported by Blinn and Harrist (1991: 189), who point out how participants in their research 'shared pictures of intimate aspects of their lives which created a bond between them and the interviewer, and therefore made them feel more willing to share personal insights and feelings. This level of sharing does not often occur in such a short period'.

Second, image-based research methods that include participants in the creation and analysis of images allow participants to maintain some degree of control over the process and specifically the interview. As one participant said in the focus group interview:

> R: It was nice, and we also had to choose the photos.
> I: Why was this nice for you?
> R: That I could talk
> [Focus group interview: Lines 019- 023]

Participants' own photographs shape the topics included in the study and their own commentary on the images retains for the participant the right to interpret material in her own way. This is also seen in the work of researchers such as Dell Clark (1999) who found for example, that using images in her study of children living with asthma removed participants' inhibitions there-by allowing for greater involvement in interviews. Similarly, an extensive review of the VIA method also leads to the conclusion that 'because the participants had control over the content of their visual narratives, the VIA process did not constitute undue surveillance or result in an invasion of privacy' (Rich & Chalfen, 1999: 66). The research process engaged in during this case study allowed participants to have the final say in what was brought into the research context, and what was discussed or not. Participants were asked to spend one week making images of anything that represented or portrayed their experiences of motherhood. Once photographs had been developed and printed, these then formed the basis of the individual interviews. By asking participants which image they liked the best, which the least, and so forth, and then being asked to explain why, participants were controlling what topics were raised in the interviews and which were not. In this way,

228

participants were enabled to represent their lives as they saw fit. Brenda for example, displayed her mother as being very present in her life in spite of her death. An outsider may have shown Brenda's world to the exclusion of her mother. In centring her mother in her images in the manner that she did, Brenda was also introducing this topic into the interview setting. Similarly, when asked which images she likes the most, Brenda selects a photograph of her minister and the youth group of which she is a part (Bren21). She explains that without realising it, they have formed a central support for her in her life:

> B1: ... some of them don't know that I am a mother and so and the things they talk about – the church – it encourages me a lot. And they stand by me – there are some of them that are also single mothers and I look up to them. They help me a lot! [*Brenda Interview One: Lines 098-101*]

Situating her narrative about the church and members of the congregation that support her in the context of her mother who is no longer there, one realises that they have come to play a substitute role in Brenda's life providing for her what her mother used to.

The range of data gathered during the first set of individual interviews also substantiates the manner in which the use of visual methods allowed research participants to introduce topics central to their own lives. A range of questions emerged from the data resulting in five entirely different questions for participants to pursue in their second week of image making (see Appendix G).

Third, using images in the research process also introduced topics as a result of the representation participants wished to produce of themselves in the research process. Beloff (1985) discusses the idea of producing a desired representation of the self and community. She explains the need to control cameras and the images produced: we will pose in ways that are acceptable to produce the desired image that we wish to project outwardly. Images therefore also speak of the qualities valued by individuals as well as their communities and broader societies. By implication then, research participants may use images as tools with which to initiate discussions around topics that may not be so easily articulated verbally. Issues such as these correlate with the aims and goals of certain types of research: what do the images participants produce say about both their realities and their dreams? How do these messages resonate with the stories they relate about their lives while viewing the images (i.e. the stories the images unlock)? Authors such as Kotze and Kotze (1996), Narayan (1992), and Smith (1999) explain the need for research that accounts for participant control of research content. The use of methods that allow for greater self-representation aligns well with such aims (Banks, 1998; Oakley, 1981). Furthermore, incorporating self-made images aids in the initiation of difficult research topics (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998;

Reason, 1994). When attempting to discuss the contrast between who she was before she became pregnant and who she is now that she is pregnant, LouAnn struggles to articulate these differences. The interview occurred at her parents' home however and eventually she realised that she could literally show me these differences. LouAnn showed me photographs of herself before she became pregnant and the transformation is striking. Everything that she had been trying to explain to me about how wrong the timing was for her to get pregnant at this stage of her life became clear in an instant. The woman in the photographs was indeed unique, vibrant even vivacious. Her personality and energy literally bubbled out of the images. By contrast, the woman in the images made for the research process was far more 'ordinary', more responsible and far more serious. In a similar manner, the images produced by Nici clearly demonstrate the way in which her daughter is the pivotal point of her life. Her daughter is the central focus of her images and of her interviews (see Chapter Five, section 5.2.2). Perhaps more interesting is the way in which Carol's images and the way in which she relates to them, correlate with her narrative. Of particular importance here is the fact that she asks to have the photograph of her boyfriend and her daughter enlarged, suggesting how she would like their relationship to be. This is also reflected in her general narrative, she wants their relationship to be a success and for him to accept her. By introducing these images however and closely exploring them together, we come to better understand how conflicted she is about her relationship (see Chapter Five, Section 5.2.3).

Fourth, giving participants control over the research content echoes the discussion in Section 5.4.1. Here, Glenn (1994) emphasises the need to understand mothering free from socially constructed, historically specific relationships and ideologies. The concerns expressed by Glenn (1994) are also reflected by authors in the field of image-based research. Karlsson (2001: 35) for example, found in her study of South African school spaces, that participants' images showed 'places, practices and events that are part of everyday school life but which may not be apparent to the outsider visiting the school'. Similar statements are made by authors such as Cavin (1994), Gloor and Meier (2000) as well as Niesyto (2000). They all used visual research and participant constructed images to gain insights and perspectives on their research question that they believed would otherwise have been overlooked. Ideologies and preconceived notions regarding teenage motherhood were distanced from the research setting through the way in which cameras were used in the research together with the openness of the questions asked (see Appendices D and H). This becomes very clear when considering the nature of topics raised in the individual interviews. Participants experiences of motherhood were so unique and varied even within this context, as well as when compared to some international literature regarding teenage motherhood. As an exploratory study, I doubt that I would have been able to construct an interview

schedule that would have captured this diversity. Interview schedules based on theoretical questions would no doubt have asked of participants to continue to speak to pre-identified delineated ideas. Images brought to the interviews and the variety of topics that were raised from these interviews demonstrates how participants spoke to the reality of their own lives as opposed to my theoretical conceptions. In spite of this, it is still important to mention that I cannot presume to have kept personal ideas regarding teenage motherhood out of the research process completely, as I did ask more direct and pointed questions during the interviews.

Fifth, the quality of information emerging from the interviews was also enhanced as a result of the use of images. As discussed in Chapter Three, by asking research participants to document their lives, one assigns a value to their lives. By giving the young women in this study control over image production and the research content, I may also have been increasing their sense of personal value, thereby making them less vulnerable in the research setting and in their view of their own lives. Research relationships could therefore move onto deeper levels of trust. As Young and Barrett (2001: 148) found in their study, 'most street children do not have a good self-image and initially it was difficult for the children to understand why they were being trusted with cameras. This exercise was a major self-esteem and self-confidence builder among the children'. Participants in this case study also mentioned the way in which they have now had a chance to see their lives differently, re-evaluate their lives and gain a new perspective on how they see themselves. Brenda for example, mentioned on two separate occasions how she had literally been given the opportunity to take a fresh look at her life. She now saw the good in her life and not only the bad:

> I: What was it like for you to take the photos?
> B1: It was something new for me and I also learnt that I must be glad that I have a child and that there are not only bad things that have come out of my motherhood, but also positive things. Like I can take part in things like this. I never had that confidence before. But now I can and I can talk about it a lot and so and this is something good for me, because I have never done something like that before.
> [*Brenda Interview One: Lines, 002-007*]

Similarly, in the focus group interview, two of the participants commented on this process of reflection:

> I: How did the photos make you feel about your lives?
> R: Some of the photos that I saw is not how I want to be and so.
> R: Some of the photos that I took, show how I feel. Some of them show the difference.
> [*Focus group interview: Lines, 074; 078; 083*]

Sixth, in making their images, participants were enabled to reflect on their lives as pregnant or mothering teenagers before participating in interviews. In effect they could prepare for the research questions. Accordingly, participants were better equipped to answer interview questions. I believe that their answers became more meaningful as a result. It appears that while making the images, participants thought about their circumstances, reflected on their feelings, desires, wishes and so forth. This is particularly visible in Lucy's first set of images and the related interview. Making images allowed Lucy to bring her everyday experiences into the research setting where my questions enabled her to elaborate on her concerns for her unborn child. As her nieces annoy her in their daily behaviour, she is reminded of this when I ask which image she dislikes. Our discussion then elaborates on the influence the older child has on the younger one and her concern regarding this influence on her child in the future. It is difficult to imagine how something so inherent to everyday life could be included so meaningfully in an ordinary interview setting. Such reflection may be particularly important when the researcher comes from a markedly different background and reality to the one in which participants find themselves.

Furthermore, people who have been denied the opportunity to speak for so long (individually or as a community) may have difficulty simply expressing themselves in that moment. This is reflected in similar studies. Blinn and Harrist (1991: 189) for example, found that 'interviews served as an opportunity for the informants to share ideas and feelings which were already well thought out. ... Conducting the interviews without this prior cognitive processing would have provided data which was at a much more superficial level'. They explain that

> if these women had been asked in a straightforward manner what was most difficult about being a re-entry student, without having taken the photos, they would probably not have verbalised the dilemma of being caught between traditional and non-traditional roles; most of them did not seem cognizant of this conflict. In fact many of the participants said that parking at the university was their biggest hardship. The photos helped both the researchers and the participants understand the experience of being a re-entry student and focus on key issues (1991: 189).

Dell Clark (1999) also found that including participant made images in the data collection provided a means of distancing participants from their own experience, inviting them to reflect on the familiar in their lives, thereby encouraging greater depth. During the focus group interviews, participants noted how making photographs gave them the opportunity to reflect on their experiences:

> R: For me it was every photo that I took, there was a purpose to the photo that I took – I must talk about it. Sometimes you just take a photo and you don't know why you took it.
> I: So it gave you an opportunity to think about things?
> R: Yes
> [Focus group interview: Lines 011-015]

232

The manner in which participants responded and related to images prove highly beneficial. Pictures elicited feelings about the people included in the images, and therefore involved in participants' daily lives. By examining photographs in the interview setting many of these emotions are 'exposed' again – the situation is 're-lived' and can be discussed. According to Dell Clark (1999) images bring a 'perspective of action' as the participant attempts to make the visual material meaningful to the researcher as outsider. In this way, she believes images can increase the researcher's access to youthful experience in interviews. The case study presented here provides a clear example of this. In her first interview, I ask Carol which image she likes least. The image that she selects is one that Alex made, or rather 'took', of her cousin (Car8). The conversation that emerges around the image emphasises Carol's sense of lack of power, autonomy and control within her relationship as a result of Alex (see Section 5.2.3). In a slightly different way, the photograph Lucy makes of her nieces is in response to the emotions their behavior elicits in her. When asked which image she likes the least, Lucy selects the image Lucy3. In response to the photograph, she says:

> L1: They tease me and if maybe I have cleaned here then they make a mess there
> again and that makes me angry.
> [*Lucy Interview One: Lines 087-088*]

The conversation leads to her concerns for her child:

> I: Are you afraid that your child is going to be the same?
> L1: Like those two, because she taught her those bad manners.
> [*Lucy Interview One: Lines 099-100*]

Images not only provide greater understanding of what participants were actually saying, but also made valuable suggestions regarding policy formation and service provision. Using the examples cited here, we can immediately see that women in these communities do have a vested interest in the well-being of youth, and as such would be willing recipients of service provision that supports both them and their children. Furthermore, future studies should explore the roles and attitudes of men towards children in communities such as this one. Carol's data provides a further example. Carol tries very hard to present a certain image of her life. By combining her photographs with her narrative however, her true experience emerges. Gradually we start to see something about the nature of her relationship with her mother and her boyfriend. Although she may be saying initially that all is well and that her relationship with her mother is good, when engaging in the deeper conversation that the images allowed for, we begin to see how vulnerable she is and just how strained her relationship with her mother and daughter is (see Section 5.2.3). Furthermore, Carol's profound attachment to her boyfriend in spite of his abuse is clear in Carol's actions. At the end of the first round of research, participants were allowed to select an image that they

would like to have enlarged. Carol asked for an enlargement of the photograph of her boyfriend and baby.

Various examples discussed here demonstrate the fit between the theoretical discussions of Chapters Two and Three and the value of research methods being used in research settings often encountered in the South African research context.

Reflecting on both the literature review and the case study presented here, several personal experiences and lessons warrant discussion. To begin with, the combination of visual data and qualitative interviews proved an excellent means of facilitating an exploratory research process where the researcher is crossing boundaries. Considered from both an epistemological and a methodological perspective, visual methods are well suited to enhance the tool-kit of researchers working in cross-cultural settings. Clearly, the research design in this study with teenage mothers facilitated communication, by presenting a central point of reference in interviews that had been made meaningful to research participants in that interviews cantered around issues of importance to these five young women.

Including images in the interview process also facilitated responses and questions by bringing reality into the interview. Photographs served as projective stimuli to which respondents could reveal thoughts, behaviours and attitudes. This experience is similar to that of authors such as Dell Clark (1999). Respondents readily identified with the pictures taken by themselves, evoking relevant personal anecdotes. The process of making images for a week prior to the research interviews may have also stimulated this. It is doubtful whether participants would have engaged in a reflexive process such as this if they had only been asked to think about their experiences of motherhood for a week. By having to construct visual representations of that experience over a period of time however, meant that participants could consider – if only for a moment – why it was they were taking particular photographs. In this way, important, yet taken-for-granted aspects of their day-to-day lives, could be flagged and introduced to the research process. When looked at later, the images evoked feelings, reminding each participant of what she was thinking at the time – what her plans or ideals had been then – thereby providing a retrospective view.

Images also generated questions that would otherwise very possibly have been missed or overlooked. Blinn and Harrist (1991) mention similar experiences in their own study. They explain how 'without the photos to use as the basis for the interviews, the study would not have provided the kind of rich and intimate data that it did about the participants' homes, families, spouses and attitudes toward college and future employment options' (1991: 188).

Similarly, Young and Barrett (2001: 147) found that '[t]he pictures themselves worked exceptionally well as a tool for discussion and on many occasions the dullest and most technically poor pictures elicited the richest information from the photographer'. Dell Clark (1999: 44) believes that by using images in her interviews, the 'need to conduct heavy handed or potentially irrelevant interviewing was drastically minimised'.

In this manner, this study has also demonstrated the ability of visual methods to elicit and explore new topics within communities subjected to established concepts of their lives. Authors such as Rogoff (1998: 14) argue that '[m]uch of the practice of intellectual work within the framework of cultural studies has to do with being able to ask new and alternative questions, rather than reproducing old knowledge by asking the old questions. Additionally, one cannot ask the new questions in the old language'. He believes that 'by focusing on a field of vision and of visual culture operating within it, we create the space for the articulation of - but not necessarily the response to - difficult cross-cultural research questions' (1998: 15). Visual methods such as those explored here, present effective alternatives to traditional research in certain contexts. As Harper (1998) argues, methods such as photo elicitation offer a model for collaboration in research, stretching the collaborative bond, so that participants direct the photography before interpreting them in interviews. The photo-elicitation interview may redefine the relationships between participant and researcher, and the interview material may be presented in any of a number of creative ways, allowing the opportunity for a creative and engaged visual ethnography.

In many ways, cameras were also going into places that I, as the researcher in the study as well as an outsider to the community, could not go. Images brought back to the interview setting illustrated various threats to participants. Brenda for example, could show me her father's friends that brought crime and uncertainty straight into her home (see Bren14). So too could Lucy portray her neighbours who posed health threats to her and her child (see Lucy4). Personal celebrations such as the birth of Lucy's baby were made real during the interviews as well as life in the community at times when I could not be there such as evenings and weekends (see 2Lucy16, 2Lucy18, 2Lucy19, 2Lucy 20, 2Lucy21, 2Lucy22). Young and Barrett (2001) also found that by incorporating images into the research process, participants were able to take them into sectors of their environment that researchers would not ordinarily have access to, or where the researcher in her 'outsider' position would have changed the situation.

Images that allowed access to scenes and places that I would otherwise have been excluded from also increased awareness of subtleties relating to the context of the

participants. Young and Barrett (2001:147) discuss this in their work saying that 'often subsidiary images in the picture highlighted more than the main subjects themselves'. When Lucy's baby is born, various women from the community come to her home to congratulate her. In all instances they are well dressed and in the background of the images we see the end of floral bouquets and cards. Without even discussing the photographs, various aspects of life in the community became clearer. For example, despite the circumstances surrounding a baby's conception, children in this context are celebrated. A further aspect is that women are celebrating children, far more so than men.

Images also facilitated cross-referencing. I realised that the extent of an image's power in generating data, and its real value in this type of social research, lies not so much in what is reflected solely in the image, but in the discussion it evokes. Images then also became a way of testing what participants were saying – cross-referencing if you like. Are the results of the verbal data consistent with the results of the visual data? As Blinn and Harrist (1991: 189) point out, 'the photos, written comments and interview responses were interrelated and were combined to provide a unique and intimate look at these women's lives'. This is important in light of current arguments by visual sociologists such as Sarah Pink. Pink (2001: 6) points out that many of the concepts of validity, sampling and triangulation that abound in sociological methods texts (see for example, Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995: 227-32; Walsh, 1998: 231) are incorporated by various visual researchers into their own use of images. She argues that researchers such as Grady (1996), Prosser (1996), Prosser and Schwartz (1998) make their 'visual ethnographic "data" succumb to the agenda of a scientific and experimental sociology' (2001: 6). Pink (2001) believes that this 'traditional' approach to research fails to develop the full potential of the visual in ethnography. Certainly there are social scientists who retain an insular approach to their work and their view of methods. With regards to the references Pink cites, as well as the extent of the approach in Pink's argument, I disagree with her. Many of the authors cited in Doing visual ethnography (2001), approach fieldwork in an innovative and critical manner and illustrate how fieldwork incorporating visual methods can still respect underlying principles of research such as validity, sampling and triangulation.

Worth mentioning here however is the explicit value of combining the visual and the narrative. The combination of the two substantially enriched the data gathered as well as, and perhaps more importantly, the research process for participants. The field work process demonstrated how meaningless participants' images are to researchers prior to the interviews. Similarly, interviews on their own would possibly have missed some of the richness and clarity that the images brought with them. The combination of the two however provided for a fascinating data set.

6.3 Limitations and shortcomings

Despite the various advantages of utilising visual methods when researchers are crossing boundaries in their fieldwork, several limitations are attached to the methodology. To begin with, incorporating visual methods into one's research design brings with it an added expense. Research budgets are substantially increased when adding in the cost of cameras, film, processing and printing of images. One could argue however that in the hands of a skilled researcher, the expense could be compensated for by perhaps reducing the amount of time that is spent in the field. Furthermore, including non-disposable cameras in large, continuous studies may make little difference to the end costs. The final and perhaps most important consideration is the value of one's data. Can we truly justify spending any amount on research if the data being gathered is perhaps limited or inaccurate? Conducting research in settings that ask of the researcher greater awareness to communication and cultural gaps are settings in which visual methods would prove most useful. Would it be ethically acceptable to enter these contexts making use of inefficient or even inappropriate research tools? If this is the case, then surely the added expense of visual methods would be justified.

It may be of value to mention here that visual methods still require experienced interviewers, and cannot serve as a 'crutch' for unskilled or impatient researchers. Authors such as Orellana (1999) point out that there is much more to participants' experiences than can ever be documented on a single role of film, or a single study for that matter. The important facet of visual methods is to pay attention not only to what we as researchers see, but also what participants themselves see. She (1999: 88) argues that

> in trying to capture the essence of certain factors under investigation, I may miss the details that give meaning to those factors. In an effort to bring a 'deep' sociological analysis to my reading of a community, I may not hear the wisdom in children's voices as they talk about the particulars of their lives. And my gaze may become an intrusive one, rather than one that can also notice and appreciate their everyday pleasures.

The second limitation regarding the use of visual research methods concerns participant safety. The research setting in which this case study occurred for example, is characterised by extremely high levels of crime. Making use of visual technology in such a setting automatically introduces the possibility of equipment being stolen and participants being put at risk for being the victim of perhaps even a violent assault in the course of the fieldwork. This raises various concerns for researchers and participants alike regarding both participant safety, as well as directing who and what should or 'shouldn't' be photographed. In keeping with the approach of this study however, I feel that researchers should be cautious in the

assumptions made about a community in which research is to be conducted. By making decisions based on our own outsider impressions, we are making the assumption that people do not know their own context or how to survive in their community; and perhaps even that we may understand their situation better than they do. In believing statements such as these, and allowing them to influence or even dictate our decisions, we may in fact be denying the opportunity for greater understanding. Furthermore, we may be projecting our own concerns regarding working in unfamiliar communities onto the capacity of community members themselves, where 'we know best'. We continue to presume that we know better in spite of post-colonial rhetoric. Worse, we are making judgements about participant competency – and in many instances about people who very often have survived life situations unfathomable to most outsiders. In the case study presented here, I trusted the participants enough to know their context better than I ever could. I emphasised the importance of their personal safety and told them that I was in no way interested in images that would place them in harm's way. They were to be the judge of what that would be. The end result was two-fold; first, our relationship was allowed to deepen as a result of the trust and respect I showed them; and second, they returned with images I would never have dreamt they would be able to make – based on my assumptions of their community! Furthermore no participants were ever threatened nor harmed in the course of the fieldwork. Only one camera was stolen and the participant concerned did not have the camera in her possession at the time.

Third, as with all research, one is obliged to ensure that the methods chosen align with both the research question and the community in which the research is to take place. Josephides (1997: 32) states this clearly, saying 'our ethnographic strategies are also shaped by the subjects' situations, their global as well as local perceptions, and their demands and expectations of us [therefore] there can be no blue print for how to do fieldwork. It really depends on the local people'. Incorporating visual technology in research holds a certain appeal that can be misleading if not thought through with care. As Pauwels (2000: 11) points out, 'another key issue in the development of a more visual science is the thoughtful application of (new) technology. Applying new technology is often very tempting, so we have to be careful not to confound means and goals. We should never see technology as something that will automatically solve our problems'. As I have discussed, careful consideration should be given to both the use of visual methods as well as which technology to include and how. Quoting Pauwels (2000: 12) once again, 'we should look for what we can do with [technology] in terms of growing our research opportunities and communicating our visual statements more fluidly and clearly. We have to find out how technology can change and enrich the ways we do research and communicate our findings'.

Finally, issues related to ethics have not been extensively covered in this study. There are several reasons for this. The more I read and worked within both the field of visual methods and as a 'border crosser' in various developing contexts, the more convinced I became that this space is not the place to address issues of ethics in either visual methods, research with youth or members of developing communities. The scope and nature of this topic is simply too large and too important. I have increasingly realised how ethics are very much dictated by the context in which the research is occurring – yet regulated by the organisation from where the researcher is working. As such, questions of ethical research and ethical guidelines become entangled in the researcher's personal ethical notions, the organising body's ethics review board standards, and most importantly, the cultural norms of the research context. Having said this however, I am sure that discussions in especially Chapter Four, have alerted the reader to the importance of not only consent forms at the outset of the research, but also of release forms when working with visual methods. Irrespective of the method chosen, participants own their data and must provide consent for its use, as well as where and how it will be used. Certain research situations obviously require greater consideration. Instances where people who are not participating in the study are captured on film, presents an example. Perhaps the best guiding principles here would be for ethics review board standards to be adopted in culturally appropriate ways to the community in which the research is taking place. For example, is it viable to have teenagers requesting signed consent and release forms from adults who are then confronted with issues of their own illiteracy in the face of a youth? Researchers need to find responsible and acceptable ethical means of dealing with such situations.

6.4 Conclusion

Recent criticisms against mainstream sociology claim that there is a loss of humanness due to a focus on figures and statistics, rather than on human beings and societies (Henny, 1986). This study, along with various others, promotes the use of visual methods as an alternative. Harper (1998: 35) highlights the potential of visual research methods as being 'endless'. He argues that such a method allows for an understanding of the power that exists within relationships that extend beyond the small social units that are studied, thereby allowing for a consideration of one's individual work and the assumptions underlying it within the context of larger frames of power. Henny (1986) and Becker (1986) do however highlight the lack of acknowledgement and attention given to such research methods by the social sciences research community.

In South Africa, authors such as Nkomo (1991: 310) highlight the need for an epistemology that would enable the alteration of 'the obscene falsehoods, ignorance and bigotry of the past'. Visual research methods may not only address these issues, but also other difficulties facing South African research situations. An example of this is research situations where verbal communication between the researcher and the participant is made problematic by factors such as differing cultural groups. Youth participants pose further problems in that they may lack the verbal skills required to adequately communicate responses with the researcher. Such issues are particularly relevant to South Africa, where predominantly Western methods and approaches to research are utilised, consequently creating the possibility of yielding inaccurate research findings.

This study has set out to explore the use of visual research methods within complex research settings as are encountered in the South African context. In doing so, a historical review of the theory surrounding images and their use in research clearly points to their value in aiding communication and exploration of lived realities that until recently have very seldom been explored. By situating visual methods within various paradigms, the value of research incorporating visual methods with particularly critical and constructionist theories becomes apparent. I believe that the review of various methods that make use of images, allows for greater participation on the part of the research participant, together with the case study that followed, have demonstrated the capacity of visual research methods as a valuable research tool in instances when researchers are crossing boundaries. These methods allow participants to reflect and comment on their lived realities, with minimal influence and bias on the part of the researcher. Furthermore, the nature of the analysis and presentation of research findings from such studies allows for the voices of participants to remain central to the process and relevant to their lives. It is in this way that I believe we as researchers can give a voice to people who have none, giving them a chance to 'communicate to us their plight', allowing us to better understand, to 'think in *their* terms as much as possible, and be clued by them all the way' (Preloran, 1997: 106). As such I agree with Preloran when he says that 'when one is willing to *listen*, he learns far more then he bargained for' (sic) (1997: 106).

REFERENCE LIST

Abrams, L. S. 2002. Rethinking girls 'at-risk': Gender, race, and class intersections and adolescent development. *Journal of human behavior in the social environment, 6*(2), 47-64.

Anderson, M. L. 1993. Studying across difference: Race, class and gender in qualitative research. In J. H. Stanfield II & R. M. Dennis (Eds.), *Race and ethnicity in research methods* (pp. 39-52). Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Babbie, E., & Mouton. J. 2001. *The practice of social research* (South African Edition). Cape Town, South Africa: Oxford University Press.

Bailey, P.E., Bruno, Z.V., Bezerra, M.F., Queiroz, I., Oliveira, C.M., & Chen-Mok, M. 2001. Adolescent pregnancy 1 year later: The effects of abortion vs. motherhood in Northeast Brazil. *Journal of adolescent health, 29*, 223-232.

Ball, M. S., & Smith, G. W. H. 1992. *Analysing visual data*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage publications.

Banks, M. 1989. The narrative of lived experience: Some Jains of India and England. *Critique of anthropology, 9*(2), 65-76.

Banks, M. 1995. Visual research methods. *Social Research Update, 11* (2), 1-6.

Banks, M. 1998. Visual anthropology: Image, object and interpretation. In J. Prosser (Ed.), *Image-based research: A source book for qualitative researchers* (pp. 9-23). London: Falmer Press.

Banks, M. 2001. *Visual methods in social research*. London: Sage Publications.

Barbash, I., & Taylor, L. 1997. *Cross-cultural filmmaking: A handbook for making documentary and ethnographic films and videos*. Berkley, CA: University of California Press.

Barndt, D. 1997. Zooming out/zooming in: visualizing globalization. *Visual sociology, 12*(2), 5-32.

Barnes, D. B., Taylor-Brown, S., & Wiener, L. 1997. "I didn't leave y'all on purpose": HIV-infected mothers' videotaped legacies for their children. *Qualitative sociology, 20*(1), 7-32.

Barnet, B., Joffe, A., Duggan, A., Wilson, M., & Repke, J. 1996. Depressive symptoms, stress, and social support in pregnant and post-partum adolescents. *Archives of pediatric and adolescent medicine, 150*, 64-69.

Barthes, R. 1996. *Camera Lucida: Reflections on photography*. New York: Hill and Wang.

Barthes, R. 1999. Rhetoric of the image. In J. Evans & S. Hall (Eds.), *Visual culture the reader* (pp. 33-40). London: Sage Publications.

Bateson, G., & Mead, M. 1942. *Balinese character: A photographic analysis*. New York: New York Academy of Sciences.

Bateson, G., & Mead, M. 1976. For God's Sake, Margaret: A Conversation with Gregory Bateson and Margaret Mead. *CoEvolution Quarterly* (Summer), 32-44.

Bateson, M. C. 1984. *With a daughter's eye: A memoir of Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson*. New York. William Morrow

Becker, H. S. 1974. Photography and sociology. *Studies in the anthropology of visual communication, 1*(1), 3-26.

Becker, H. S. (Ed.). 1981. *Exploring Society Photographically*. Block Gallery, Northwestern University/University of Chicago Press.

Becker, H. S. 1986. *Doing things together: Selected papers*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press.

Becker, H. S. 1988. Review: Visual anthropology: Photography as a research method. *Visual Sociology Review, 3*(1), 18.

Becker, H. S. 1998. Visual sociology, documentary photography, and photojournalism: It's (almost) a matter of context. In J. Prosser (Ed.), *Image-based research: A sourcebook for qualitative researchers* (pp. 84-96). London: Falmer Press.

Bell, P. 2001. Content analysis of visual images. In T. van Leeuwen & C. Jewitt (Eds.), *Handbook of visual analysis* (pp. 10-34). London: Sage Publications.

Belle, D. 1982. Introduction. In D. Belle (Ed.), *Lives in stress: Women and depression* (pp. 11-23). Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.

Belle, D. 1990. Poverty and women's mental health. *American psychologist, 45*, 385-389.

Belle, D. 1994. Attempting to comprehend the lives of low-income women. In C. E. Franz & A. J. Stewart (Eds.), *Women creating lives: Identities, resilience and resistance* (pp. 37-50). Boulder, Colorado: Westview press.

Beloff, H. 1984. A social psychologist in the camera culture. *Bulletin of the British Psychological Society, 37*, 287-296.

Beloff, H. 1985. *Camera Culture*. New York: Basil Blackwell.

Bemak, F. 1996. Street researchers: A new paradigm redefining future research with street children. *Childhood, 3*,147-156.

Benjamin, W. 1936. *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*. Frankfurt: Suhrkampf.

Berger, J. 1980. *About looking*. New York: Vintage International.

Berger, J. 1991. *Keeping a rendezvous*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Bissell, S., Manderson, L., & Allotey, P. 2000. In focus: Focus groups and working children in Bangladesh. *Visual Anthropology, 13*, 169-183.

Blinn, L., & Harrist, A. W. 1991. Combining native instant photography and photo-elicitation. *Visual Anthropology, 4*, 175-192.

Blinn-Pike, L. M., & Eyring, M. 1993. A model for teaching about photographic research methods: Presentation, critique and revision. In R.M. Boonzajer Flores & D. Harper (Eds.), *Eyes across the water II: Essays on visual anthropology and sociology* (pp. 105-117). Den Haag: Het Spinhuis.

Blyton, P. 1987. The image of work: Documentary photography and the production of 'reality'. *International Social Science Journal, 39*, 415-424.

Bottorff, J. L. 1994. Using videotaped recordings in qualitative research. In J. M. Morse (Ed.), *Critical issues in qualitative research methods* (pp. 244-261). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Bourdieu, P. 1990[1965]. *Photography: A middle-brow art*. Oxford: Polity Press.

Braden, S. 1983. *Committing photography*. New York, NY: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Breckenridge, S. P. & Abott, E. 1910. Chicago's housing problem: Families in furnished rooms. *American Journal of Sociology, 16*: 289-308.

Breckenridge, S. P. & Abott, E. 1911a. Back of the yards. *American Journal of Sociology, 16*: 433-468.

Breckenridge, S. P. & Abott, E. 1911b. The west side revisited. *American Journal of Sociology, 17*: 1-34.

Breckenridge, S. P. & Abott, E. 1911c. South Chicago at the gates of the steel mills. *American Journal of Sociology, 17*: 145-176.

Brown, L. M. 1998. Raising their voices: The politics of girls' anger. Cambridge: Harvard University.

Brown, L. M., & Gilligan, C. 1992. *Meeting at the crossroads*. New York: Ballentine Books.

Burgess, R. 1980. The unstructured interview as conversation. In R. Burgess (Ed.), *Field research: A source book and field manual* (pp. 107-110). London: Allen and Unwin.

Burgin, V. 1982. *Thinking Photography*. London: The Macmillan Press.

Bushnell, C. 1901a. Some social aspects of the Chicago stockyards, I. *American Journal of Sociology, 7*(3), 145-70.

Bushnell, C. 1901b. Some social aspects of the Chicago stockyards, II. *American Journal of Sociology, 7*(3), 289-330.

Bushnell, C. 1902. Some social aspects of the Chicago stockyards, III. *American Journal of Sociology, 7*(4), 433-74.

Caldarola, V. J. 1985. Visual contexts: A photographic research method in anthropology. *Studies in visual communication*, 11(3), 31-53.

Campion, M. J. 1995. *Who's fit to be a parent?* London: Routledge.

Carolissen, R. L. 1993. *The social context of adolescent pregnancy: The case of Mamre.* Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Cape Town, Cape Town.

Caulfield, J. 1991. The work of knowledge in the age of mechanical reproduction. *Visual Sociology, 6*(2), 5-8.

Cavin, E. 1994. In search of the viewfinder: A study of a child's perspective. *Visual sociology, 9*(1), 27-41.

Chalfen R. 1997. Afterward. In S. Worth & J. Adair, *Through Navajo eyes* (pp. 275-342). Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Chaplin, E. 1994. *Sociology and visual representations.* London: Routledge.

Charmaz, K. 1983. The grounded theory method. In R. Emerson (Ed.), *Contemporary field research* (pp. 109-126). Boston: Little Brown and Company.

Charmaz, K. 1990. 'Discovering' chronic illness: Using grounded theory. *Social science in medicine, 30*, 1161-1172.

Charmaz, K. 2003. Grounded theory: Objectivist and constructivist methods. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Strategies of qualitative inquiry* (2nd ed.) (pp. 249-291). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Cheatwood, D., & Stasz, C. 1979. Visual sociology. In J. Wagner (Ed.), *Images of information* (pp. 261-271). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.

Cheetham, J., Fuller, R., McIvor, G., & Petch, A. 1992. *Evaluating social work effectiveness.* Buckingham, UK: Open University Press.

Chodorow, N. 1978. *The reproduction of mothering.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Clark, C. D. 1999. The autodriven interview: A photographic viewfinder into children's experiences. *Visual Sociology, 14,* 39-50.

Clifford, J. 1986. Introduction: Partial truths. In J. Clifford & G. Marcus (Eds.), *Writing culture: The poetics and politics of ethnography* (pp. 1-26). Berkley: University of California Press.

Collier, J. 1957. Photography in anthropology: A report on two experiments. *American Anthropologist, 59,* 843-859.

Collier, J. 1967. *Visual anthropology: Photography as a research method.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Collier, J. 1975. Photography and visual anthropology. In P. Hockings (Ed.), *Principles of visual anthropology* (pp. 211-230). The Hague: Mouton Publishers.

Collier, J. 1979. Evaluating visual data. In J. Wagner (Ed.), *Images of Information* (pp. 271-281). Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.

Collier, J. 2001. Approaches to analysis in visual anthropology. In T. van Leeuwen & C. Jewitt, (Eds.), *Handbook of visual analysis* (pp. 35-60). London: Sage Publications.

Collier, J., & Collier, M. 1986. *Visual anthropology: Photography as a research method*. New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press.

Collier, M. 2001. Approaches to analysis in visual anthropology. In T. van Leeuwen & C. Jewitt (Eds.), *Handbook of visual analysis* (pp. 35-60). London: Sage Publications.

Collins, P. H. 1991. *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowermen*t. New York: Routledge.

Collins, P. H. 1994. Shifting the center: Race, class and feminist theorising about motherhood. In E. N. Glenn, G. Chang & L. R. Forcey (Eds.) *Mothering: Ideology, experience and agency* (pp. 45-65). New York: Routledge.

Comstock, D. E. 1994. A method for critical research. In M. Martin & L. C. McIntyre (Eds.), *Readings in the philosophy of social science* (pp. 625-639). Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press.

Copeland, A. (Ed.). 1969. *People's park*. New York: Ballantine Books.

Coultas, V. 1989. Black girls and self-esteem. *Gender and education, 1*(3), 283-300.

Creswell, J. W. 1994. *Research Design: Qualitative and quantitative approaches*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Criticos, C., & Quinlan, T. 1991. Community video: Power and process. *Visual sociology, 6*(2), 39-52.

Curry, T. 1983. *A rational for visual sociology*. Paper presented at 1st International Conference on Visual Sociology, Windsor, Canada.

Curry, T. 1985. Editorial. *International Journal of Visual Sociology, 3*(2), 5-7.

Curry, T. 1986. A visual method of studying sports: The photo-elicitation interview. *Sociology of sport journal, 3*(3), 204-216.

Curry, T., & Clarke, A. C. 1978. *Introducing visual sociology*. Iowa: Kendal/Hunt Publishing co.

Dallape, F. 1996. Urban children: A challenge and an opportunity. *Childhood, 3*, 283-294.

Daniels, D. 2002. Using life histories of community builders in an informal settlement to advance the emancipation and development of women. *Global Research Perspectives, Vol. 2. Monograph.* Compiled by RM Cervero, BC Courtenay and CH Maoaghan.

Daniels, D. 2003. Learning about community leadership: Fusing methodology and pedagogy to learn about the lives of settlement women. *Adult education quarterly, 53*(3), 189-206.

Davies, L., McKinnon, M., & Rains, P. 1999. 'On my own': a new discourse of dependence and independence from teen mothers. In J. Wong & D. Checkland (Eds.), *Teen pregnancy and parenting: Social and ethical issues* (pp. 38-51). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Davies, L., McKinnon, M., & Rains, P. 2001. Creating a family: Perspectives from teen mothers. *Journal of progressive human sciences, 12*(1), 83-100.

Dawes, A., & Donald, D. 1994. The Way Forward: Developmental research and intervention in the contexts of adversity. In A. Dawes & D. Donald (Eds.), *Childhood and Adversity: Psychological perspectives from South African Research* (pp. 261-271). Cape Town: David Philip Publishers.

De Brigard, E. 1975. The History of Ethnographic Film. In P. Hockings (Ed.), *Principles of Visual Anthropology* (pp. 13-43). The Hague: Mouton Publishers.

De Castro, E. B. V. 1981. Two rituals of the Xingu. In H. S. Becker (Ed.), *Exploring society Photographically* (pp. 54-59). Block Gallery, Northwestern University/University of Chicago Press.

De la Rey, C., & Carolissen, R. 1997. Teenage pregnancy: A contextual analysis. In C. de la Rey, N. Duncan, T. Shefer, & A. van Niekerk (Eds.), *Contemporary issues in human development: A South African focus* (pp. 25-37). Halfway House, South Africa: International Thompson Publishing.

Dell Clark, C. 1999. The autodriven interview: A photographic viewfinder into children's experience. *Visual Sociology*, 14: 39-50.

Dempsey, J. V., & Tucker, S. A. 1991. *Using photo-interviewing as a tool for research and evaluation*. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED334 980).

Denzin, N. K. 1994. The art and politics of interpretation. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 500-515). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. 1998. Introduction: Entering the field of qualitative research. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Collecting and interpreting qualitative materials* (pp. 1-34). London: Sage Publications.

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (Eds.). 2000. *Handbook of qualitative research.* London: Sage Publications.

Desjarlais, R., Eisenberg, L., Good, B., & Kleinman, A. 1995. *World mental health: Problems and priorities in low-income countries*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Dien-Wille, G. 2001. A therapeutic perspective: The use of drawings in child psychoanalysis and social science. In T. van Leeuwen & C. Jewitt (Eds.), *Handbook of visual analysis* (pp. 119-133). London: Sage Publications.

Dill, B. T. 1988. Our mothers' grief: Racial ethnic women and the maintenance of families. *Journal of family history, 13*(4), 415-431.

Dryfoos, J. 1990. *Adolescents at risk*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Dubin, M. 1998. From artful ethnography to ethnographic art: The enduring significance of the Navajo film project. *Visual anthropology review, 14*(1), 73-80.

Duff, E. 1981. Working world. In H. S. Becker (Ed.), *Exploring society Photographically* (pp. 74-76). Block Gallery, Northwestern University/University of Chicago Press.

Edmeades, J. 1995. 'You look alright to me'. In J. Spence & J. Solomon (Eds.), *What can a woman do with a camera? Photography for women* (pp. 29-34). London: Scarlet Press.

Edwards, E. (Ed.). 1992. *Anthropology and photography, 1860-1920*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Edwards, R. & Ribbens, J. 1998. Living on the edges: Public knowledge, private lives, personal experience. In J. Ribbens & R. Edwards (Eds.), *Feminist dilemmas in qualitative research: Public knowledge and private lives* (pp.1-23). London: Sage Publications.

Emmison, M., & Smith, P. 2000. *Researching the visual*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Ennew, J. 1994. *Street and working children: A guide to planning development manual 4*. Save the children, London.

Erben, M. 2000. Ethics, education, narrative communication and biography. *Educational studies, 26*(3), 379-390.

Erkut, S., Fields, J. P., Sint, R., & Marx, F. 1996. Diversity in girls' experiences: Feeling good about who you are. In B. J. Leadbeater & N. Way (Eds.), *Urban girls: Resisting stereotypes, creating identities* (pp. 53-64). New York: New York University.

Ewald, W. 1985. *Portraits and dreams: Photographs and stories by children of the Appalachians*. New York: Writers and Readers.

Farganis, S. 1992. Feminism and the reconstruction of social science. In A. M. Jaggar & S.R. Bordo (Eds.), *Gender/Body/Knowledge: Feminist reconstructions of being and knowing* (pp. 207-223). New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press.

Finch, J. 1984. 'It's great to have someone to talk to': The ethics and politics of interviewing women. In C. Bell & Roberts, H. (Eds.), *Social researching: politics, problems, practice* (pp. 70-87). London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Fine, M., Weis, L., Weseen, S., & Wong, L. 2000. For whom? Qualitative research, representations and social responsibilities. In N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed.) (pp. 107-131). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Finzi, S. V. 1996. *Mothering: Towards a new psychoanalytic construction*. New York: Guilford Press.

Flanagan, P. 1998. Teen mothers: Countering the myths of dysfunction and developmental disruption. In Coll, C. G., Surrey, J. L., & Weingarten, K. (Eds.), *Mothering against the*

odds: Diverse voices of contemporary mothers (pp. 238-254). New York: The Guilford Press.

Flick, U. 1998. *An introduction to qualitative research*. London: Sage.

Fontana, A., & Frey, J. H. 1998. Interviewing: The art of science. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Collecting and interpreting qualitative materials* (pp. 47-78). London: Sage Publications.

Fraser-Moleketi, G. 1997. Statement by the minister for welfare and population development – Parliamentary debriefing week. www.polity.org.za/govdocs/speeches/1997/sp0912b.html

Freire, P. 1973. *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York: Seabury Press.

Frizelle, K., & Hayes, G. 1999. Experiences of motherhood: Challenging ideals. *Psychology in Society, 25*, 17-36.

Fuery, P. & Fuery, K. 2003. *Visual cultures and critical theory*. London: Arnold Publishers.

Fussell, E. & Greene, M. E. 2002. Demographic trends affecting youth around the world. In B. Bradford Brown, R. W. Larson & T. S. Saraswathi (Eds.), *The world's youth: Adolescence in eight regions of the globe* (pp. 21-60). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Garmazy, N. 1993. stressors in childhood. In N. Garmezy & R. Rutter (Eds.), *Stress, coping and development in children* (pp. 43-84). New York: McGraw-Hill.

Gee, C. B., & Rhodes, J. E. 1999. Postpartum transitions in adolescent mothers' romantic and maternal relationships. *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, 45*(3), 512-532.

Gibs, J. T. 1985. City girls: Psychosocial adjustment of urban Black adolescent females. *Sage, II*(2), 28-36.

Gilligan, C. 1982. *In a different voice: Psychological theory and women's development*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Gilligan, C. 1991. Women's psychological development: Implications for psychotherapy. In C. Gilligan, A. G. Rogers & D. Tolman (Eds.), *Women, girls and psychotherapy: Reframing resistance* (pp. 5-32). New York: Haworth.

Gilligan, C., Rogers A. G., & Tolman. D. L. (Eds.) 1991. *Women, girls and psychotherapy: Reframing resistance*. New York: Haworth.

Gillis, L. S., Elk, R., Ben-Arie, O., & Teggin, A. 1982. The Present State Examination: Experiences with Xhosa-speaking psychiatric patients. *British Journal of Psychiatry, 141*, 143-147.

Ginsburg, F. 1991. Indigenous media: Faustian contract or global village? *Cultural anthropology, 6*(1), 92-112.

Giroux, H. 1992. *Border crossings: Cultural workers and the politics of education*. New York: Routledge.

Gladow, N. W., & Ray, M. P. 1986. The impact of informal support systems on the well being of low income single parents. *Family relations, January*, 113-123.

Glasser, B., & Strauss, A. 1967. *The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research*. Chicago Illinois: Aldine.

Glenn, E. N. 1994. Social constructions of mothering: A thematic overview. In E. N. Glenn, G. Chang & L. R. Forcey (Eds.) *Mothering: Ideology, experience and agency* (pp. 1-29). New York: Routledge.

Gloor, D., & Meier, H. 2000. A river revitalisation seen through the lens of local community members. *Visual Sociology, 15*, 119-134.

Goffman, E. 1959. *The presentation of self in everyday life*. New York: Doubleday.

Goffman, E. 1979. *Gender advertisements*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Gold, S. 1991. Ethnic boundaries and ethnic entrepreneurship: A photo-elicitation study. *Visual Sociology, 6*(2), 9-22.

Grady, J. 1991. The visual essay and sociology. *Visual Sociology, 6*(2), 23-38.

Grady, J. 2001. Sociology's new workshop: The visual challenge to sociology. *Sociological imagination, 38* (1/2), 4-6.

Graham, B. 1995. Mothers of invention. In J. Spence & J. Solomon (Eds.), *What can a woman do with a camera? Photography for women* (pp. 135-142). London: Scarlet Press.

Grey, C. 1995. 'Give me a camera and I'll show you how I feel'. In J. Spence & J. Solomon (Eds.), *What can a woman do with a camera? Photography for women* (pp. 143-152). London: Scarlet Press.

Grimshaw, A. 2001. *The Ethnographer's Eye: Ways of seeing in modern anthropology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hacking, I. 1999. *The social construction of what?* Cambridge Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Hagaman, D. 1995. Connecting cultures: Balinese character and the computer. In S. L. Star (Ed.), *Cultures of Computing* (pp. 85-102). Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers.

Hall, L. 1990. Prevalence and correlates of depressive symptoms in mothers of young children. *Public health nursing, 7*, 71-79.

Hammersley, M., & Atkinson, P. 1995. *Ethnography: Principles in practice* (2nd ed.). London: Routledge.

Hammond, J. D. 1989. Representation in a collaborative video project. *Visual sociology review, 4*(1), 8-15.

Harper, D. 1982. *Good company*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Harper, D. 1986. Meaning and work: A study in photo elicitation. *Current Sociology/La sociologie contemporaine: Theory and practice of visual sociology, 34*(3), 24-46.

Harper, D. 1987. *Working knowledge: Skill and community in a small shop*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Harper, D. 1988. Visual sociology: Expanding sociological vision. *The American sociologist, 19*(1), 54-70.

Harper, D. 1989. Visual sociology: Expanding sociological vision. In G. Blank, J. L. McCartney & E. Brent (Eds.) *New technology in sociology: Practical applications in research and work* (pp. 81-97). New Brunswick, USA: Transaction Publishers.

Harper, D. 1990. Editorial. *Visual Sociology Review, 5*(2), 1.

Harper, D. 1994. On the authority of the image: Visual methods at the crossroads. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 403-412). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Harper, D. 1998. An argument for visual sociology. In J. Prosser (Ed.), *Image-based Research: A source book for qualitative researchers* (pp. 24-41). London: Falmer Press.

Harper, D. 2002. Talking about pictures: A case for photo elicitation. *Visual Studies, 17*(1), 13-26.

Harper, D. 2003. Reimagining visual methods: Galileo to Neuromancer. In N. K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Collecting and interpreting qualitative materials* (2nd ed.) (pp.176-198). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Harvey, D. 1999. Postmodernism. In A. Elliott (Ed.), *The Blackwell reader in contemporary social theory* (pp. 303-316). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers.

Heider, K. 1976. *Ethnographic film*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Henley, P. 1998. Film-making and ethnographic research. In J. Prosser (Ed.), *Image-based research: A sourcebook for qualitative researchers* (pp. 42-59). London: Falmer Press.

Henny, L. M. 1978. *Film and video in sociology*. Utrecht: University of Utrecht.

Henny, L. M. 1986. Theory and practice of visual sociology. *Current Sociology/La sociologie contemporaine, 34*(3), 1-76.

Henshaw, S., & Von Vort, J. 1989. Teenage abortions, birth, and pregnancy statistics. *Family planning perspectives, 21*, 85-88.

Heywood, I., & Sandywell, B. 1999. Introduction: Explorations in the hermeneutics of vision. In I. Heywood & B. Sandywell (Eds.), *Interpreting visual culture: Explorations in the hermeneutics of the visual* (pp. ix-xviii). London: Routledge.

Hill-Lanz, S. 1994. *Women on farms: A report on women on farms in the Western Cape*. Pretoria, South Africa: Lawyers for Human Rights.

Hirsch, M. 1997. *Family frames: Photography, narrative and postmemory*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Hockings, P. 1975. *Principles of visual anthropology*. The Hague: Mouton Publishers.

Holden, G. W., Nelson, P. B., Velasquez, J., & Ritchie, K. L. 1993. Cognitive, psychological and reported sexual behaviour differences among pregnant and nonpregnant adolescents. *Adolescence, 28*(111), 557-572.

Hubbard, J. 1991. *Shooting back: A photographic view of life by homeless children.* San Francisco: Chronicle Books.

Hubbard, J. 1994. *Shooting back from the reservation: A photographic view of life by Native American Youth.* New York: New Press.

Hudson, D. B., Elek, S. M., & Campbell-Grossman, C. 2000. Depression, self-esteem, loneliness, and social support among adolescent mothers participating in the new parents project. *Adolescence, 35*(139), 445-453.

Huges, E. 1914. The Lithuanians in the fourth ward. *American Journal of Sociology, 20*: 209-312.

Hunt, M. B. 1910. The housing of non-family groups of men in Chicago. *American Journal of Sociology, 16*: 145-170.

Hurlbut, N., Culp, A., Jambunathan, S., & Butler, P. 1997. Adolescent mothers' self-esteem and role of identity and their relationship to parenting skills knowledge. *Adolescence, 32*, 639-654.

Hutz, C. S., & Koller, S. H. (1999). Methodological and ethical issues in research with street children. In M. Rafaelli & R. W. Larson (Eds.), *Homeless and working youth around the world: Exploring developmental issues* (pp. 59-70). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Jacknis, I. 1984. Franz Boas and photography. *Studies in visual communication, 10*(1), 2-60.

Jacknis, I. 1989. Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson in Bali: Their use of film and photography. *Cultural Anthropology, 3*(2), 160-177.

Jacknis, I. 1994. Society for Visual Anthropology. *Anthropology newsletter, 35*(4), 33-4.

Jackson, B. 1977. *Killing time.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Jacobs, J. 1994. Gender, race, class and the trend toward early motherhood. *Journal of contemporary ethnography, 22*(4), 442-462.

James, A., Jenks, C., & Prout, A. 1998. *Theorising childhood.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Jewell, D., Tacchi, J., & Donovan, J. 2000. Teenage pregnancy: Whose problem is it? *Family practice, 17*(6), 522-528.

Jordan, J. V. 1997a. Introduction. In J. V. Jordan (Ed.), *Women's growth in diversity: More writings from the Stone Center* (pp. 1-9). New York: The Guilford Press.

Jordan, J. V. 1997b. A relational perspective for understanding women's development. In J. V. Jordan (Ed.), *Women's growth in diversity: More writings from the Stone Center* (pp. 9-24). New York: The Guilford Press.

Jordan, J. V. 1997c. Do you believe that the concepts of self and autonomy are useful in understanding women? In J. V. Jordan (Ed.), *Women's growth in diversity: More writings from the Stone Center* (pp. 29-32). New York: The Guilford Press.

Jordan, J. V. 1997d. Clarity in connection: Empathic knowing, desire and sexuality. In J. V. Jordan (Ed.), *Women's growth in diversity: More writings from the Stone Center* (pp. 50-73). New York: The Guilford Press.

Jordan, J. V. 1997e. Relational development: Therapeutic implications of empathy and shame. In J. V. Jordan (Ed.), *Women's growth in diversity: More writings from the Stone Center* (pp. 138-161). New York: The Guilford Press.

Kaplan, A. 1997. How can a group of white, heterosexual, privileged women claim to speak of "women's" experience? In J. V. Jordan (Ed.), *Women's growth in diversity: More writings from the Stone Center* (pp. 32-36). New York: The Guilford Press.

Karlsson, J. 2001. Doing visual research with school learners in South Africa. *Visual Sociology, 16*(2), 23-37.

Kaufman, C. E., de Wet, T., & Stadler, J. 2000. Adolescent pregnancy and parenthood in South Africa. 26 July 2002. www.popcouncil.org/pdfs/wp/136.pdf.

Kefyalew, F. 1996. The reality of child participation in research: Experience from a capacity-building programme. *Childhood, 3,* 203-213.

Kellehear, A. 1993. *The unobtrusive researcher: A guide to methods.* St Leonards: Allen and Unwin.

Kelly, D. M. 1999. A critical feminist perspective on teen pregnancy and parenthood. In J. Wong & D. Checkland (Eds.), *Teen pregnancy and parenting: Social and ethical issues* (pp. 52-70). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Kotze, D. A., & Kotze, P.M.J. 1996. What is wrong in development? *Focus,* May/June, 4-8.

Krebs, S. 1975. The film elicitation technique. In P. Hockings (Ed.), *Principles of visual anthropology* (pp. 283-301). The Hague: Mouton Publishers.

Ladner, J. 1971. *Tomorrow's tomorrow: The Black woman.* Garden City, NY: Doubleday.

Laird, S. E. 2003. Evaluating social work outcomes in Sub-Saharan Africa. *Qualitative Social Work, 2*(3), 251-270.

Larson, H. 1999. Voices of Pacific Youth: Video research as a tool for youth expression. *Visual Sociology*, 14, 163-172.

Lather, P. A. 1993. Fertile obsession: Validity after poststructuralism. *The sociological quarterly, 34*(4), 673-693.

Lather, P. A. 1995. The validity of angels: Interpretive and textual strategies in researching the lives of women with HIV/AIDS. *Qualitative inquiry, 1*(1), 41-68.

Leadbeater, B. J. R., & Way, N. (Eds.). 1996. *Urban girls: Resisting stereotypes, creating identities.* New York: New York University Press.

Leira, H., & Krips, M. 1993. Revealing cultural myths on motherhood. In J. van Mens-Verhulst, K. Schreurs, & L. Woertman (Eds.), *Daughtering and Mothering: Female subjectivity reanalysed* (pp. 83-96). London: Routledge.

Leketi-Solomon, J. 1995. True to my potential. In J. Spence & J. Solomon (Eds.), *What can a woman do with a camera? Photography for women* (pp. 35-38). London: Scarlet Press.

Levenstein, S. 1996. Educating street children: Innovative ideas and programmes in Brazil. *South African Journal of Education, 16* (1), 45-50.

Lidz, V., & Lidz, C. W. 1989. Editor's introduction. *Qualitative Sociology, 12*(2), 115-117.

Liebenberg, L. 2002. *Journal entries for dissertation study*. Unpublished raw data. Stellenbosch: University of Stellenbosch.

Loizos, P. 2000. Video, film and photographs as research documents. In M. W. Bauer & G. Gaskell (Eds.), *Qualitative researching with text, image and sound* (pp. 93-107). London: Sage Publications.

Lomax, A. 1973. Cinema, science, and cultural renewal. *Current anthropology*, 14, 474-480.

Lucchini, R. 1996. Theory, method and triangulation in the study of street children. *Childhood, 3*, 167-70.

Lury, C. 1998. *Prosthetic culture: Photography, memory and identity*. London: Routledge.

Luthar, S. 1999. *Poverty and children's adjustment*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Lykes, M. B. 2001. Creative arts and photography in participatory action research in Guatemala. In P. Reason & H. Bradway (Eds.), *Handbook of action research: Participant inquiry and practice* (pp. 363-371). London: Sage Publications.

MacDougall, D. 1975. Beyond observational cinema. In P. Hockings (Ed.), *Principles of visual anthropology* (pp. 109-124). The Hague: Mouton Publishers.

MacDougall, D. 1978. Ethnographic film: Failure and promise. *Annual review of anthropology, 7*, 405-425.

MacDougall, D. 1997. The visual in anthropology. In M. Banks & H. Morphy (Eds.), *Rethinking visual anthropology* (pp. 276-295). London: Yale University Press.

Masten, A. S. 1994. Resilience in individual development: successful adaptation despite risk and adversity. In M. C. Want & E. W. Gordon (Eds.), *Educational resilience in inner-city America: Challenges and prospects* (pp. 3-23). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Mauthner, N., & Doucet, A. 1998. Reflections on a voice-centred relational method: Analysing maternal and domestic voices. In J. Ribbens & R. Edwards (Eds.), *Feminist dilemmas in qualitative research: Public knowledge and private lives* (pp. 119-146). London: Sage Publications.

May, T. 1993. *Social research: Issues, methods and process*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

McQuire, S. 1998. *Visions of modernity: Representation, time, memory and space in the age of the camera*. London: Sage Publications.

McVay, P. 2001. An introduction to TB. 10 April 2002. www.mcvay.com/weeksum/patsecondweek.html.

Mead, M. 1963. Anthropology and the camera. In W. D. Morgan (Ed.), *Encyclopaedia of photography*. New York, NY: National Educational Alliance.

Mead, M. 1968. *The Mountain Arapesh, I. The record of Unabelin with Rorschach analysis*. Garden City: Natural History Press.

Mead, M. 1975. Visual anthropology in a discipline of words. In P. Hockings (Ed.), *Principles of visual anthropology* (pp. 3-10). The Hague: Mouton Publishers.

Merriam, S. B. 1998. *Qualitative research and case study applications in education*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.

Miller, B. C., & Moore, K. A. 1990. Adolescent sexual behavior, pregnancy and parenting: Research through the 1980s. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 52*(4), 1025-1044.

Miller, J. B. 1988. Connections, disconnections and violations. *Work in Progress, No. 33*. Wellesley, MA: Stone Center Working Paper Series.

Mirzoeff, N. 1998. What is visual culture? In N. Mirzoeff (Ed.), *The visual culture reader* (pp. 3-13). London: Routledge.

Morphy, H., & Banks, M. 1997. Introduction: Rethinking visual anthropology. In M. Banks & H. Morphy (Eds.), *Rethinking visual anthropology* (pp. 1-35). London: Yale University Press.

Morris, K., Woodward, D., & Peters, E. 1998. 'Whose side are you on?' Dilemmas in conducting feminist ethnographic research with young women. *International journal of social research methodology, 1*(3), 217-230.

Mouton, J., & Muller, J. 1998. Introduction: Tracking the trends in theory and method: Past and future. In J. Mouton & J. Muller (Eds.), *Theory and method in South African human sciences research: Advances and innovations* (pp. 1-18). Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council.

Mulkay, M. 1979. *Science and the sociology of knowledge*. London: George Allen and Alwin.

Myerhoff, B., & Ruby, J. 1982. Introduction. In J. Ruby (Ed.), *A crack in the mirror: Reflexive perspectives in anthropology* (pp. 1-35). Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Naples, N. A. 1991. 'Just what needed to be done': The political practice of women community workers in low-income neighbourhoods. *Gender & Society, 5*(4), 478-494.

Naples, N. A. 1992. Activist mothering: Cross-generational continuity in the community work of women from low-income urban neighbourhoods. *Gender & society, 6*(3), 441-463.

Narayan, U. 1992. The project of feminist epistemology: Perspectives from a nonwestern feminist. In A. M. Jaggar & S. R. Bordo (Eds.), *Gender/Body/Knowledge: Feminist reconstructions of being and knowing* (pp. 256-269). New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press.

Newhall, B. 1982. *The history of photography: From 1839 to the present*. New York, NY: The Museum of Modern Art, New York with Little Brown and Company, Boston.

Niesyto, H. 2000. Youth research on video self-production: Reflections on a social aesthetic approach. *Visual Sociology, 15*, 135-153.

Norton, G. P. 1913. Two Italian districts. *American Journal of Sociology, 18*: 509-542.

Nsamenang, A. B. 2002. Adolescence in Sub-Saharan Africa: An image constructed from Africa's triple inheritance. In B. Bradford Brown, R. W. Larson & T. S. Saraswathi (Eds.), *The world's youth: Adolescence in eight regions of the globe* (pp. 61-104). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Oakley, A. 1981. Interviewing women: A contradiction in terms. In H. Roberts (Ed.), *Doing feminist research* (pp. 30-61). London: Routledge.

Oakley, A. 1994. Women and children first and last: Parallels and differences between children and women's studies. In B. Mayal (Ed.), *Children's childhoods observed and experienced* (pp. 13-32). London: Falmer Press.

Olesen, V. 1998. Feminisms and models of qualitative research. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.) *The Landscape of Qualitative research: Theories and issues* (pp. 300-332). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Orellana, M. F. 1999. Space and place in an urban landscape: Learning from children's views of their social worlds. *Visual Sociology, 14*, 73-89.

Papademas, D. 1988. Committing photography – Yes and no, but mostly yes. *Visual Sociology Review, 3*(1), 23-25.

Parker, I. 1992. *Discourse Dynamics: Critical analysis for social and individual psychology*. Routledge, London.

Parry, C. & Swartz, L. 1997. Psychiatric epidemiology. In J. M. Katzenellenbogen, G. Joubert & S. S. Abdool Karim (Eds.), *Epidemiology: A manual for South Africa* (pp. 230-241). Cape Town, South Africa: Oxford University Press.

Passino, A., Whitman, T., Borkowski, J., Schellenbach, C., Maxwell, S., Keogh, D., & Rellinger, E. (1993). Personal adjustment during pregnancy and adolescent parenting. *Adolescence, 28*, 97-122.

Pastor, J., McCormick, J., & Fine, M. 1996. Makin' homes: An urban girl thing. In B. J. Leadbeater & N. Way (Eds.), *Urban girls: Resisting stereotypes, creating identities* (pp. 15-34). New York: New York University.

Patton, M. Q. 1990. *Qualitative evaluation methods* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Patton, M. Q. 2002. *Qualitative research and evaluation methods* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage publications.

Pauwels, L. 2000. Taking the visual turn in research and scholarly communication: Key issues in developing a more visually literate (social) science. *Visual Sociology, 15*, 7-14.

Phoenix, A. 1991. Mothers under twenty: Outsider and insider views. In A. Phoenix, A. Woollett & E. Lloyd (Eds.), *Motherhood: Meanings, practices and ideologies* (pp. 86-102). London: Sage Publications.

Phoenix, A., & Woolllett, A. 1991. Afterword: Issues related to motherhood. In A. Phoenix, A. Woollett & E. Lloyd (Eds.), *Motherhood: Meanings, practices and ideologies* (pp. 86-102). London: Sage Publications.

Pick, W., & Cooper, D. 1997. Urbanisation and women's health in South Africa. *African Journal of reproduction health, 1*(1), 45-55.

Pillay, A. L. 1998. Perceptions of family functioning in conduct disordered adolescents. *South African Journal of Psychology, 28*(4), 191-195.

Pink, S. 2001. *Doing visual ethnography.* London: Sage Publications.

Pinney, C. 1992. The parallel histories of anthropology and photography. In E. Edwards (Ed.), *Anthropology and photography 1860-1920* (pp. 74-95). New Haven: Yale University Press.

Pole, C., Mizen, P., & Bolton, A. 1999. Realising children's agency in research: Partners and participants? *International journal of social research methodology, 2*(1), 39-54.

Potgieter, C., & Fredman, L. 1997. Childhood sexuality. In C. de la Rey, N. Duncan, T. Shefer, & A. van Niekerk (Eds.), *Contemporary issues in human development: A South African focus* (pp. 99-109). Halfway House, South Africa: International Thompson Publishing.

PPASA. 26 July 2002. www.ppasa.org.za/donate.htm.

Press, A. L. 1991. *Women watching television: Gender, class and generation in the American television experience.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Preston-Whyte, E., & Zondi, M. 1992. African teenage pregnancy: Whose problem? In S. Burman & E. Preston-Whyte (Eds.) *Questionable Issue: Illegitimacy in South Africa* (pp. 208-225). Cape Town, South Africa: Oxford University Press.

Prosser, J. 1992. Personal reflections in the use of photography in an ethnographic case study. *British Educational Research Journal, 18*(4), 397-411.

Prosser, J. 1998a. Introduction. In J. Prosser (Ed.), *Image-based research: A source book for qualitative researchers* (pp. 1-5). London: Falmer Press.

Prosser, J. 1998b. The status of image-based research. In J. Prosser (Ed.), *Image-based research: A sourcebook for qualitative researchers* (pp. 97-112). London: Falmer Press.

Prosser, J. 2001. Editorial introduction. *Visual Sociology, 16*(2), 3-5.

Prosser, J. 2002. Editorial. *Visual Studies, 17*(1), 1-2.

Prosser, J., & Schwartz, D. 1998. Photographs within the sociological research process. In J. Prosser (Ed.) *Image-based research: A sourcebook for qualitative researchers* (pp. 115-130). London: Falmer Press.

Rauch-Elnekave, H. 1994. Teenage motherhood: Its relationship to undetectable learning problems. *Adolescence, 29* (113), 92-103.

Read, H. 1991. A concise history of modern painting. London: Thames and Hudson.

Reason, P. 1994. Three approaches to participate inquiry. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 324-339). London: Sage Publications.

Rich, M. & Chalfen, R. 1999. Showing and telling asthma: Children teaching physicians with visual narrative. *Visual sociology, 14*, 51-71.

Rieger, J. H. 1996. Photographing Social Change. *Visual Sociology, 11* (1), 5-49.

Riessman, C. K. 1990. *Divorce talk: Women and men make sense of personal relationships*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Robinson T., & Ward, J. V. 1991. A belief in self far greater than anyone's disbelief: Cultivating resistance among African American female adolescents. In C. Gilligan, A. G. Rogers & D. Tolman (Eds.), *Women, girls and psychotherapy: Reframing resistance* (pp. 87-117). New York: Haworth.

Rogoff, I. 1998. Studying visual culture. In N. Mirzoeff (Ed.), *The visual culture reader* (pp. 14-26). London: Routledge.

Rosaldo, M. Z. 1980. The use and abuse of anthropology: Reflections on feminism and cross-cultural understanding. *Signs, 5*, 389-417.

Rotha, P. & Wright, B. 1980. Nanook of the North. *Studies in visual communication, 6*(2), 33-60.

Rouch, J. 1975. The camera and man. In P. Hockings (Ed.), *Principles of visual anthropology* (pp. 83-102). The Hague: Mouton Publishers.

Ruby, J. 1976. In a pic's eye: Interpretive strategies for deriving significance and meaning from photographs. *Afterimage, 3*(9), 5-7.

Ruby, J. 1984. An early attempt at studying human behaviour with a camera: Franz Boas and the Kwakiutl. In N. C. Bogaart & H. W. Ketelaar (Eds.), *Methodology in anthropological filmmaking* (pp. 25-38). Göttingen: Edition Herodot.

SADHS. 1998. "Sexual, reproductive and women's health". South African Department of Health, Statistics. 16 August 2002. www.doh.gov.za/facts/index.html.

Salamone, F. A. 1979. Epistemological implications of fieldwork and their consequences. *American Anthropologist, 81*(1), 46-60.

Sampson, A. V. 1999. *Cameras don't take pictures, people do: A self-study on experience using photoessay and rhizomatic analysis.* Unpublished manuscript, The University of Georgia.

Sampson, A. V. 2001. *Exploring the relationship between a small rural school in Northeast Georgia and its surrounding community: An image-based study using participant-produced photographs.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, The University of Georgia, Athens.

Sandall, R. 1972. Observation and identity. *Sight and sound, 41*(4), 192-196.

Schaeffer, J. H. 1975. Videotape: New techniques of observation and analysis in anthropology. In P. Hockings (Ed.), *Principles of visual anthropology* (pp. 253-282). The Hague: Mouton Publishers.

Schnitzer, P. K. 1996. 'They don't come in!' Stories told, lessons taught about poor families in therapy. *American journal of Orthopsychiatry, 66,* 572-582.

Schnitzer, P. K. 1998. He needs his father: The clinical discourse and politics of single mothering. In C. G. Coll, J. L. Surrey & K. Weingarten (Eds.), *Mothering against the odds: Diverse voices of contemporary mothers* (pp. 151-172). New York: The Guilford Press.

Schratz, M., & Steiner-Löffler, U. 1998. Pupils using photographs in school self-evaluation. In J. Prosser (Ed.), *Image-based research: A sourcebook for qualitative researchers* (pp. 235-251). London: Falmer Press.

Schratz, M., Walker, R., & Wiedel, J. 1995. Being there: Using pictures to see the invisible. In M. Schratz & R. Walker (Eds.), *Research as social change: New opportunities for qualitative research* (pp. 65-90). London: Routledge.

Schutte, G. 1991. Racial oppression and social research: Field work under racial conflict in South Africa. *Qualitative sociology, 14*(2), 127-146.

Schwartz, D. 1989a. Legion post 189: Continuity and change in a rural community. *Visual anthropology, 2,* 103-133.

Schwartz, D. 1989b. Visual ethnography: Using photography in qualitative research. *Qualitative sociology: 12*(2), 119-154.

Schwartz, D. 1993. Superbowl XXVI: Reflections on the manufacture of appearance. *Visual Sociology, 8*(1), 23-33.

Sekula, A. 1975. On the invention of photographic meaning. *Artforum, 13*(5), 36-45.

Silva, E. B. 1996. The transformation of mothering. In E. B. Silva (Ed.), *Good enough mothering? Feminist perspectives on lone motherhood* (pp. 10-36). London: Routledge.

258

Silverman, D. 2000. *Doing qualitative research: A practical handbook*. London: Sage Publications.

Silverman, D. 2001. *Interpreting qualitative data: Methods for analysing talk, text and interaction*. London: Sage Publications.

Smart, C. 1996. Deconstructing motherhood. In E. B. Silva (Ed.), *Good enough mothering? Feminist perspectives on lone motherhood* (pp. 37-57). London: Routledge.

Smit, A. G. & Liebenberg, L. 2000. The inner city street child: A profile of the dilemma and some guidelines. *Social Work: A professional journal for the social worker, 36*(1), 25-34.

Smit, A. G., & Liebenberg, L. 2003. Understanding the dynamics of parent-involvement in schooling within the poverty context. *South African Journal of Education, 23*(1), 1-15.

Smit, A. G., & van Schalkwyk, E. 1998. A 24-hour service strategy for street children. *Social Work: A Professional Journal for the Social Worker, 34*(4), 335-343.

Smith, C. Z., & Woodward, A-M. 1999. Photo-Elicitation method gives voice and reactions of subjects. *Journalism and mass communication educator, 53*(4), 31-41.

Smith, D. E. 1987. *The everyday world as problematic: A feminist sociology*. Boston: Northeastern University Press.

Smith, L. T. 1999. *Decolonising methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples*. London: Zed Books.

Snyder, J., & Allen, N. W. 1976. Photography, vision and representation. *Afterimage, 3*(7), 8-13.

Solomon, J. 1995. Introduction. In J. Spence & J. Solomon (Eds.), *What can a woman do with a camera? Photography for women* (pp. 9-14). London: Scarlet Press.

Sommer, K., Whitman, T., Borkowski, J., Schellenbach, C., Maxwell, S., & Keogh, D. 1993. Cognitive readiness and adolescent parenting. *Developmental psychology, 29*, 289-298.

Sorenson, E. R. 1975. Visual records, human knowledge, and the future. In P. Hockings (Ed.), *Principles of visual anthropology* (pp. 463-476). The Hague: Mouton Publishers.

South African Government. The Reconstruction and Development Programme: A policy framework. http://www.polity.org.za/html/govdocs/rdp/rdp.html

Spangenberg, J., & Pieterse, C. 1995. Stressful life events and psychological status in Black South African women. *The journal of social psychology, 135*(4), 439-445.

Sparks, E. 1998. Against the odds: Resistance and resilience in African American welfare mothers. In C. G. Coll, J. L. Surrey, & K. Weingarten (Eds.), *Mothering against the odds: Diverse voices of contemporary mothers* (pp. 215-237). New York: The Guilford Press.

Spence, J. 1986. *Putting myself in the picture: a political, personal, and photographic autobiography*. London: Camden Press.

Spence, J. 1995a. *Cultural sniping: The art of transgression*. London: Routledge.

Spence, J. 1995b. Woman in secret. In J. Spence & J. Solomon (Eds.), *What can a woman do with a camera? Photography for women* (pp. 85-96). London: Scarlet Press.

Spinder, G., & Spinder, L., 1967. Foreword. In J. Collier, Visual Anthropology: Photography as a research method (pp. ix-xii). New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

St Lawrence, J. S., Brasfield, T. L., Jefferson, K. W., Allyene, E., & Shirley, A. 1994. Social support as a factor in African-American adolescents' sexual risk behavior. *Journal of adolescent research, 9*, 292-310.

Stanley, J. 1995. Accounting for our days. In J. Spence & J. Solomon (Eds.), *What a woman can do with a camera: Photography for women* (pp. 17-27). London: Scarlet Press.

Stanley, L., & Wise, S. 1993. *Breaking out again: Feminist ontology and epistemology*. New York: Routledge.

Stasz, C. 1979. The early history of visual sociology. In J. Wagner (Ed.), *Images of information: Still photography in the social sciences* (pp. 119-136). London: Sage Publications.

Steenkamp, M., & Sidzumo, N. 1996. Women and violence: A metropolitan perspective. *Trauma review (of the National trauma research programme of the South African Medical Research Council), 4*(2), 6-7.

Steyn, E. 1996. Women and trauma. *Trauma review (of the National trauma research programme of the South African Medical Research Council), 4*(2), 1-2.

Strauss, A. L. 1987. *Qualitative analysis for social scientists*. Cambridge, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. 1990. *Basics of qualitative research: Grounded theory procedures and techniques*. Newbury Park, California: Sage Publications.

Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. 1994. Grounded theory methodology: An overview. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 273-285). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Stummer, H. 1986. Photo essay. *Current Sociology/La sociologie contemporaine: Theory and practice of visual sociology, 34*(3), 5-14.

Suchar, C. S. 1997. Grounding visual sociology research in shooting scripts. *Qualitative sociology, 20*(1), 33-55.

Surrey, J. L. 1987. Relationship and empowerment. *Work in progress, No. 30*. Wellesley, MA: Stone Center Working Papers Series.

Swartz, L. 2002. Fertility transition in South Africa. *Population division, Department of economic and social affairs, United Nations secretarial*. 29 July 2002. www.un.org/esa/population/publications/completingfertility/Swartzpaper.PDF.

Swartz, L., Ben-Arie, O., & Teggin, A. F. 1985. Subcultural delusions and hallucinations; Comments on the Present State Examination in a multi-cultural context. *British Journal of Psychiatry, 146*, 391-394.

Tagg, J. 1987. The burden of representation: Essays on photographies and histories. Basingstroke: Macmillan.

Tatum, B. D. 1997. Racial identity development and relational theory: The case of black women in white communities. In J. V. Jordan (Ed.), *Women's growth in diversity: More writings from the Stone Center* (pp. 91-106). New York: The Guilford Press.

Taureg, M. 1983. The development of standards for scientific films in German ethnography. In N. C. Bogaart, & H. W. Ketelaar (Eds.), *Methodology in anthropological filmmaking* (pp. 61-86). Göttingen: Edition Herodot.

Taylor, J. M., Gilligan, C., & Sullivan, A. 1995. *Between voice and silence: Women and girls, race and relationship*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University.

Thomas, E., Rickel, A., Butler, C., & Montgomery, E. 1990. Adolescent pregnancy and parenting. *Journal of primary prevention, 10*, 195-206.

Thomas, H. 1997. Dancing: Representation and difference. In J. McGuigan (Ed.), *Cultural methodologies* (pp. 142-154). London: Sage Publications.

Tomaselli, K. G. 1996. *Appropriating Images: The semiotics of visual representation*. Denmark: Intervention Press.

Turner, P. 1987. *History of photography*. Greenwich, CT: Brompton Books Corp.

Tyler, F. B., Tyler, S. L., Tommasello, A., & Connolly, M. R. 1992. Huckleberry Finn and street youth everywhere: An approach to primary prevention. In G. W. Albee, L. A. Bond & T.V.C. Monsey (Eds.), *Improving children's lives: Global perspectives on prevention* (pp. 200-212). Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Tyler, S. A. 1986. Post-modern ethnography: From document of the occult to occult document. In J. Clifford & G. Marcus (Eds.), *Writing culture: The poetics and politics of ethnography* (pp. 122-140). Berkeley: University of California Press.

Unger, D., & Colley, M. (1992). Partner and grandmother contact in Black and White teen parent families. *Journal of adolescent health care, 13*, 546-552.

Varga, C., & Makubalo, L. 1996. Sexual non-negotiation. *Agenda, 28*, 31-38.

Viljoen, 1995. *Metodologie en representasie*. Pretoria, South Africa: Human Sciences Research Council

Volpi, E. 2002. *Street children: Promising practices and approaches*. Washington, DC: World Bank Institute.

Voydanoff, P., & B. Donelly. 1990. Adolescent Sexuality and Pregnancy. *Family Studies Text* 12. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Wagner, J. (Ed.). 1979. *Images of information: Still photography in the social sciences.* Beverly Hills: Sage publications.

Wagner, J. 2001a. Does image-based field work have more to gain from extending or rejecting scientific realism? An essay in review. *Visual Sociology, 16*(2), 7-21.

Wagner, J. 2001b. Contrasting images, complementary trajectories: Sociology, visual sociology and visual research. *Sociological imagination, 38*(1/2), 7-27.

Walker, N. 1915. Greeks and Italians in the neighbourhood of Hull House. *American Journal of Sociology, 21*: 285-316.

Walker, A. L., & Moulton, R. K. 1989. Photo albums: Images of time and reflections of the self. *Qualitative sociology, 12*(2), 155-182.

Walker, R. 1993. Finding a silent voice for the researcher: Using photographs in evaluation and research. In M. Scratz (Ed.), *Qualitative voices in qualitative research* (pp. 72-92). London: Falmer Press.

Wang, C. 1999. Photovoice: A participatory action research strategy applied to women's health. *Journal of women's health, 8*(2), 185-192.

Wang, C. 2003. Using Photovoice as a participatory assessment and issue selection tool: A case study with the homeless in Ann Arbor. In M. Minkler & N. Wallerstein (Eds.), *Community-based participatory research for health* (pp. 179-196). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Wang, C., & Burris, M. A. 1994. Empowerment through Photo Novella: Portraits of participation. *Health education quarterly, 21*(2), 171-186.

Wang, C., Burris, M. A., & Ping, X. Y. 1996. Chinese village women as visual anthropologists: A participatory approach to researching policy makers. *Social Science Medicine, 42*(10), 1391-1400.

Wang, C., Burris, M. A., & Xiang, Y.P. 1996. Chinese village women as visual anthropologists: A participatory approach to reaching policy makers. *Social Science and Medicine, 42*(10), 1391-1400.

Wang, C., Wu, K. Y., Zhan, W. T., & Carovano, K. 1998. Photovoice as a participatory health promotion strategy. *Health Promotion International, 13*(1), 75-86.

Ward, J. T. 1991. Racial identity formation and transformation. In C. Gilligan, N. Lyons & T. Hammer (Eds.), *Making connections: The relational worlds of adolescents at Emma Willard High School* (pp. 215-232). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University.

Weber, S. (n.d.). Analysing visual qualitative data. Retrieved April 16, 2002, from Concordia University and McGill University, *Image and Identity Research Collective* (IIRC), http://www.iirc.mcgill.ca/about.html

Weiser, J. 1983. Using photographs in therapy with people who are 'different'. In D. A. Krauss & J. L. Fryrear (Eds.), *Phototherapy in mental health* (pp. 174-199). Springfield, IL: Charles Thomas Press.

West, A. 1996. Children's own research: Street children and care in Britain and Bangladesh. *Childhood, 6*(1), 145-155.

Whitmore, E., & McKee, C. 2001. Six street youth who could …. In P. Reason & H. Bradbury (Eds.), *Handbook of action research: Participative inquiry and practice* (pp. 396-402). London: Sage Publications.

Wilshire, D. 1992. The use of myth, image and the female body in re-visioning knowledge. In A. M. Jaggar & S. R. Bordo (Eds.), *Gender/Body/Knowledge: Feminist Reconstructions of being and knowledge* (pp. 92-114). New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press.

Wilson, H. L. & Smith, E. W. 1914. Among the Slovaks in the twentieth ward. *American Journal of Sociology, 20*: 145-169.

Wolff, R. 1976. The Polaroid technique: Spontaneous dialogues from the unconscious. *Art Psychotherapy, 3*, 197-214.

Wood, K., Maforah, F., & Jewkes, R. 1998. 'He forced me to love him': Putting violence on adolescent sexual health agendas. *Social Science medicine, 47*(2), 233-242.

Worth, S. 1980. Margaret Mead and the shift from 'visual anthropology' to the 'anthropology of visual communication'. *Studies in visual communication, 6*(1), 15-22.

Worth, S., & Adair, J. 1972. *Through Navajo Eyes: An exploration in film communication and anthropology*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Young, C. 1975. Observational cinema. In P. Hockings (Ed.), Principles of visual anthropology (pp. 65-80). The Hague: Mouton Publishers.

Young, L. & Barrett, H. 2001. Adapting visual methods: action research with Kampala street children. *Area, 33*(2): 141-152.

Young, T. M., Martin, S. S., Young, M. E., & Ting, L. 2001. Internal poverty and teen pregnancy. *Adolescence, 36*(142), 289-304.

Appendix A

The consent form

UNIVERSITEIT·STELLENBOSCH·UNIVERSITY
jou kennisvennoot • your knowledge partner

Intstemmingsvorm

Beste Deelnemer

Ons is van die *New Ways* projek (Departement Opvoedkundige Sielkunde en Spesiale Onderwys, Universiteit van Stellenbosch). Ons probeer om beter te verstaan hoe dit vir 'n tienermoeder soos jy moet wees in jou gemeenskap. Ons wil om hierdie rede graag vir jou vra om ons te help deur deel te neem aan ons studie. Ons wil vir jou vra om vir ons te wys wat ma-wees is deurdat jy foto's gaan neem en dan daaroor met ons gaan praat.

As jy instem om ons te help, sal jy foto's neem van hoe jy ma-wees verstaan en ervaar (ons sal natuurlik die kamera gee). Ons sal dan weer bymekaarkom en oor die foto's praat. Ons sal ook die byeenkomste met band opneem. Dit is belangrik om te verstaan dat hierdie opnaames slegs deur die navorser gebruik sal word. Gedurende byeenkomste gaan ons dalk praat oor persoonlike dinge en ons weet dat dit miskien dinge gaan wees wat dalk vir jou gaan herinner aan hartseer en moeilike gevoelens. Ons wil graag hê jy moet die volgende verstaan:
• Jy het die reg om ons vrae nie te antwoord nie.
• Jy kan die onderhoud enige tyd stop.
• As jy nie meer graag wil deelneem aan die studie nie, kan jy vra dat al jou foto's en opnammes van ons gespreke vernietig word.
• As jy voel jy het iemand proffesioneel nodig om jou te help met gevoelens wat uitgekom het in die gesprekke, kan ons jou help om die regte persoon te kry.
• Om seker te maak dit wat tussen ons gesê word, bly tussen ons, gaan ons jou 'n ander naam gee.

Laastens is ons deur die wet (Artikel 4 van die Voorkoming van Gesinsgeweldwet van 1993 Nr. 144,4) verplig om enige mishandeling teenoor jou of jou kind aan te meld by die
• polisie,
• kommisaris van kinderwelsyn of maatskaplike werker waarna werwys is in Artikel 1 van die Kinderberskermingswet, 1983.

As jy bereid is om ons te help, vul asseblief die aangehegte vorm in.

Baie dankie

Prof. A.G. Smit   Linda Liebenberg

Sosiologie en Sosiale Antropologie • Sociology and Social Anthropology

Universiteit van Stellenbosch/ University of Stellenbosch
Privaatsak/Private Bag X1 • Matieland, 7602 • Suid-Afrika / South Africa, Faks/Fax: +27 (0) 21 808 2023

Ek _____ besef dat my deelname in hierdie studie heeltemal vrywillig is en ek is bewus van die risiko's, voordele en nadele, en moontlike ongerief as gevolg van my deelname. Ek aanvaar en verstaan dat ek enige vrae kan vra en dat ek die reg het om te weier om vrae te antwoord as ek so verkies. Ek verstaan ook dat ek my deelname op enige stadium kan stop.

_____   _____
Deelnemer se handtekening   Datum

_____   _____
Getuie se handtekening   Datum

266

UNIVERSITEIT·STELLENBOSCH·UNIVERSITY
jou kennisvennoot • your knowledge partner

Consent Form

Dear Participant

We are from the *New Ways* Project (Department of Educational Psychology and Specialised Education, University of Stellenbosch). We are trying to better understand what it is like to be a teenage mother in your community. Because of this, we would like to ask you to assist us, by participating in our study. During this study we will be investigating how you experience and understand being a mother. To do this, we would like you to show us what motherhood means to you by taking photographs as well as talking to us about your personal story of motherhood.

If you agree to help us in this study, we will need you to take photographs of how you understand and experience motherhood (we will provide you with a camera). We will then meet to talk about your photographs. We need you to understand however, that we will be audio recording all our meetings. It is important to realise though that these tapes will only be used by the researcher involved.

During our meetings, it is also important that you are aware of the fact our discussions may involve issues that are very personal to you. We are aware that some of these issues may involve or remind you of painful memories and feelings. As such, you need to be made aware of the following:
• You have the right not to answer any of the questions that may be asked.
• You have the right to stop the interview at any time.
• If you decide not to assist us anymore, you have the right to ask for all your photographs and recordings of discussions to be destroyed.
• Should you at any point feel that you need professional assistance as a result of the issues discussed, we can refer you to an appropriate organisation.
• To make sure that what you say in our meetings remains between yourself and us, you will be given a false name.

Finally, we are obliged by law to report any cases of abuse regarding both you and you child (Section 4 the Prevention of Family Violence Act of 1993, Act No. 144, 4) to
• the police
• a commissioner of child welfare or a social worker referred to in section 1 of the Child care Act, 1983.

If you are willing to help us with this study, please complete the attached form.

Thank you
Prof A. G. Smit   Linda Liebenberg

Sosiologie en Sosiale Antropologie • Sociology and Social Anthropology

Universiteit van Stellenbosch/ University of Stellenbosch
Privaatsak/Private Bag X1 • Matieland, 7602 • Suid-Afrika / South Africa, Faks/Fax: +27 (0) 21 808 2023

I _____ acknowledge that my participation in this study is totally voluntary and that I am fully conscious of all risks, advantages and disadvantages, as well as any possible discontent associated with my participation. I accept the fact that I can ask questions and that I have the right not to answer any questions should I so choose. I also understand that I can terminate participation at any time.

_____   _____

Participant's signature   Date

_____   _____

Witness's signature   Date

Appendix B

The image release form

UNIVERSITEIT·STELLENBOSCH·UNIVERSITY
jou kennisvennoot • your knowledge partner

Uitbeeldingsvrystellingsvorm

Ek, die ondergetekende, gee hiermee ten volle toestemming dat Linda Liebenberg die foto's wat ek geneem het gedurende haar navorsing, en waarvan ek kopiereg het, sowel as die daaropvolgende onderhoud materiaal, kan gebruik en publiseer op enige wyse wat sy mag goedvind. Enige foto's of materiaal waarop hierdie toestemming nie betrekkking het nie, word hieronder gelys.

_____   _____

Naam   Datum

_____

Handtekening

Die volgende foto's en/of uittreksels van onderhoude mag nie gebruik word vir doeleindes van kopiëring of publikasie nie:

Sosiologie en Sosiale Antropologie • Sociology and Social Anthropology

Universiteit van Stellenbosch/ University of Stellenbosch
Privaatsak/Private Bag X1 • Matieland, 7602 • Suid-Afrika / South Africa, Faks/Fax: +27 (0) 21 808 2023

UNIVERSITEIT·STELLENBOSCH·UNIVERSITY
jou kennisvennoot • your knowledge partner

Image release form

I hereby give full consent to Linda Liebenberg to use – in any way she sees fit – the images I have constructed during her research - of which I have copyright - as well as the resulting interview material. Any exceptions I have to either, are listed below and initialled by myself.

_____   _____

Name   Date

_____

Signature

The following images or transcript sections may not be used for reprint or public display:

Sosiologie en Sosiale Antropologie • Sociology and Social Anthropology

Universiteit van Stellenbosch/ University of Stellenbosch
Privaatsak/Private Bag X1 • Matieland, 7602 • Suid-Afrika / South Africa, Faks/Fax: +27 (0) 21 808 2023

Appendix C

The photo guide

UNIVERSITEIT·STELLENBOSCH·UNIVERSITY
jou kennisvennoot · your knowledge partner

Gids vir foto's

Kan jy asseblief gedurende die komende week foto's neem wat meer vertel oor die volgende:

- hoe jy ma-wees ervaar
- wat moelik is van ma-wees
- wat vir jou belonend is van ma-wees (wat is positief van ma-wees)
- wat jou gelukkig maak
- wat jou hartseer maak

Onthou asseblief dat hierdie vrae dien as 'n gids. Probeer om te wys hoe jy voel, wees kreatief en probeer om die foto's persoonlik te hou (dit moet dus oor jou lewe gaan).

Dankie

Linda

Sosiologie en Sosiale Antropologie • Sociology and Social Anthropology

Universiteit van Stellenbosch/ University of Stellenbosch
Privaatsak/Private Bag X1 • Matieland, 7602 • Suid-Afrika / South Africa, Faks/Fax: +27 (0) 21 808 2023

UNIVERSITEIT·STELLENBOSCH·UNIVERSITY
jou kennisvennoot • your knowledge partner

Guide for photographs

Please could you take photographs during the following week that reflect:

- how you experience being a mother
- what is difficult about being a mother
- what is rewarding about being a mother
- what makes you happy
- what makes you sad

Please remember that these questions only serve as a guide for you. Please try to be expressive, creative and to keep the photographs about you.

Thanks

Linda

Sosiologie en Sosiale Antropologie • Sociology and Social Anthropology

Universiteit van Stellenbosch/ University of Stellenbosch
Privaatsak/Private Bag X1 • Matieland, 7602 • Suid-Afrika / South Africa, Faks/Fax: +27 (0) 21 808 2023

Appendix D

The interview guide

Onderhoudshandleiding

Hierdie handleiding beoog om die ervaring van tienermoeders in die konteks van armoede in 'n sub-ekonomiese gemeenskap te evalueer. Die volgende vrae gaan gevra word:

- Kies die foto waarvan jy die meeste hou asook die een waarvan jy die minste hou. Verduidelik waarom jy hierdie foto's gekies het.
- Kies die foto wat ma-wees die heel beste vir jou uitbeeld/verteenwoordig. Kies ook die foto wat die heel verste van dit wat ma-wees regtig is, vir jou uitbeeld.(Hierdie twee foto's word dan bespreek)
- Watter foto wys wat jy die heel meeste van ma-wees geniet en watter foto wys wat jy nie van ma-wees hou nie. Verduidelik..
- Is daar enige ander foto waaroor jy graag wil praat?
- Is daar enige foto waaroor jy nie wil praat nie? Hoekom nie?

Die volgende onderwerpe sal gëevalueer word deur aanmoedigende vrae:

- Wat is moelik van ma-wees?
- Wat is belonend van ma-wees?
- Wat sal jou kan help met hoe jy jou kind grootmaak?
- Wat is jou ouers se houding teenoor jou swangerskap en jou rol as ma?
- Wat het jy geleer deurdat jy ma is? OF Wat het ma-wees jou geleer?
- Het jy beplan om swanger te raak?
- Het jy geweet jy was swanger?
- Hoe het jy gevoel toe jy uitvind dat jy swanger is?
- Beskryf jou swangerskap.
- Het jy geboorte gegee in 'n hospital?
- Het jy natuurlik beboorte gegee of het jy 'n Kaeser-snit gehad?
- Hoe het jy gevoel tydens/na die geboorte van jou kind?
- Beskryf jou ondervinding.
- Hoe voel jy daaroor om 'n ma te wees?
- Beskryf hoe dit voel om 'n ma te wees.
- Ondersoek "moederskap as 'n keuse".
- Ondersoek die etiek van moederskap (nl. Die sosiaal gedefinieerde /aanvaarbare rolle/aksies, en hoe dié jong vrouens hierteenoor reageer / pas dit in hul lewens in).

Interview Guideline

This guideline aims at assessing the experience of teenage motherhood in the context of poverty of sub-economic communities. The following questions will be asked:
- Pick the photograph you like the most as well as the one you like the least. Explain to me why it is that you selected these photographs
- Pick the photograph that expresses/represents motherhood the best for you, as well as the one that is most removed from the realities of motherhood for you. (These two images are then discussed)
- Which photographs illustrate what you most and least enjoy about motherhood. Explain them.
- Is there any other photograph here that you would like to discuss?
- Is there any other photograph here that you would not like to discuss? Why is this?

The following issues will be assessed by means of probes:
- What is difficult about being a mother?
- What is rewarding about being a mother?
- What could help *you* in your efforts to raise your child?
- What are your parents' attitudes towards your pregnancy and your role as mother?
- What have you learnt through motherhood? OR What has motherhood taught you?
- Was your pregnancy planned?
- Did you know you were pregnant?
- How did you feel when you found out you were pregnant?
- Describe your pregnancy?
- Did you give birth in a hospital?
- Did you give birth naturally, or did you have a caesarean?
- How did you feel when/once you had given birth?
- Describe your experience
- How do you feel about being a mom?
- Describe being a mom
- Explore 'motherhood has a choice'
- Explore 'the ethics of motherhood' (i.e. socially defined/acceptable roles/actions and how these young women relate to this / fit this into their lives

Appendix E

Informal questionnaire

UNIVERSITEIT·STELLENBOSCH·UNIVERSITY
jou kennisvennoot • your knowledge partner

Informele vraelys

1. Wat is jou naam? _____

2. Hoe oud is jy? _____

3. Hoe oud was jy toe jy vir die eerste keer swanger geraak het? _____

4. Hoe oud was jy toe jy jou baba gehad het? _____

5. Hoe oud is jou baba nou? _____

6. Hoeveel kinders het jy? _____

7. Hoeveel keer was jy al swanger? _____

8.1 Het jy voorbehoedmiddels gebruik to jy swanger geraak het? _____

8.2 Indien wel, wat? _____

9. Het jy 'n alternatief oorweeg as om jou baba te behou? _____

9.1 Indien 'ja', wat?

_____
_____
_____
_____

9.2 Hoekom het jy teen hierdie opsies besluit?

_____
_____
_____
_____

Sosiologie en Sosiale Antropologie • Sociology and Social Anthropology

Universiteit van Stellenbosch/ University of Stellenbosch
Privaatsak/Private Bag X1 • Matieland, 7602 • Suid-Afrika / South Africa, Faks/Fax: +27 (0) 21 808 2023

9.3 Indien jy 'nee' geantwoord het by nr. 9, hoekom het jy nie ander opsies oorweeg nie?
_____
_____
_____
_____

10. Weet die baba se pa van die baba / swangerskap? _____
10.1. Indien jy 'nee' geantwoord het, hoekom nie?

_____
_____
_____

10.2 Indien jy 'ja' geantwoord het, is hy betroke by die swangerskap / grootmaak van die kind?
_____
_____
_____

10.2.1 Indien jy 'nee' geantwoord het by 10.2, hoekom nie?
_____
_____
_____

10.2.1.1 Sou jy graag wou hê dat hy betrokke moet wees? _____
Hoekom?_____
_____
_____

10.2.1.2 Hoe wou jy gehad het dat hy betroke moet wees?
_____
_____
_____

10.2.2 Indien jy 'ja' geantwoord het by 10.2, hoe is hy betrokke?
_____
_____

10.2.3 Tot watter mate is hy betrokke?
_____
_____
_____

11. Het jou baba 'n geboortesertifikaat? _____
11.1 Indien jy 'nee' geantwoord het, hoekom nie?

_____
_____
_____

280

11.2 Indien jy 'ja' geantwoord het, hoe het jy dit gedoen?

_____
_____
_____
_____

12. Is jou baba geregistreerd by die departement van binnelandse sake? _____
12.1 Indien jy 'nee' geantwoord het by nr 12, hoekom nie?

_____
_____
_____

12.2 Indien jy 'ja' geantwoord het by nr 12, hoe het jy dit gedoen?

_____
_____
_____
_____

13. Ontvang jy 'n toelaag vir jou baba? _____
13.1 Indien jy 'nee' geantwoord het by nr 13, hoekom nie?

_____
_____
_____

13.2 Indien jy 'ja' beantwoord het by nr 13, watter toelaag kry jy?

_____
_____
_____

13.2.1 Hoeveel is die toelaag? _____
13.2.2 Help hierdie toelaag vir jou? _____
13.2.3 Verduidelik asseblief jou antwoord by 13.2.2

_____
_____
_____

14. Besoek jy gereeld die kliniek? _____
14.1 Hoekom?

_____
_____

14.2 Indien jy wel die kliniek besoek, hoe kom jy daar?

_____
_____
_____

15.1 Wat is die laaste graad van skool wat jy klaar gemaak het? _____
15.2 Woon jy nog skool by? _____

15.2.1 Indien jy 'ja' geantwoord het by nr 15.2, wat se tipe ondersteuning kry jy by die skool – indien jy wel ondersteuning kry?

_____
_____
_____

15.2.2 Indien jy 'nee' geantwoord het by nr 15.2, beplan jy om ooit terug skool toe te gaan?

Hoekom sê jy so?

_____
_____
_____

Wanner? _____
Hoe beplan jy om dit te doen?

_____
_____
_____

UNIVERSITEIT·STELLENBOSCH·UNIVERSITY
jou kennisvennoot • your knowledge partner

Informal questionnaire

1. What is your name? _____

2. How old are you? _____

3. How old were you when you became pregnant for the first time? _____

4. How old were you when you had your baby? _____

5. How old is your baby now? _____

6. How many children do you have? _____

7. How many times have you been pregnant? _____

8.1 Were you using contraceptives when you became pregnant?

_____

8.2 If yes, what? _____

9. Did you consider an alternative to keeping your baby? _____

9.1 If 'yes' what?

_____

_____

_____

_____

9.2 Why did you decide against this option?

_____

_____

_____

_____

Sosiologie en Sosiale Antropologie • Sociology and Social Anthropology

Universiteit van Stellenbosch/ University of Stellenbosch
Privaatsak/Private Bag X1 • Matieland, 7602 • Suid-Afrika / South Africa, Faks/Fax: +27 (0) 21 808 2023

9.3 If you answered 'no' to no. 8, why did you not consider other options?

_____
_____
_____
_____

10. Does the baby's father know about your pregnancy/the baby? _____
10.1. If you answered 'no', why not?

_____
_____
_____

10.2 If you answered 'yes', is he involved with your pregnancy/raising your child?

_____
_____
_____

10.2.1 If you answered 'no' at 10.2, why not?

_____
_____
_____

10.2.1.1 Would you like for him to be involved? _____
Why?_____

_____
_____
_____

10.2.1.2 How would you have liked him to be involved?

_____
_____
_____
_____

10.2.2 If you answered 'yes' at 10.2, how is he involved?

_____
_____
_____

10.2.3 To what extent is he involved?

_____
_____
_____
_____

11. Does your baby have a birth certificate? _____
11.1 If you answered 'no', why not?

_____
_____
_____
_____

11.2 If you answered 'yes', how did you obtain this?

_____

_____

_____

_____

12. Is your baby registered at the Department of Home Affairs? _____

12.1 If you answered 'no', why not?

_____

_____

_____

12.2 If you answered 'yes', how did you go about this?

_____

_____

_____

_____

13. Do you receive a grant for your baby? _____

13.1 If you answered 'no', why not?

_____

_____

_____

13.2 If you answered 'yes', what grant do you recieve?

_____

_____

_____

13.2.1 How much is the grant? _____

13.2.2 Does the grant help you? _____

13.2.3 Please explain your answer at 13.2.2

_____

_____

_____

_____

14. Do you visit the clinic regulalry? _____

14.1 Why?

_____

_____

_____

14.2 If you do visit the clinic, how do you get there?

_____

_____

_____

_____

15.1 What is the last grade of school that you have completed? _____

15.2 Do you still attend school? _____

15.2.1 If you answered 'yes', what type of support do you receive at school – should you receive support at all?

_____
_____
_____
_____

15.2.2 If you answered 'no', do you plan on returning to school? _____

Why do you say so?

_____
_____
_____
_____

When? _____

Do you have any plans regarding this?

_____
_____
_____
_____

Appendix F

Dates and setting of data capturing

UNIVERSITEIT·STELLENBOSCH·UNIVERSITY
jou kennisvennoot • your knowledge partner

AKTIWITEITS DAGBOEK

Dag en datum	Byeenkoms	Aktiwiteit
Woensdag 24 April	Inleidings-byeenkoms	Jy gaan 'n toestemmingsvorm ontvang waaroor jy mooi moet gaan dink voor jy dit teken. As jy instem om deel te neem gaan jy die vorm moet teken en aan my teruggee by ons volgende ontmoeting (d.w.s. Maandag 29 April)
Maandag 29 April	Ontvang kameras	Gedurende hierdie ontmoeting gaan jy jou getekende toestemmingsvorm aan my teruggee sodat jy aan die studie kan deelneem. Wanneer ek jou getekende toestemmingsvorm ontvang het, sal ek 'n kamera aan jou gee. Ek sal ook vir jou wys hoe die kamera werk. Jy gaan 'n week hê om foto's te neem. Ons gaan ook 'n tyd bepaal vir ons volgende byeenkoms volgende Maandag. Ek gaan na ons ontmoeting beskikbaar wees vir enige vrae wat jy graag wil bespreek.
Maandag 6 Mei	Teruggee van kameras	Die hele groep gaan weer ontmoet om die kameras terug te gee. By hierdie ontmoeting sal jy ook aan my kan vertel hoe jy gevoel het toe jy die foto's geneem het. Ons gaan ook op 'n tyd besluit vir die onderhoude wat op Woensdag en Vrydag gaan plaasvind. Ek sal weer beskikbaar wees na die ontmoeting as jy enige iets wil bespreek.
Woesndag 8 Mei	Onderhoude	Ek gaan jou vandag alleen ontmoet. Ons gaan jou foto's bespreek asook jou ervaring van ma-wees.
Vrydag 10 Mei	Groep-onderhoud	Ons gaan weer as 'n groep ontmoet vandag. Ons gaan die foto's wat julle gekies het vandag bespreek en jy sal jou ervarings met die groep kan bespreek. Ons gaan ook by hierdie ontmoeting vir mekaar groet vir eers.
Ek sal dalk vir jou moet kontak gedurende die volgende paar maande as ek bv. by jou wil seker maak of ons sekere goed reg verstaan het in die onderhoude. Terrence sal vir jou sê indien dit sou nodig wees.		

Sosiologie en Sosiale Antropologie • Sociology and Social Anthropology

Universiteit van Stellenbosch/ University of Stellenbosch
Privaatsak/Private Bag X1 • Matieland, 7602 • Suid-Afrika / South Africa, Faks/Fax: +27 (0) 21 808 2023

UNIVERSITEIT·STELLENBOSCH·UNIVERSITY
jou kennisvennoot • your knowledge partner

ACTIVITY TIME LINE		
Day & date	**Meeting**	**Activity**
Wednesday 24th April	Introductory meeting	You will be receiving a consent form that you will need to think carefully about signing. If you agree to participate, you will need to sign this form and return it to me at our next meeting (i.e. Monday the 29th April).
Monday 29th April	Receive cameras	You will need to return your signed consent form at this meeting in order to participate in the study. Once I have received your signed consent form, I will provide you with a camera. I will also show you how the camera works. You will have a week to take the photographs in. We will also establish a time for meeting next Monday. I will be available after our meeting should you have any questions you want to discuss.
Monday 6th May	Return cameras	The entire group will meet again to return their cameras. This meeting will also give you the opportunity to tell me about your experiences of taking the photographs. We will also establish a time for interviews on Wednesday and Friday. Once again I will be available after the meeting should you want to discuss anything with me.
Wednesday 8th May	Interviews	I will meet with you alone today. We will be discussing your photographs and your experiences of motherhood.
Friday 10th May Changed to Monday 13th May to accom- modate participants	Group interview	We will all meet as a group again today, where we will discuss photographs that you have all chosen and you will be able to share your experiences in the group. We will also take this opportunity to say good-bye to each other for a while.
I may need to contact you at some point during the following months to ensure that I have correctly understood some of the things you have told me during our meetings. Terrance will inform you if this is necessary.		

Sosiologie en Sosiale Antropologie • Sociology and Social Anthropology

Universiteit van Stellenbosch/ University of Stellenbosch
Privaatsak/Private Bag X1 • Matieland, 7602 • Suid-Afrika / South Africa, Faks/Fax: +27 (0) 21 808 2023

Appendix G

Second research questions

Tweede navorsingsvraag: Brenda

Jou seun is klaarblyklik sentraal in jou lewe. Sal jy aseblief foto's neem wat jou verhouding met hom uitbeeld?

Second research question: Brenda

You son is obviously central to your life. Please could you make photographs that illustrate your relationship with him?

Tweede navorsingsvraag: Carol

Die ma-dogter-kind-verhouding

In ons voorige onderhoude het jy die volgende gesê:
I: Hoekom hou jy van hierdie een?
C: Omdat my ma baie omgee vir die kind omdat die kind se pa nou nog nie werk nie en ek werk ook nie en my ma en die kind se ouma koop meer vir die kind en gee om vir ons en … my ma't gesê as ek moet skoolgaan gaan my nog ma vir my koop wat ek wil hê. My ma is baie goed vir my en ek is lief vir my ma.
I: Jou ma is baie ondersteunend?
C: Ja.
I: En haar ondersteuning is baie belangrik vir jou?
C: Ja, my ma staan my altyd by en …

I: Watter foto wys wat jy die heel meeste van ma-wees geniet?
C: [Car2] Ek weet nou nie watter een van daai twee nie, want hy gee vir die kind bottel. Daai ene.
I: Die een van jou ma? Weer? Hoekom?
C: Omdat my ma gee baie om en my ma hou baie van die kind en … in die aande as my ma uit die werk uit gekom het dan gryp my ma haar eerste as sy van haar ouma-hulle af gekom het en sy sit heeltyd met haar.
I: Sê vir my … wat is dit oor jou ma se verhouding met jou kind wat dit vir jou so lekker maak om 'n ma te wees?
C: As my ma vir haar hou en my ma stuur miskien nou vir my of my ma gee vir my 'n werk om te doen, dan sit my ma met haar en … wat ek my ma vra kan ek en hy gou na hulle toe gaan en dis laat miskien dan kan sy mos nou nie saamgaan nie dan hou my ma vir haar.
I: So is daar 'n spesiale verhouding tussen jou en jou ma noudat jy die kind het, wat nie tevore daar was nie? So, jou ma se verhouding met die kind … maak dit dat jy nog lekker goed kan doen? Jy kan nog uitgaan en alles. So sy maak dit vir jou makliker om 'n ma te wees? Of nie regtig nie?
C: Ja.

Kan jy aseblief vir my wys watter rol speel jou ma om jou te ondersteun in jou rol as ma-wees?

Second research question: Carol

The mother-daughter-child bond

In our previous discussions, you said the following:
I: Why do you like this one more?
C: Because my mother cares a lot for the child because the child's father is still not working and I do not work either, and my mother and the child's grandmother buys more for the child and cares for us… my mother said that when I have to go to school, she will buy whatever I need. My mother is very good to me, and I love my mother.
I: Your mother is very supportive?
C: Yes.
I: And her support is very important to you?
C: Yes, my mother always stands by me and…

I: Which photo shows what you enjoy most about being a mother?
C: [Car2] I do not know which one of those two, because he is giving a bottle to the child. That one.
I: The one of your mother? Again? Why?
C: Because my mother cares a lot and she likes the child a lot and… in the evenings when my mother comes back from work, then my mother grabs her first when she has come from my grandmother's and she sits with her the entire time.
I: Tell me… what is it about your mother's relationship with your child that makes it so nice for you to be a mother?
C: When my mother holds her and my mother mabe sends me or gives me a chore to do, then my mother sits with her and … when I ask my mother if him and me can can quickly go to them and its late, then she can of course not go with, and then my mother holds her.
I: So is there a special relationship between you and your mother now that you have the child that was not there before? So, your mother's relationship with the child… does that make that you can still do nice things? You can still go out and everything. So she makes it easier for you to be a mother? Or not really?
C: Yes.

Based on this, could you please show me the role your mother plays in supporting you in being a mother yourself?

294

Tweede navorsingsgvraag: LouAnn

Voor en na die swangerskap: Wie was ek; wie is ek nou?

Jy het die volgende gesê oor 'n foto waarvan jy baie hou, wat een van jou vriende uitbeeld:

LA: Dit is my vriende – my portuurgroep by die huis. Hulle is altyd daar vir my. Ek wou nie eers vir hulle gesê het nie, want hulle het altyd opgekyk na my. Hulle sal nie wil hê dat ek voor die tyd moet swanger raak nie. Hier in Uitsig is daar baie jong mammies.
I: Maar ten spyte van dit, is hulle baie ondersteunend en hulle bly jou vriende?
LA: Ja
I: En voel jy hulle vriendskap help jou baie deur hierdie tyd?
LA: Ja, baie. Hulle is baie supportive
I: Dit is wonderlik. Voel jy jy het baie ondersteuning, want dit klink vir my so.
LA: Ja
I: En as dit nie vir jou vriende was nie, sê nou jou vriende was, maar jou ouers was nie, sou dit vir jou moeilik gewees het?
LA: Baie, want ek woon in die huis by my ouers.
I: En as dit andersom was – as jy baie ondersteuning gekry het van jou ouers, maar nie van jou vriende nie?
LA: Dan het ek skool verlaat.
I: Al was die onderwysers baie ondersteunend?
LA: Ja, want ek is baie lief vir my vriende.

Later sê jy dat van die seuns in jou klas jou spot maar dat jy besluit het om die jaar op skool klaar te maak – dat jy dit sal maak ('ek het vir myself gesê ek kan dit maak'). Jy sê ook:
LA: Ja, my doel is eintlik – ek is wie ek is. Ek moet nie worry oor wat ander mense van my dink en sê nie. Ek is uniek.
I: Jy is trots op jouself.
LA: Ja

Dit lyk dus, soos jy jouself beskryf, of jy baie ondersteuning van jou familie en vriende kry, maar dit lyk ook of jy sterk selfbeeld het en dat jy oor baie innerlike sterkte beskik. Wys asseblief vir my die volgende: Hoe sal jy jouself beskryf? Hoe is dit anders as voor jy swanger was? Watter rol speel jou familie en vriende in hoe jy jouself sien?

Second research question: LouAnn

Before and after pregnancy: Who was I; who am I now?

As a photograph you like a lot, you choose an image of your friends. You then said the following about it:

LA: These are my friends – my peergroup at home. They are always there for me. At first I did not want to tell them, because they have always looked up to me. They would not want for me to become pregnant before the time. Here in Uitsig there are a lot of mothers.

I: But in spite of this, are they very supportive and do they remain your friends?

LA: Yes.

I: And do you feel that their friendship helps you a lot through this time?

LA: Yes, a lot. They are very supportive.

I: That is wonderful. Do you feel that you receive a lot of support, because it sounds like that to me.

LA: Yes.

I: And if it wasn't for your friends, Let's say your friends were, but your parents were not, would that have been very difficult for you?

LA: Very, since I live at home with my parents.

I: And if it was the other way around – if you received a lot of support from your parents, but not from your friends?

LA: Then I would have left school.

I: Even if the teachers were very supportive?

LA: Yes, because I love my friends very much.

Later on you talk about the fact that many of the boys in your class tease you but that you have made up your mind to stick this year out – that you will make it ('ek het vir myself gesê ek kan dit maak'). You also say:

LA: Yes, my goal is actually – who I am. I must not worry about what other people think and say. I am unique.

I: You are proud of yourself?

LA: Yes.

So, in addition to the support you get from your family and friends, it seems as though you have a very good self-image and that you have allot of inner-strength, from the way in which you define yourself.

Please could you show me the following: How do you define yourself? How is this different to before you were pregnant? What role do your family and friends play in how you see yourself?

Tweede navorsingsvraag: Lucy

<u>In ons voorige onderhoude het jy die volgende gesê:</u>

Ek verstaan nie eintlik wat dit is om `n ma te wees nie, want ek is nog nie een nie. Maar ek moet nie meer na my ma kan kyk nie. Ek moet op my eie twee voete staan, want ek het nou iemand om voor te sorg. Dit is nou my deel daai.

———————————————————

L: En ek het baie daaruit geleer.
I: Regtig? Vertel my meer daarvan.
L: Toe ek die foto gevat het van die baby.
I: Dis nou toe die baby in die bad was?
L: Ja, toe dink ek by myself as my baby nou kom, hoe gaan dit wees.
I: Het dit jou angstig gemaak?
L: Nee, nie eintlik nie.

———————————————————

Kan jy aseblief vir my wys hoe dit nou voel, nou dat die baba gekom het? Hoe verstaan jy ma-wees nou?
(Voor en na kraam).

297

Second research question: Lucy

<u>In our previous discussions, you said the following:</u>

I do not really understand what it is like being a mother, because I am not one yet. But I should not look towards my mother any more. I must stand on my own two feet, since I now have someone to look after. That is now my part.

L: I have learnt a lot from this.
I: Really? Tell me more about this.
L: When I took the photo of the baby.
I: Is this now when the baby was in the bath?
L: Yes, then I thought by myself, when my baby comes, how will it be.
I: Did it make you anxious?
L: No, not really.

So, how is it now that the baby has arrived? How do you understand motherhood now? (Before and after childbirth). Please could you show me this?

Tweede navorsingsvraag: Nici

In ons voorige onderhoude het jy die volgende gesê:

N: Ek gee vir hulle liefde en ek wil nie hê hulle moet ombeskof opgroei nie en vloek en so aan nie. Ek wil nie hê hulle moet rou opgroei nie. Hulle moet vir my respek het.
I: So hulle moet ordentlik grootword.
N: Ja, al is hulle nie in `n ordentlike plek nie, maar hulle moet ordentlik grootraak.

———————————————————————

Kan jy aseblief vir my die volgende wys:
- Wat beteken respek vir jou?
- Hoe dink jy lyk goeie/goed-manierde kinders – wanneer hulle jonk is en wanneer hulle grootword?
- Watter rol speel die pa hierin?

Second research question: Nici

<u>In our previous discussions, you said the following:</u>

N: I give them love and I do not want them to grow up to be rude and swear and the like. I do not wish them to grow up raw. They must have respect for me.
I: So they must grow up decently.
N: Yes, even if they are not in a decent place, but they must grow up decent.

Please could you show me the following:
- What is 'respect' to you?
- What do good/well behaved children look like – when they are young and when they grow up?
- What role do father play in this?

Appendix H

Afrikaans transcripts

TEENAGE MOTHERS (06/05/2002)
Debriefing Interview
Lucy; Nici; Carol

001   I: Sê vir my hoe was dit om die fotos te neem?
002   R: Lekker
003   I: Het julle geen nare ondervindings gehad om die fotos te neem nie?
004   R: Nee
005   I: So was dit net vir julle pret?
006   R: Ja
007   I: Is daar enigiets wat julle wil sê oor die fotoneem?
008   R: Ek het dit baie geniet.
009   Lucy: En ek het baie daaruit geleer.
010   I: Regtig? Vertel my meer daarvan.
011   Lucy: Toe ek die foto gevat het van die baby.
012   I: Dis nou toe die baby in die bad was?
013   Lucy: Ja, toe dink ek by myself as my baby nou kom, hoe gaan dit wees.
014   I: Het dit jou angstig gemaak?
015   Lucy:Nee, nie eintlik nie.
016   I: Dit is goed.
017   Nici: Ek het dit ook baie geniet om die fotos te vat van my twee kinders. Toe ek by
018   die huis gekom het, toe vat ek sommer dadelik van hulle.
019   Carol: Ek het die foto gevat van my ma wat hom droogmaak.
020   I: Sê vir my het hulle miskien toe julle die fotos geneem het, het dit julle anders laat
021   dink?
022   R: Ek het nog nie. Ek gaan nou dink.
023   I: So julle het eintlik nie anders oor dinge begin dink nie.
024   R: Nee
025   I: Is julle opgewonde om te sien hoe die fotos lyk?
026   R: Ja
027   I: Het jy net 8 geneem?
028   LouAnn: Ja
029   I: Het jy dit moeilik gevind om iets raak te sien om af te neem?
030   LouAnn: Ja
031   I: Maar julle twee het nie?
032   R: Nee, ek geniet dit om fotos te vat.
033   R: Dit was nie so maklik gewees nie, maar ek het geprobeer.
034   I: Wat het dit moeilik vir julle gemaak?
035   R: Ek het nie kans gekry om als te vat nie, want ek was te besig.
036   I: Ok. Dit is vir my belangrik om te hoor wat julle sê.
037   R: Jy vra mos nou vir iemand om `n foto van jou te neem en dan sê hulle nee hulle
038   wil nie hê nie en dan moet jy nou vir hulle sê waaroor dit gaan en als.
039   I: Het julle enigiets anders te sê oor die neem van die fotos?
040   R: Nee, dit was net lekker.
041   Carol: Ja, ek kry nie altyd die geleentheid om fotos te vat nie en sy het nie eintlik
042   fotos nie en nou het ek die geleentheid gekry om van haar fotos te vat.

302

TEENAGE MOTHERS (13/05/2002)
Focus Group Interview
Lucy; Nici; LouAnn; Carol

001 I: Ek wil met julle gesels oor julle ervarings met die navorsing. Hoe was die
002 afgelope 2/3 weke vir julle?
003 R: Dit was vir my oraait
004 I: Ek is baie bly om dit te hoor, want ek was bekommerd dat dit vir julle `n irritasie
005 sou wees.
006 R: Ek het dit geniet.
007 I: Wat was lekker vir julle?
008 R: Want jy kan fotos vat en praat.
009 R: En as iemand vra waaroor die fotos gaan, dan verduidelik jy en so.
010 I: Die fotoneem deel – wat was lekker daaraan vir julle?
011 R: Vir my was dit elke foto wat ek geneem het, daar is `n doel waaroor ek die foto
012 geneem het – ek moet praat daaroor. Sommige tye neem jy foto en dan weet jy nie
013 eintlik hoekom jy dit geneem het nie.
014 I: So dit het vir jou die geleentheid gegee om oor goed te dink.
015 R: Ja
016 I: En jy het dit geniet?
017 R: Ja
018 I: En om oor die fotos te praat? Hoe was dit gewees?
019 R: Dit was lekker gewees en ons moes mos fotos gekies het ook – ek het die
020 geleentheid gekry om fotos van my kinders te neem. Dit was lekker.
021 I: Jy het gesê dit was lekker gewees om fotos te kies om oor te gesels. Hoekom
022 was dit lekker vir jou?
023 R: Dat ek kan gepraat het en oor die kinders.
024 I: Wat het julle nie van die afgelope drie weke geniet nie?
025 R: Ek het als geniet. Daar was nie eintlik iets wat verkeerd gewees het nie.
026 R: Vir my die eerste dag toe ek hier gekom het, toe word vir my gevra of ek deel wil
027 neem. Ek het nie eintlik van die idee gehou nie. Ek was eers bang – wie gaan almal
028 nou weet en elkeen gaan uit die klas uit geroep word en dan gaan almal wonder
029 wat aangaan. Nou worry ek nie meer nie. Al my klasvriende weet nou. Ek kan nou
030 niks daaraan doen nie.
031 I: Toe ons daai eerste keer bymekaar gekom het, was daar toe iets waaroor julle
032 bekommerd was?
033 R: Ek het gedink miskien as agterna mense (social workers) kom kyk na die kinders
034 of so.
035 I: Is julle bang vir die social workers?
036 R: Ek is nie eintlik bang nie, maar mens se kind wil jy nie weg van jou af hê nie.
037 I: Kom neem die social workers baie die kinders weg?
038 R: Ja, soos my antie se kind. My antie-hulle het gedrink. Toe het haar tjommies vir
039 die kind wyn gegee en toe kan die kind nie eers staan en sien nie en toe het my
040 ouma die social workers gebel en toe kom haal hulle die kind. Hulle sê sy is nalatig
041 en sy het nou die kind gekry vir die vakansie, maar toe kom haal hulle weer die
042 kind.
043 R: My vriend het ook `n baby en sy en haar baby het by haar skoonmense gebly en
044 toe het sy nou die naweek Uitsig toe gekom en toe het sy weer huis toe gegaan en
045 toe het hulle nou die social worker gebel, want sy bly nou elke naweek hier en dan
046 bring sy die kind saam en dan drink sy en toe het hulle nou ook die kind
047 weggeneem. Nou is hulle spyt, maar haar skoonmense kry nou elke naweek die
048 kind.

303

049   I: Wat het julle families gedink van julle deelname in die studie?
050   R: My ma het gesê dit is ok as ek gelukkig is daarmee.
051   R: My ma het gesê dit is goed dat hulle ons bymekaar roep.
052   R: My ma het gevra of dit nie in my skoolwerk gaan inmeng nie.
053   I: Ek dink veral nou wat jy moet klaarmaak met skool.
054   R: My ouma was ook gelukkig gewees.
055   I: En julle boyfriends? Het hulle geweet van die navorsing?
056   R: My vriend het vir my gevra of ek regtig wil deelneem en hoekom ek en of ek nie
057   bang is hulle wys my gesig vir almal nie. Toe sê ek nee hulle het vir ons verduidelik
058   waaroor dit gaan.
059   I: Wat dink julle van hierdie navorsing? Dink julle dit is `n mors van tyd of belangrik?
060   R: Dit is belangrik
061   I: So dink julle dit is nodig?
062   R: Ja, want hier in **** is daar baie en daar gebeur baie dinge.
063   I: Hoe voel die res van julle?
064   R: Dieselfde
065   I: Ek wil nou bietjie meer oor die fotos self praat. Hoe het dit vir julle gevoel toe ek
066   vir julle `n kamera gee en sê gaan neem fotos vir my.
067   R: Ek het gelukkig gevoel. Ek hou van fotos vat.
068   I: So jy was bly daaroor.
069   R: Ja, somtyds is dit once in a while dat jy die geleentheid kry om self fotos te vat.
070   R: Ek het gedink nou wat gaan ek nou eintlik vat. Ek was bang ek vang verkeerde
071   goed uit, maar toe ek nou eers begin om dit te neem, toe raak dit beter. Ek het
072   reggekom.
073   R: Ek was ook bly toe Linda sê ons gaan elkeen `n kamera kry.
074   I: Nadat julle die fotos geneem het, hoe het die fotos julle laat voel oor julle lewens?
075   Het dit `n verskil gemaak in julle gedagtes?
076   R: Ja, dit maak `n verskil.
077   I: Hoe maak dit verskil?
078   R: So sommige fotos wat ek kan sien dit is nie hoe ek wil wees nie en so.
079   I: So jy kan identifiseer wie jy is en hoe jy wil wees?
080   R: Ja
081   I: En die res van julle? Nadat julle die fotos geneem het, het dit julle anders laat
082   voel oor julle lewens?
083   R: Van die fotos wat ek geneem het, was hoe jy self voel. Van die fotos wys eintlik
084   die verskil.
085   I: Kry julle baie geleentheid om oor julle gevoelens te praat?
086   R: Nee nie eintlik nie. Meeste van ons praat mos nou net met onse ma`s. Jy kan nie
087   eintlik na `n vriend of so gaan nie.
088   I: So was die geleentheid vir julle waardevol?
089   R: Ja vir my.
090   R: Ek wou fotos gevat het van meer belangriker dinge, maar nou is ek besig met
091   iets en ek wil regtig daaroor praat, so of iemand moet nou `n foto neem terwyl ek
092   besig is, so ek het nie altyd kans gekry nie.
093   I: Ek gaan nou bietjie meer oor ondersteuning praat. Hoe goed ken julle vir
094   Terrence?
095   R: Van my vriende in die klas, maar nie eintlik ek nie.
096   (vliegtuig disturbance!!)
097   I: So jy ken hom taamlik goed?
098   R: Nie eintlik nie, maar ons praat en ons groet en hy vra hoe dit gaan en so.
100   R: Ek ken vir Terrence en toe ons altyd home school geloop het, toe het hy altyd
101   daantoe gekom en vir ons werk gebring wat ons moet doen. En as ons `n probleem
102   het, dan kon ons met hom praat en so.
103   I: Voel jy jy kan hom vertrou?
104   R: Ja

105	I: So as jy `n probleem het, dan kan jy met hom praat.
106	R: Ja
107	I: Die res van julle ken hom nie eintlik so goed nie, so as julle `n probleem van
108	enige aard gehad het, sou julle na hom gegaan het?
109	R: Nee nie regtig nie.
110	I: Nici, watter rol speel hy in jou lewe?
111	R: Ek kan altyd na hom toe gaan en so. Hy is amper soos `n vriend vir my.
112	I: So hy is baie ondersteunend.
113	R: Ja
114	I: Is daar enige ander mense in die gemeenskap waarnatoe julle kan gaan?
115	R: Net na my ma
116	R: Ek ook
117	R: Soos nou in die situasie, dan kan ek na my ma toe gaan of na die skool toe. My
118	vriende is daar.
119	I: Is daar mense in die gemeenskap waantoe julle glad nie sal gaan nie?
120	R: Auntie Annie (onseker) – baie beherend, wil altyd oorvat, ombeskof.
121	R: Daai vrou is erg.
122	I: Is daar enige iemand anders wat jy nie toe sal gaan nie?
123	R: Almal ken mos nou maar net vir haar.
124	R: Hier is eintlik min mense wat jy kan vertrou.
125	I: So daar is nie baie privaatheid in Uitsig nie. Jy moet versigtig wees wat jy praat.
126	R: Ja
127	I: Dit moet baie moeilik vir julle wees.
128	R: Ons hou dit vir onsself.
129	I: Ek wil teruggaan na die social workers en daai voel van beheer oor jou lewe.
130	Soos met Aunt Annie. Hoeveel beheer voel julle het julle oor julle lewens?
131	R: Ek het beheer oor my eie lewe. Net my ouers kan dit van my af wegneem, maar
132	niemand anders nie.
133	I: Ek kom agter jy het doelwitte en jy gaan hulle behaal, so jy ken jou storie. Die res
134	van julle?
135	R: Ek het ook baie beheer oor myself. Ek lei my eie lewe.
136	I: Ek het ook opgelet dat julle voel dat julle nou beheer gaan hê oor julle lewens.
137	Ander dinge, soos skool of as julle in skool wil wees of nie?
138	Groep praat oor meisies wat doodgemaak is. Verkrag is – skoolmeisies.
139	I: Gebeur soortgelyke goed baiekeer?
140	R: Dit was eintlik die laaste keer dat so `n moord gepleeg is.
141	R: Laasmaand het hulle `n kind ook op die sportsveld verkrag en in haar nek
142	gesteek.
143	I: Hoe laat dit julle voel?
144	R: Dit maak my bang! Want daai mense wat die kind van nege maande verkrag het
145	– ek dag net, ek het ook 'n dogter, ek het ook 'n seun. Mens kan niemand vertrou
146	nie. Selfs as dit ooms is of so! Ek wat liewers my kind saam met my. Ek is baie
147	versigtig daarmee!.
148	R: My ma het vir my gesê ek mag my kind vir niemand gee nie.
149	R: Ek voel baie bang.
150	I: Bang vir jou eie veiligheid?
151	R: Ja en vir my kind.
152	I: So dit maak julle bewus en versigting.
153	R: Ja
154	(vertel nog stories van verkragting en moord)
155	R: So as ek miskien nou loop en die jongens roep vir my uit die kar uit, dan raak ek
156	sommer ombeskof met hulle.
157	I: As ons nou oor hierdie goed gesels – hoe wil jy hê moet ander mense julle
158	hanteer?
159	R: Met respek. Mens moet mekaar liefhê en vir mekaar omgee. Maar hier in Uitsig

160   is `n klomp vuil uile.
161   R: Hulle het nie respek vir jou nie.
162   R: In Uitsig is daar nie veiligheid nie. Jy kan nie laat rondloop nie. Gevaar kom van
163   enige kant af.
        R: Soms voel jy nie eens veilig in jou eie jaart nie.

Einde van tape

TEENAGE MOTHERS (14/06/02)
Interview One
Brenda

001 I: Hoe was dit vir jou om die fotos te neem?
002 B1: Dit was vir my iets nuuts gewees en ek het ook nog geleer dat ek moet bly
003 wees dat ek `n kind het en dat daar nie net negatiewe dinge uit my moederskap uit
004 gekom het nie, maar ook positiewe dinge. Soos ek kan deelneem aan sulke
005 goeters. Ek het nooit daai vrymoedigheid gehad nie. Maar nou kan ek en ek praat
006 baie daaroor en so en dit is vir my iets groots, want ek het nog nooit so iets gedoen
007 nie.
008 I: So was dit vir jou ook lekker?
009 B1: Ja, dit was lekker gewees.
010 I: Dit is wonderlik. Het jy enige nare ondervindings gehad met dit?
011 B1: Met die fotos? Ja ek sou gelaaik het om `n foto van die pa te neem en met hom
012 gepraat het daaroor en so. Maar ek kan nou nie, want hy is ver. Ek wou ook fotos
013 geneem het van mense wat my help op `n manier wat hulle nie van weet nie.
014 I: Het dit jou bietjie hartseer laat voel?
015 B1: Ja, soos my ma ook, ja. Ek het `n foto van haar geframe.
016 I: Ek het dit gesien en ek het gedink dit is baie kreatief.
017 B1: Ja
018 I: Hoeveel ouer is hy as jy?
019 B1: Hy is nou 28, so dit is so 10 jaar.
020 I: Jy moet vir my sê as ek vir jou `n vraag vra wat jou ongemaklik laat voel, ok? Ek
021 het net gewonder, hoekom was jy Vryburg daai tyd toe jy swanger geraak het?
022 B1: Ek was in st6 gewees en toe het ek, my suster wat oorlede is, Cynthia en `n
023 ander meisiekind – sy was daar gewees op Vryburg en toe het ek vir my suster
024 gesê ek wil ook daantoe gaan en toe ek daar kom, toe is ek nogal bly, want ek het
025 gesien hoe bly sy. Ek het toe daar skoolgegaan, maar toe ek daar kom December
026 1997, toe is die kind se pa daar langsaan en dit het amper gelyk asof ons mekaar
027 lankal ken. Hy het met my gesels en so en dan sê hy vir my van daai kinders en
028 daai kinders en so.
029 I: So julle het onmiddelik goed oor die weg gekom?
030 B1: Ja
031 I: Het jy kontak met die kind se pa?
032 B1: Toe my ma nog gelewe het laas jaar het hy nog gestuur – R200, maar toe het
033 hy nie meer gestuur nie – dan stuur hy R150 of R100 of so, maar toe stuur hy nie
034 meer van December laasjaar, toe stuur hy nie meer nie. Toe het ek mos gegaan
035 Bellville toe om my ma se pay te laat stop en toe het ek met hulle gepraat en so en
036 toe het hulle gesê ek kan `n child grant kry en ek kan nog die pa gaan aangee en
037 so. En toe het ek later gesien maar ek kan sonder goed bly, maar nie die kind nie
038 en die kind ly skade en toe het ek Bellville toe gegaan en toe het ek hom aangegee
039 en gister het die saak voorgekom, maar hy was nie daar gewees nie. Toe hy die
040 brief gekry het, het hy my aanmekaar gebel om te sê ek moet die brief terugtrek –
041 hy gaan mooi vir die kind betaal en so – toe sê ek ek kan nie, want dan maak hy
042 net weer soos wat hy gemaak het. Hy sê toe ek bel nie vir hom nie, maar ek kan
043 nie vir hom bel nie, want dit is geld en hy kan mos ook bel. Ek het al baiekeer vir
044 hom geskryf en fotos van die kind gestuur, maar dan skryf hy nie terug nie. Ek was
045 al baie daar gewees ook, maar hy was nog nooit hier gewees nie.
046 I: Wat doen hy op die oomblik? Die kind se pa?
047 B1: Hy is daar. Hy werk. Ek het hoeka gehoor hy het weer `n babatjie gemaak. Dit
048 babatjie is 6 maande.
049 I: Is hy ouer as jy?

307

050   B1: Ja, hy is ouer as ek ja.
051   I: Baie ouer?
052   B1: 28
053   I: Wie woon op die oomblik almal in die huis saam met jou?
054   B1: Net ek en my pa en my kind.
055   I: Ek gaan net gou teruggaan na die ... – hoe laat dit jou voel dat jy nou agter die
056   pa moet aanhardloop en vra vir geld?
057   B1: Partykeer dink ek as ek nie gered was nie en ek gaan daantoe na hulle huis
058   toe, dan sal ek hom iets aandoen, want ek kan dit nie vat dat ek hom moet bel om
059   in te sit nie (i.e. money). En ek weet hy kan insit!
060   I: So dit maak jou kwaad?
061   B1: Ja, maar ek is net bly ek is gered dat ek nie skel of so nie.
062   I: Hoe laat dit jou voel dat jy vir hom moet vra vir die geld?
063   B1: Dit maak my seer en dit is amper so – kan hy nie dink nie? Hy moet vir die kind
064   geld stuur. Is tog al wat jy doen vir die kind. Geld wat die kind nou rerig noodig het!
065   Vir my is die geld niks nie. Maar ...
066   I: Hoe het ma-wees jou skoolwerk beinvloed?
067   B1: Nie baie nie – toe my ma nog gelewe het, dit het amper nie gevoel asof ek `n
068   kind gehad het nie. Regtig. My ma het my baie gehelp.
069   I: Jy het vir my gesê toe sy uitvind jy is swanger, het sy jou kom haal. Was jy uit die
070   skool uit vir `n rukkie?
071   B1: Ek het Junie eksamen geskryf, ek was vyf maande swanger – toe het ek
072   klaargemaak daarmee en na daai het ek nie meer skoolgegaan nie.
073   I: So jy het nie die jaar klaargemaak nie.
074   B1: Net die halwe jaar.
075   I: So die volgende jaar was jy terug skool toe?
076   B1: Ja
077   I: Hierdie jaar het jy nou nie meer jou ma se hulp nie – is dit vir jou moeilik?
078   B1: Ja, dit is baie moeilik. Ek het baie skoolboeke oor en dan blaai ek daardeur en
079   dan dink ek maar ek was nie so nie – kyk net hoe mooi het ek gedoen en so. Maar
080   nou is dit nie ... as die onderwysers met my praat en so, wil ek nie nog vir hulle sê
081   nie, want hulle sal nie verstaan nie.
082   I: So jy voel jy kan nie regtig met die onderwysers praat nie.
083   B1: Ja, hulle wil net praat en alleen praat.
084   I: En dit is `n moeilike jaar
085   B1: Veral nou! Vir my voel dit ek kan nou maar druip, want vir wie doen ek dit nou?
086   (starts crying)
087   I: Het jy met Terence gepraat? Dit is seker moeilik, want dit is eksamens en dis die
088   kind so. As tannie Joyce of so bietjie vir jou uithelp.
089   B1: Dit is nie die kind nie. Ek kan nie konsentreer nie. Soos die inhoud - wiskunde
090   vakke. Afrikaans en Engels kan ek doen.
091   I: So jy sukkel met die wiskunde?
092   B1: Ja en die skeinat en so. Nou goed wat ek in st8 geleer het, dit kan ek onthou,
093   maar nou...
094   I: So jy sukkel om te konsentreer? Jy moenie moed opgee nie. Jy het so ver
095   gekom. Ek gaan nou vrae vra oor die fotos. Die eerste ding wat ek wil hê jy moet
096   doen, is kies die foto waarvan jy die meeste hou en waarvan jy die minste hou.
097   Watter een hou jy die meeste van? Hoekom hou jy van hom?
098   B1: [Bren21] Dit is die jeug en so en die pastoor en kerk. Van hulle weet nou nie ek
099   is `n moeder en so nie en die goed waarvan hulle praat – die kerk – dit bemoedig
100   my baie. En hulle staan my by – daar is van hulle wat ook enkelmoeders is en ek
101   kyk op na hulle. Hulle help my baie! Daar is die een suster – sy het nie `n kind of so
102   nie en sy het my gehelp, want baie outjies sal nou sien ek is gered en ek het `n kind
103   en so en ek is sag en hulle sien miskien ek kry gou mense jammer en so, en ek wil
104   altyd wil hulle halp, maar dan moet ek dit nie doen nie, want hulle gaan misbruik

105	maak daarvan en so.
106	I: So jy kry baie ondersteuning deur die kerk?
107	B1: Deur die kerk, ja. Die getuienis van die mense is so goed.
108	I: Help dit jou om nie so alleen te voel nie?
109	B1: Dit help ja. As ek alleenig is en ek soek company, dan gaan ek kerk toe.
110	I: As jy dan hulle stories kan hoor en hulle ondersteuning kry, dan help dit jou?
111	B1: Dit help my ja, en ek kan ook dink – miskien ek dink nou ek is `n moeder. Aan
112	die begin toe ek aan die jeug behoort het, as hulle uitgaan, dan gaan ek nie saam
113	nie, want ek vat dit so, ek is `n moeder – toe my ma nog gelewe het - en ek gaan
114	afsit en so. Dinge wat hulle gaan doen wat ek nie mee gaan saamstem en so nie.
115	Maar agterna toe my ma nou sterwe en so - toe ek nou meer in die jeug in is, toe
116	gaan ek saam met hulle na plekke waar ek nog nooit was nie, gaan ek na toe.
117	I: Vertel my oor die ander foto?
118	B1: [Bren14] Die ene is nou van ek het nou geld miskien en die geld gaan nou vir
119	kos en so en sê nou maar my pa is by die huis, dan vra hy nie vir my vir geld of iets
120	nie, maar as hier mense kom, dan sal hy vir my vra. Dan sal ek sê ek kan nie en
121	dan sal hy sê hy gaan weer môre `n joppie kry en weer vir jou teruggee en so.
122	Baiekeer sal hulle kom met gesteelde goed en dan verkoop my pa dit of my pa vat
123	partykeer goed in die huis ook in en verkoop dit en dan soos ook soos gister. Ek
124	het nie lus gehad vir praat nie – toe gaan ek ook kerk toe – partykeer sê ek vir my
125	pa as hy nou hulp wou gehad het, dan kan hy na so `n plek toe gaan waar mense
126	verslaaf is of so. Maar aan die ander kant dan gee ek vir my pa geld sodat hy nie
127	miskien hoef te steel nie. Maar ek is bly hy is daar, want hy help vir my met die kind
128	en so.
129	I: Maar dit plaas baie druk op jou?
130	B1: Ja, veral as hier vriende kom. As hulle nie kom nie, sal hy nie vra nie, maar as
131	hulle kom, dan sal hy vra.
132	I: Hoe laat dit jou voel dat daai mense om jou kind is?
133	B1: Partykeer as ek uit die skool uitkom, is ek so gewoond – dan gaan kyk ek
134	sommer of hulle daar is.
135	I: Voel dit amper vir jou asof jy nou twee kinders het?
136	B1: Ja, partykeer sê ek vir my pa – die mense wat by ons agter in die wendy huis
137	bly – as hulle nie betaal nie, moet ek gaan praat en vra om te betaal, want die
138	water moet betaal word. Hy sê altyd vir my ek moet gaan vra. So is hy.
139	I: Het hy baie verander na jou ma se dood?
140	B1: Ja, ek sê ook baie vir hom dit is dit.
141	I: Dit klink asof dit vir jou baie swaar is. Is jy nog ok?
142	B1: Ja
143	I: Help dit om te praat?
144	B1: Ja, dit help my!
145	I: Ok, kies die foto wat ma-wees die heel beste vir jou uitbeeld (11) en ook die foto
146	wat die heel verste van ma-wees is (12).
147	B1: [Bren 11] Soos die ene wat ek my wasgoed moet was en so. My pa sê altyd ek
148	hoop die wasgoed op, maar dit is nie so nie. Hy (die kind) hou van mors en so in
149	die sand en so en ek hou van hom opdoen. Ek geniet dit om hom te was en te voer
150	en so.
151	I: So ma-wees vir jou is om vir jou kind te sorg.
152	B1: Ja, en soos die pa nou. Ek sou bly gewees het as die pa daar was en vir die
153	kind help. Ek sê altyd die geld is nie `n probleem en so nie. `n Mens moet met die
154	kind praat en so. Die geld is niks nie. Die pa kan vir my geld stuur en dan kan ek
155	die geld uitdrink miskien of die geld net so daar los. Wat van die kind? Partykeer as
156	ons hier buitekant staan en die klein kindertjies loop so alleen buite rond, dan dink
157	ek miskien is ek nie reg nie, maar ek sal nie dat my kind so kan loop nie. Ek is te
158	bang!! Hoe kan die ma die kind so klein so laat loop? Partykeer wil ek nie so wees
159	oor die kind nie, want netnoumaar vat die Here die kind weg!

160   I: Dit klink vir my asof jy die kind waardeer en oppas soos iets wat waardevol is. En
161   die ander foto?
162   B1: [Bren14] Miskien nou om die kind te los by die huis en loop. Miskien as ek nou
163   kerk toe gaan en so, dan moet hy nou bly, want ek wil nie hê hy moet op en af
164   hardloop nie, want ek moet nou miskien konsentreer daar voor. Mense sê altyd
165   waar is die ma en so.
166   I: Voel jy so as jy skool toe moet gaan?
167   B1: Ek bid altyd dat die Here my kind moet beskerm en bewaar. As ek nie geweet
168   het wat die Here kan doen nie, het ek seker by die huis gebly om na my kind te kyk.
169   I: En hulle het nie `n creche by die kerk nie?
170   B1: Daar is nie `n creche by die kerk nie. Maar nog altyd – mens trust nie mense
171   sommer so nie. Jy wil maar self na jou kind kyk.
172   I: So jy voel as jy hom by die huis los, is dit nie reg nie.
173   B1: Dit is nie reg nie, maar aan die ander kant as ek miskien kerk toe gaan of so.
174   I: Watter foto wys wat jy die heel meeste van ma-wees geniet en watter een wys
175   wat jy nie van ma-wees geniet nie.
176   B1: [Bren11] Waar ek hom was. Daar is nie `n foto waar ek hom vashou en so nie.
177   I: As jy `n foto kon gehad het waar jy hom vashou, sou jy dan daai een gekies het?
178   B1: Ja, om hom vas te hou, ja.
179   I: Hoekom sê jy so?
180   B1: Soos miskien soos nou wat hy gebore is ek is bly ek het hom. Ek kan nie
181   beskryf nie. Partykeer dink ek hy is ook `n deel van die pa en so. Party mense sê
182   hy het my ma se neus.
183   I: Ek dink ek weet wat jy sê. So dit is vir jou die beste van ma-wees.
184   B1: Soos `n boyfriend sal miskien nou kom en sê hy is lief vir my en so, maar hy
185   kan drie dae wegbly van my af. Maar `n babatjie wat jy het is jou kind en jy is lief vir
186   daai kind. Maar jy kan nie `n dag sonder daai kind nie. Miskien is hy by die
187   hospitaal en so, maar jy kan jou nie enjoy en die kind is daar nie. Daai is regte
188   liefde.
189   I: So `n warm gevoel. En watter een wys wat jy nie van hou nie?
190   B1: [Bren11] Om die klere te was en so. Dit is nie lekker nie.
191   I: So dit is net daai fisiese verantwoordelikhede. Om vir die kos te sorg en so.
192   B1: Ja.
193   I: Brenda, is daar enige ander foto waaroor jy wil gesels?
194   B1: [Bren18] Ja, dit is Cynthia. Sê nou maar ek is nou nie daar nie, soos in haar
195   geval `n ma is nou nie meer daar gewees soos my ma daar gewees het nie. Nou ek
196   en my ma was amper soos een vir haar gewees en sy – my ma kan vir haar betaal
197   het, mar ek kan nou miskien gepraat het. Nou as ek nie daar is nie, dan kan sy dit
198   vir hom doen.
199   I: So jy is baie naby aan haar.
200   B1: Ja, as ek miskien weggaan of so. Ek sal nie worry nie, want sy is daar en sy
201   weet hoe dit is sonder `n ma en ouma en so.
202   I: Bly sy by julle?
203   B1: Sy het eerste by ons gebly maar toe my ma toe sterf, toe kan sy nie by ons bly
204   nie, want daar is nie `n grootmens nie. En toe bly sy nou by Margaret-hulle.
205   I: So sy is ten minste naby.
206   B1: Ja
207   I: Waar gaan sy skool?
208   B1: Sy gaan by Ravensmead skool – st7.
209   I: Gee sy vir jou baie ondersteuning?
210   B1: Ja, sy hou hom vas en so en sy sal hom kom haal en so en dan vat sy hom om
211   daar na hulle toe.
212   I: Waar bly hy gedurende die dag as jy skoolgaan?
213   B1: Hy bly by my pa. Ek gaan miskien nou vir hom in die creche sit.
214   I: Sal dit vir jou bietjie meer gemoedsrus gee?

215   B1: Ja, dat hy nie in die pad is of so nie.

216   I: Is daar enige ander foto waaroor jy nie wil gesels nie?

217   B1: [Bren1] Die ene het ek nou gevat van die seuns in die klas. Maar seuns en so.

218   Eers was dit nou nie so erg nie. Ek hou van seuns geselskap en so, maar as ek

219   sien hy stel meer belang in my en so, maar dan is ek amper so – ek dink almal is

220   soos die kind se pa.

221   I: Vind jy nie dat jy omdat jy nou `n ma is en als wat gebeur het met jou ma en so,

222   dat dit jou meer volwasse gemaak het nie?

223   B1: Soos hoe?

224   I: Jou houding teenoor die lewe en so?

225   B1: Ja, dit is waar. Party mense dink ek lieg omdat ek sê ek is `n kind. En soos nou

226   seuns van my ouderdom wat nou meer wil wees as my vriend, dan kan ek sê ek

227   het `n pa vir my kind. Ek hou meer van ouer mense. Die jongetjies gaan nie weet

228   hoe om vir my te handle nie.

229   (praat oor outjie oor wie sy `n goeie indruk het, maar ander kinders is lelik met hom

230   – sy onthou hom vir wie hy was, al het hy verander. Sy dink iets moes in sy lewe

231   gebeur het – dit is die rede hoekom hy so uitgedraai het).

232   I: Ek wil nou begin afsluit. Is daar van die fotos wat jy nie wil hê ek moet gebruik

233   nie?

234   B1: Nee, Linda kan maar enige een gebruik.

TEENAGE MOTHERS (08/05/02)
Interview One
Carol

001 I: Jy't gesê met jou baba se geboortepapiere, jy't Bellville toe gegaan. Het jy na
002 daai groot gebou in Voortrekkerstraat gegaan? Hoe't jy daar gekom?
003 C1: Ek en die kind se ouma … ek het 'n vorm gekry, toe vul sy die vorm in, toe't ek
004 daar in die lyn gaan staan en toe vat hulle die vorm en toe't ek 'n bietjie gaan sit en
005 toe bring hulle die ding toe kom …die geboortepapier.
006 I: O.K. So jy het hulp gehad. As dit nie vir die kind se ouma was nie, wat …? Sou jy
007 …
008 C1: Dan sou ek nie geweet het hoe of waar nie. Dan sou my ma seker vir my
009 gebring het.
010 I: So by die kliniek hulle sê nie vir julle wanneer jy geboorte gee of by die kliniek of
011 iets, hulle sê nie vir jou jy moet Bellville toe gaan nie?
012 C1: Huh-uh.
013 I: Hulle help jou glad nie?
014 C1: Huh-uh. Hulle't nie vir my gesê nie.
015 I: O.K. En jy weet jy't daardie papier nodig om die kind in die skool te sit?
016 C1: Ja.
017 I: Jy weet dit? Ok Was dit moeilik vir jou om in Bellville uit te kom en deur daai hele
018 proses te gaan?
019 C1: Nee.
020 I: Omdat jy daai hulp …? Ok Dan gaan ek vir jou amper vra soos ek vir Lucy
021 gevra het - vir jou vra. Waar ek gevra het: het jy alternatiewe oorweeg as om
022 die baba te hou, soos aborsie of aanneming of iets? Was jy bewus van dat
023 sulke alternatiewe bestaan het? Was jy bewus van hulle? Ok. En jy't glad nie
024 daaroor gedink nie? Jy't glad nie gedink … Ok … En, jy't ook nie
025 voorbehoedmiddels gebruik nie?
026 C1: Nee, want dit was my eerste keer. Ek was in die eerste plek bang gewees. Ek
027 wou sê nee, maar … agterna …
028 I: Was jy bang oor die voorbehoedmiddels of oor die seks?
029 C1: Oor die seks ook maar was nie voorbehoedmiddels vir my nie
030 I: Ok. Het jy geweet van voorbehoedmiddels?
031 C1: Uh.
032 I: Ja? Ok. Is dit maklik om voorbehoedmiddels in die hande te kry?
033 C1: Ja.
034 I: Gebruik jy nou voorbehoedmiddels?
035 C1: Nee, ek is te bang, want … uhm, my broer se kind het mos in die ? gebly en
036 nou bly sy by ons, maar sy sê daar onder by hulle het 'n outjie en 'n meisie geseks
037 met 'n voorbehoedmiddel en toe't die ding op in haar womb gegaan en toe moes
038 hulle hospitale toe gaan om dit uit te haal, nou weet ek nie of hulle die womb ook
039 uitgehaal het nie.
040 I: Het hulle kondome gebruik?
041 C1: Ja.
042 I: Het julle dit oorweeg om die pil te gebruik, of die inspuiting elke drie maande te
043 kry?
044 C1: Ek kry ja, ek is op die birth control.
045 I: O, kry jy 'n inspuiting?
046 C1: Ja
047 I: En jy gaan gereeld, jy gaan wanneer jy moet vir die inspuiting?
048 C1: Ja
049 I: Ok.

050	C1: My ma't gesê ek kan nie nou … kom nie, hulle gaan my uitsit.
051	I: Uhm, hoekom is jy nie op die pil nie? Hoekom kry jy die inspuiting?
052	C1: Want, ek gaan netnou vergeet, ek is baie vergeterig.
053	I: Ja.
054	C1: My ma't gesê. En nou van die twee maande inspuiting nou raak ek baie maer,
055	toe sê my ma ek moet vra of ek nie op die drie maade kan gaan nie, want dan gaan
056	'n mens nie siek raak nie.
057	I: Ja. Raak jy siek van die inspuiting?
058	C1: Ja, maar nie elke maand nie.
059	I: So, is dit moeilik vir jou om die inspuitings te kry?
060	C1: Nee, nie moeilik nie. Maar my ma-hulle is baie bekommerd omdat ek so maer
061	is.
062	I: En waar kry jy die inspuitings?
063	C1: Daar by die baba-kliniek.
064	I: Waar is die baba-klinieke?
065	C1: Daar langs die saal.
066	I: Langs die skoolsaal?
067	C1: Ja. Uitsig Civic. Hier.
068	I: So dis baie naby?
069	C1: Ja.
070	I: En is die kliniek elke dag oop, of kom die susters net …
071	C1: Elke dag is dit oop… tot … ek weet nou nie of dit tot twaalfuur toe, of eleven
072	o'clock oop is nie, dan gaan dit weer one o'clock oop.
073	I: Hoe oud is die baba se pa?
074	C1: Sestien
075	I: Sestien? Is hy bly oor die feit dat hy 'n pa is? Is hy gelukkig?
076	C1: Ja, baie. Die kind mag nie huil nie, dan's dit iets.
077	I: Was hy opgewonde toe jy vir hom sê jy's swanger?
078	C1: Ja, maar hy't gehuil.
079	I: Het hy gehuil? Oor blyheid of bangheid?
080	C1: Ek weet nie.
081	I: En saam met wie woon jy op die oomblik?
082	C1: Saam met my ma-hulle en my pa.
083	I: En jou broers?
084	C1: Dis ek en my ma en my klein broertjie en my broer se kind en die baba.
085	I: Ok, Ek gaan die foto's vir jou so uitpak. Kies die foto waarvan jy die meeste hou
086	en die een waarvan jy die minste hou. Watter een hou jy die meeste van?
087	C1: [Car2] Van die my ma en die kind.
088	I: Hoekom hou jy van hierdie een?
089	C1: Omdat my ma baie omgee vir die kind omdat die kind se pa nou nog nie werk
090	nie en ek werk ook nie en my ma en die kind se ouma koop meer vir die kind en
091	gee om vir ons en … my ma't gesê as ek moet skoolgaan gaan my nog ma vir my
092	koop wat ek wil hê. My ma is baie goed vir my en ek is lief vir my ma.
093	I: Jou ma is baie ondersteunend?
094	C1: Ja.
095	I: En haar ondersteuning is baie belangrik vir jou?
096	C1: Ja, my ma staan my altyd by en …
097	I: En jou pa?
098	C1: Ja, my pa, wat my pa uitgevind het, het my pa ook gehuil, en my pa het seker
099	vir twee maande my pa wil nie … saam met my gepraat het nie, want ek is al
100	dogter van my pa.
101	I: So hy was baie ontsteld? En nou?
102	C1: Hy's nou reg en hy's nou baie oor die kind, as ek miskien nog iets verkeerds
103	gedoen het met die kind, dan skel hy my uit, so …
104	I: So hy's baie lief vir die kind?

105   C1: Ja. En die's my broer wat ek nou van gepraat het.
106   I: Ok. Hoe't jou ma gereageer toe jy uitvind jy's, toe sy uitvind jy's swanger?
107   C1: Nee, my ma het niks gemaak nie, my ma en sy pa het nou net gesê hulle kan
108   nou niks meer doen nie, want dis nou klaar so. En sy ma het gehuil ook, en … sy
109   pa het gesê ons wou ook mos vir ons grootmense hou, en so. En toe sê hulle dis
110   nou klaar so hulle kan nou niks meer maak nie. En ons het hulle harte seer
111   gemaak.
112   I: Maar jou ma is ok nou?
113   C1: Ja, almal is ok. Die oupas is baie nou oor die kind. In die oggende as ons die
114   kind om neem na hulle toe, dan gryp sy pa eerste die kind.
115   I: Uhm, en jy't gesê jy't swanger geraak die eerste keer toe jy seks gehad het.
116   C1: Ja.
117   I: En hoe het jy uitgevind jy's swanger?
118   C1: Ek het nie, uhm, nog note gevat ek sal swánger word nie, en toe een middag
119   toe kom ek uit die skool uit, maar ek het altyd sy broertjie huis toe geneem. En toe
120   het hy ook al meisies so tussen-in gehad, nie, hulle het nie uitgegaan nie, maar net
121   so elke aand bymekaar en gemove en so, en toe wat ek nou uitvind, en … ek het
122   nie eens geworry om vir hulle in te gaan vlieg, of, of vra oor die goete wat hy doen
123   nie. Dan kom hulle, as hulle vir my kry in die pad, dan kom vlieg hulle vir mý in. En
124   dan sê die meisie sommer, uhm, hy, of sy, hy's baie vrouerig. Ek jaag hom elke
125   keer weg, maar hy wil nie weggebly het nie. Dan sê hy nee, hy gaan nie wegbly
126   nie, en dan kom vlieg hulle elke keer vir my in en so, en ek steur my nie aan die
127   stories en goeters nie. En, en … hoe't jy gevra?
128   I: Hoe het jy uitgevind jy's swanger?
129   C1: Ja, en toe dingesis, toe sê, toe, toe't hy nog skool gegaan laas jaar, standerd
130   ses, en toe sê hy vir my, nee, toe wag ek vir hom daar by my tjommie se huis, ook
131   daar oorkant hulle, toe wag ek vir hom daar, want toe wil hy al weer vir my kom
132   uittrek, en toe sê ek vir hom "kom ek wil nou kliniek toe gaan, jy gaan saam ek wil
133   kyk of ek pregnant is, want ek wil nou hoor dis 'n …" en die meisie sê jy't vir haar
134   ook, saam met haar geslaap, maar hy sê hy het nie en ek het hulle altwee
135   bymekaar gebring en gevra of hy met haar geslaap het en toe sê hulle altwee nee,
136   en toe vra ek vir haar nou hoekom het sy dan so geskel, toe sê sy nee, want sy
137   wou by hom gewees het, en so. En toe, wat ons nou kliniek toe gaan, toe's die
138   kliniek toe gewees en toe gaan ons nou die next oggend en toe sê, toe sê hulle ek
139   moet gaan pie, toe toets hulle my pie toe sê hulle as ek by die een …nommer een
140   strepie is, is ek nie pregnant nie, as ek by die nommer twee strepie is, dan is ek
141   pregnant. En toe wat hulle sê ek is by die nommer twee strepie, toe begin te huil ek
142   sommer, ek't gedink wat gaan my pa-hulle nou maak, my pa gaan my slat, want my
143   pa is baie kwaai. En toe vra die een nurse vir my kom ek en my ma goed oor die
144   weg, toe sê ek nie eintlik nie, want my ma bly my uitskel en so. Som kere dan voel
145   ek sommer ek wil loop uit die huis uit. En toe …kom daar 'n ander vrou wat ook vir
146   my geken het, toe kom ek en my tjommie … my tjommie se ma, en toe kom sy …
147   en nou my tjommie het ook gekom vir 'n pie-toets, maar wat ek uitgevind het ek is
148   swanger, toe's ek mos drie maande … en toe wat sy uitgevind het sy's swanger …
149   nou sy't al drie of vier kinders afgemaak al, ek kan nie sulke dinge doen nie. En
150   hulle praat sleg van haar, maar ek het nog nie geweet sy was swanger nie … en …
151   nou wat ek drie maande gewees het, toe't sy ook twee maande, en … nou wat ek
152   klaar is, nou't sy nou nog nie 'n kind gekry nie. En toe kom haar ma en toe hardloop
153   sy met haar ma om die kliniek, toe hardloop sy met haar ma om die kliniek, en toe
154   wat haar ma loop, toe gaan sê haar ma vir sy ma, toe wat ek daar kom om vir sy
155   ma te sê toe weet sy ma… so't ek uitgevind, en die aand toe't my ma hoeka tot
156   nine o'clock toe gewerk, toe gaan hy en sy ma en sy ma se vriend saam met my
157   huis toe, toe gaan sê hulle my ma.
158   I: So, jy't nie kans gekry om vir sy ma te sê nie? Die storie is amper vooruit geloop.
159   C1: Ja.

160　I: Hoe't dit jou laat voel?
161　C1: Ek het ook gehuil en ek het nie geweet …
162　I: Maar hoekom het jy na die kliniek toe gegaan om uit te vind of jy swanger is?
163　C1: Omdat ons die eerste keer geseks het.
164　I: Ok, so jy was net, jy was net bekommerd … 'n gedagte in jou kop jy kan dalk
165　swanger wees.
166　C1: Ja
167　I: Ok, so dit was nie iets anders nie?
168　C1: En ek het vir haar die eerste een wat ek gaan sê het.
169　I: En, wat is sy naam?
170　C1: Alex
171　I: En hoe't hy gereageer toe jy vir hom sê?
172　C1: Hy't gehuil en hy't vir my baie bygestaan en so, en hy was baie bang om by
173　ons huis toe te gekom het, vir my pa.
174　I: Was dit belangrik vir jou dat hy en sy ma by jou was toe jy vir jou ouers vertel
175　het?
176　C1: Ek het nie gesê nie, sy ma het vir my ma gesê, en my ma en 'n vrou wat baie
177　vir ons bystaan en omgee vir mekaar, toe't sy ook saam met ons gekom na my pa
178　toe.
179　I: So kom jy baie goed oor die weg met Alex se ouers? En hulle is baie
180　ondersteunend vir die twee van julle?
181　C1: Altyd as ek daar verbyloop en, dan kom ek miskien nou nie daar in by hulle nie,
182　dan phone sy sommer my ma dan sê sy my ma as ek daar verbyloop dan sal ek nie
183　eens 'n draai kom maak daar nie, en dan doen ek dit maar.
184　I: Sê vir my, het julle twee, het jy en Alex 'n verhouding gehad toe julle seks gehad
185　het?
186　C1: Ons het 'n jaar gespeel ja, en … van … wat dit nou 'n jaar is en toe hy vir my
187　gevra om te seks. Die eerste keer toe sê ek nee ek is bang vir my ma-hulle, wat hy
188　my gevra het. Toe vra hy my weer.
189　I: Hoe oud was jy dan?
190　C1: Ek was veertien gewees toe.
191　I: En hy't nie voorgestel dat julle 'n kondoom of iets gebruik nie. Kan ek vra,
192　verneuk hy jou … met ander meisies? Nie? Nie meer nie, noudat die baba gebore
193　is.
194　C1: Wat die baba, wat ek in die hospitaal klaar gekraam het, … nou ek kan al die
195　meisies wat hy so gehet het, …. nou was dit al vier meisies al - en hulle almal kom,
196　as hulle klaar met hom gemors het, gevry het in die aande en so, dan kom hulle na
197　my toe, hulle kom maak vriende en so om weer by hom te wees. Nou die meisie
198　wat hy nou laas nog bymekaar gewees het, toe't sy nou vir 'n goeie tyd het sy vir
199　my gesê sy gaan wegbly van Alex af en sy gaan …so nou, en toe het sy nou
200　gehoor en die aand wat ons van die Karel af gekom het, daai was hier about four
201　o'clock die oggend en toe kom kry ek vir haar en vir Alex, sit daar langs die skool …
202　daar by onse laerskool daar's mos klippe, sit hulle daar. Toe begin te perform ons
203　mos nou en hulle twee is lekker dronk gewees en hulle .. en hy slat nou .. nou sý
204　broer het mos nou 'n meisie gehad, toe't die broer net 'n kind gemaak by die meisie
205　en die meisie net so gelos toe vat hy mos die meisie wat hy so met gemors het se
206　suster. En toe ek en die meisie wat hy mee gewees het baklei en … daai meisie …
207　en sy broer se kind se ma, en toe het hulle nou so perform en sy't, die meisie wat
208　so met hom mors, het so vir my gesê sy gaan hom uitlos en hulle twee praat nie
209　meer nie en so, … nou net van ek en sy baklei het het ek nou lank nie meer stories
210　gehoor nie. Jinne, ek kan daar by hulle huis kom, ek is nog nie eens daar by hulle
211　huis nie, dan moet ek al hoor, Carol, Alex saam met daai meisie en met daai
212　meisie, so was dit, maar hy's nogal nie nou meer so nie.
213　I: En dit is sedert die baba gebore is dat hy …?
214　C1: Ja. En die meisie wat hy nou nog laas mee gewees het, het vir hom, sy's vir my

215 gesê sy't vir hom gevra is ek al uit die hospitaal uit en so, toe sê hy nee, ek is nog
216 altyd ... ek het vier keer hospitaal toe gegaan, want daar bly fout gaan, daar was
217 baie fout met die kind. En ... as ek in die hospitaal is, is hy by ander meisies of as
218 ek by die huis is hy by ander meisies.
219 I: Het dit vir jou moeilik gemaak dat hy so is?
220 C1: Ek het hom, ek het al dat my ma hom uitskel, maar hy wil nie wegbly nie.
221 I: Sê vir my ... so ... ons het nou oor hierdie foto gesels van jou ma. Is daar nog
222 iets wat jy wil sê oor hierdie foto? ... Baby-sit jou ma baie die kind vir jou as jy wil
223 uitgaan of iets?
224 C1: Ja. Vernaam as ek sê alles vir my ma wat hy doen en van die meisies en
225 goete, en som kere dan maak my ma jokes dan sê my ma ... hy moenie so wees
226 nie, as ek nou 'n ander, ek mag nie eers praat van 'n ander jongetjie nie dan's dit
227 uit. En dan sê my ma as ek nou 'n ander boyfriend vat dan gaan hy nou weer vir my
228 slaan as hy vir my met 'n boy moet kry want hy sê ok so. Hy gaan perform.
229 I: Het hy jou al vantevore geslaan?
230 C1: Ja.
231 I: En dan wat maak jy as hy dit doen?
232 C1: Ek sê my ma dan skel my ma hom uit.
233 I: Maar hy hou nie op nie?
234 C1: Maar hy slaan nie so baie nie.
235 I: Hoe laat dit jou voel wanneer hy dit doen?
236 C1: Ek voel hartseer en ek willie met hom praat nie en ...
237 I: Sê hy ooit vir jou hy's jammer? En dan wat doen jy?
238 C1: Nee, ek sê net niks. Ek praat nie.
239 I: Wanneer ... wat laat dat hy jou slaan?
240 C1: Miskien om ... uhm ... sy vriende gaan ook mos by ons skool. En ek mag nie
241 eens met die jongetjie praat by die skool nie dan gaan maak hulle moeilikheid by
242 hom by die huis. Hy gaan mos nie nou meer skool nie, dan gaan maak hulle
243 moeilikheid by hom by die huis en hy dink ook dis die waarheid.
244 I: So hy's baie jaloers?
245 C1: Ja.
246 I: Hoe laat dit jou voel?
247 C1: Ek voel nie lekker nie want ek mag nie eens jongetjie vriende het nie.
248 I: Maak dit jou kwaad? Of seer?
249 C1: Nee, nie eintlik nie.
250 I: Hoekom hou jy nie van hierdie foto nie?
251 C1: [Car8] Omdat sy staan en uitvat en hy't ook hoeka die foto gevat, sy't nie
252 geweet hy gaan dit vat nie en toe vat hy die foto en ...
253 I: So Alex het die foto geneem?
254 C1: Ja.
255 I: En wie is dit? Wie's sy?
256 C1: Dis sy, my broer se kind.
257 I: Hoe oud is jou broer? Hoe oud is haar pa?
258 C1: Hy was al getroud al. Ek dink hy's 39.
259 I: So hy's heelwat ouer as jy en jou jonger broer?
260 C1: Ja.
261 I: Het daai broer van jou 'n ander pa ... as julle twee?
262 C1: Ja, hy't 'n ander pa.
263 I: Ok. Hoekom hou jy nie van daai foto nie?
264 C1: Dit lyk nie reg nie. Sy moes nie so gestaan het nie en ... dis deurmekaar daar.
265 I: Hoe moes sy ...?
266 C1: Ek weet nie eintlik wat moet ek regtig sê van die foto nie.
267 I: Hoe moes die foto gelyk het?
268 C1: Sy kan miskien gesit het en gesê het hy moet die foto vat of iets soos daai.
269 Maar sy't ook nie geweet hy gaan die foto vat nie, net wat sy omkyk en die pap eet

316

270   toe gaan die ding af. Ek was ok nie daar in die omte gewees nie ek was daar in die
271   kamer gewees. Toe ek inkom toe sien ek net hy't klaar die foto gevat.
272   I: So is dit die feit dat hy, dat Alex daai foto van haar gevat het?
273   C1: Ja. Ja.
274   I: Wat … hoekom hinder dit jou?
275   C1: Omdat sy staan en eet enne … dit lyk nie reg nie dis deurmekaar daar.
276   I: So moes sy gesit het en, is dit amper daar's 'n behoorlike manier om iets te
277   doen?
278   C1: Ja.
279   I: Ok. Sê vir my, as jy na die foto's kyk, watter een van die foto's, uhm, is hoe jy dink
280   ma-wees is?
281   C1: Die ene.
282   I: Die een van jou ma, weer? Wat van daai foto, wat is dit oor daai foto wat vir jou
283   oor ma-wees laat dink?
284   C1: [Car2] Om die kind droog te maak en hoe om die kind te was en om te gee na
285   'n kind en pap te gee en skoon te hou en gesond te hou.
286   I: Is daar nog iets wat jy nie eintlik in die foto kan sien nie, of 'n gevoel wat jy uit
287   die foto kry wat vir jou … ma-wees is?
288   C1: Om lief te wees vir die kind en … .
289   I: En hoe maak 'n mens met 'n kind as jy lief is vir 'n kind?
290   C1: 'n Mens moet baie by die kind wees en meer liefde gee vir die kind en so.
291   I: Is daar enigiets anders wat jy oor daai foto wil sê? Watter van die foto's is vir jou
292   nie ma-wees nie?
293   C1: Nie?
294   I: Ja.
295   C1: [Car3] Die. Ek hou baie van daai foto.
296   I: Hoekom is dit vir jou nie ma-wees nie?
297   C1: Omdat hy hou haar net en lê dan vat die foto, hy't net daar ingekom toe sê hy
298   wil 'n foto vat omdat ek van my ma die foto gevat het.
299   I: So dis net gepose?
300   C1: Hmm.
301   I: Gee hy nie baie om vir die kind nie?
302   C1: As hy, hy bly mos nie by ons nie,as hy inkom dan hou hy vir haar somtyds en
303   dan speel hy met haar en dan kom ek in dan loop hy weer uit en so.
304   I: Ok, so hy, hy's … al is hy betrokke by die kind, hy's nie baie betrokke nie?
305   C1: Hmm.
306   I: Ok. Gee hy baie om vir die kind?
307   C1: Ja, en hy vra somtyds dat sy daar na hulle toe moet kom en so.
308   I: Waar woon hy?
309   C1: Daar om die draai by ons.
310   I: Hoekom woon hy nie saam met julle nie?
311   C1: Omdat hy't 'n meisie.
312   I: Ok, bly hy by die meisie?
313   C1: Ja.
314   I: Ok. Is die meisie saam met haar ouers?
315   C1: Nee, sy't haar eie huis. Sy's jonk nog, seker twintig. Dis nie eintlik haar huis nie,
316   daai man het alleen gebly, dis 'n ouerige man. En toe't die man nou die huis op
317   haar naam gesit en as die man mos nou doodgaan dan's dit mos nou haar huis.
318   Nou bly hy by haar want sy't 'n hairdresser.
319   I: En hoe oud is hy?
320   C1: Hy word nou 31 Mei 21.
321   I: Ok. So hy is ouer as jy, al is hy jou, hy's jou jonger broertjie omdat hy jonger as
322   jou ander broer is?
323   C1: Ja. Hy't sulke hare ook.
324   I: Ok. Sê vir my, is daar nog iets oor hierdie foto wat vir jou nie ma-wees is nie? So,

325   kan, ma-wees is vir jou nie aansit nie, dis iets wat van binne af, dis natuurlik en dis
326   genuine?
327   C1: Ja.
328   I: Ja. Is daar nog iets wat jy wil sê oor daai foto? Watter foto wys wat jy die heel
329   meeste van ma-wees geniet?
330   C1: Ek weet nou nie watter een van daai twee nie, want hy gee vir die kind bottel.
331   Daai ene.
332   I: Die een van jou ma? Weer? Hoekom?
333   C1: [Car2] Omdat my ma gee baie om en my ma hou baie van die kind en … in die
334   aande as my ma uit die werk uit gekom het dan gryp my ma haar eerste as sy van
335   haar ouma-hulle af gekom het en sy sit heeltyd met haar.
336   I: Sê vir my … wat is dit oor jou ma se verhouding met jou kind wat dit vir jou so
337   lekker maak om 'n ma te wees?
338   C1: As my ma vir haar hou en my ma stuur miskien nou vir my of my ma gee vir my
339   'n werk om te doen, dan sit my ma met haar en … wat ek my ma vra kan ek en hy
340   gou na hulle toe gaan en dis laat miskien dan kan sy mos nou nie saamgaan nie
341   dan hou my ma vir haar.
342   I: So is daar 'n spesiale verhouding tussen jou en jou ma noudat jy die kind het, wat
343   nie tevore daar was nie? So, jou ma se verhouding met die kind … maak dit dat jy
344   nog lekker goed kan doen? Jy kan nog uitgaan en alles. So sy maak dit vir jou
345   makliker om 'n ma te wees? Of nie regtig nie?
346   C1: Ja.
347   I: Watter foto … wys wat, wat is nie lekker om ma te wees nie? Wat, wat is dit van
348   ma-wees wat vir jou nie lekker is nie?
349   C1: O. Om heeltyd te sit met die kind as jy miskien nou wil loop en daar's niemand
350   anders wat agter die kind kan kyk nie, so. En nou wanneer die kind bly huil en jy
351   weet nie wat om te maak nie.
352   I: So dis daai verantwoordelikheid vir die kind wat 'n bietjie erg is?
353   C1: Hmmm.
353   I: Wat maak jy as daar niemand daar is om na die kind te kyk?
354   C1: Dan moet ek maar daar bly en self.
355   I: Raak jy ooit baie gefrustreerd as die kind huil en jy kan nie uitvind wat fout is nie?
356   C1: Hmmm.
357   I: Wat maak jy dan?
358   C1: Ek raak kwaad, dan los ek die kind sommer dat sy huil dan sit ek daar eenkant
359   en agterna tel ek haar maar weer op. En sy wil baie opgetel wees. Vanoggend toe
360   eet sy brood en hoender en toe sien sy mos nou - dis amper soos een wat regtig
361   daai goete kan eet - en toe gee sy vir haar 'n stukkie brood en toe druk sy dit in
362   haar mond en toe gaan, toe daai nou op is toe huil sy vir nog. Toe druk ek sommer
363   'n stuk hoender in haar mo.., in haar hand in. As ek haar pap gee, of as ek haar
364   bottel, dan wil sy dit self vashou, sy voer haarself. Dan vat sy die bottel dan druk sy
365   dit in haar mond.
366   I: So sy probeer baie hard om groot te wees? Sê vir my, borsvoed jy vir haar? Nie?
367   Hoekom nie?
368   C1: Ek weet nie hoekom wil sy dit, sy wil dit nie drink nie. En die melk het ook
369   opgedroog.
370   I: Hoe laat dit jou voel dat sy nie wil drink nie? Is jy ok daarmee? Of maak dit jou 'n
371   bietjie hartseer?
372   C1: Huh-uh.
373   I: Jy's ok daarmee? Is daar enige ander foto hier waaroor jy graag wil praat?
374   C1: Ek hou baie van die foto ook, maar ek weet nie wat om daar te sê nie. Net
375   daais lief vir die kind en hy gee ook baie om.
376   I: En hy's baie betrokke met die kind?
377   C1: Ja. Hy's elke dag daarso en in die aande gaan hy tienuur huis toe of somtyds
378   dan slaap hy daar.

379	I: Help hy jou baie met die kind? En sê vir my, as jy dalk met jou vriendinne iets wil
380	gaan doen, sal hy die baba vir jou oppas?
381	C1: (lag)
382	I: Nie? Maar hy is baie lief vir die kind?
383	C1: Ja.
384	I: Is daar enige foto hierby waaroor jy nie wil praat nie?
385	C1: Nee.
386	I: Ek wonder … jy't gesê jy was kwaad hier [Care9]? Jy't gesê jy was kwaad daar.
387	Hoekom?
388	C1: Want hy wil nie, ek het mos vir hom gesê uhm, julle gaan vir my kom haal. En
389	toe sê ek mos, omdat ek by die huis gewees het, Lucy moet vir my kom roep
390	wanneer julle kom, en toe't hy vir my gesê ek kan nie gaan nie, hy wil nie hê ek
391	moet nie. En toe sê ek nee, jy kan nie vir my sê nie, ek moet gaan. En agterna toe
392	laat hy my gaan.
393	I: So hy't 'n probleem gehad dat jy deelgeneem het aan hierdie navorsing?
394	C1: Nie 'n probleem nie, as hy by my is dan wil hy nie hê ek moet loop nie.
395	I: O, ok. Ja. So hy't hierdie houding van, jy gaan nou by my wees en ek gee nie om
396	wat jy beplan nie. Hoe laat dit jou voel?
397	C1: Ek voel nie lekker nie.
398	I: So dit laat jou nie lekker voel nie? Hy is baie jaloers.
399	C1: Ja.
400	I: En ek het ook gewonder, hierdie foto, wie is sy?
401	C1: [Care #] My klein, my baby-broertjie.
402	I: Is dit? Is dit … die girlfriend?
403	C1: Huh-uh.
404	I: Dis jou baba-broer?
405	C1: Ja.
406	I: Regtig?
407	C1: Ja. Dis rasta hare wat hy het.
408	I: Ok. Nee net, selfs die arms en hierbo, dit lyk baie …
409	Lucy: meisie
410	I: Ja. Maar hoe oud is hy?
411	C1: Hy's elf.
412	I: O, Ok.
413	C1: Hy was hom daar toe sê hy ek moet 'n foto van hom van dat hy vir Sumarie
	hou.
414	I: Ok. Is hy lief vir haar?
415	C1: Somtyds dan raak ek so kwaad, as hy met haar speel dan bly sy huil. En
416	somtyds dan trek hy, as hy, as hy vir haar hou en sy huil dan raak hy kwaad dan sê
417	hy aah trek my hare, trek my hare.
418	I: Wat sal jou regtig help om jou kind groot, behoorlik groot te maak? Wat sal jou
419	help?
420	C1: Net as daar melk is en pap en ek is baie by haar en sy's gesond.
421	I: Ok. Wat is vir jou regtig moeilik om 'n ma te wees?
422	C1: Wanneer sy so stout is en huil vir onnodige goeters. Dis al.
423	I: Voel jou hande 'n bietjie afgekap?
424	C1: Hmm.
425	I: Is daar iets wat jy geleer het sedert die kind gebore is, wat jy kan sê ek is anders
426	omdat … ek het dit geleer, ek is nou anders as gevolg van dit? Nie regtig nie?
427	Uhm, jy't gesê dit was moeilik vir jou om swanger te wees, daar was baie … fisies,
428	daar was goed altyd fout en jy was vier keer in die hospitaal. Wat was fout?
429	C1: Die pyne wat ek so hier om gekry het, dan sê hulle elke keer as ek 'n pyn kry,
430	moet ek inkom. Dan lê ek so vir drie of vier dae by Tygerberg, so. En die ? wat ook
431	so baie kere geloop het en som kere dan bloei ek.
432	I: Was jy bang toe dit gebeur het?

433   C1: Ja. Altyd my ma gesê as daar iets fout is en my ma't gesê ek moet altyd my ma
434   ook sê as die kind nie skop nie. Of as die kind nie wil …

435   I: Uhm, so jy wou regtig die baba gehad het? Jy't dit nie as 'n …

436   C1: Wat ek uitgevind het ek's pregnant … .

437   I: Uhm, alhoewel dit vir jou moeilik was, want daar was die probleme, was jy
438   opgewonde? Was dit vir jou lekker om swanger te wees?

439   C1: Nie eintlik nie. Net die pyne en die …

440   I: So jy was bly toe jy geboorte gegee het en dit was verby?

441   C1: Ja.

442   I: Ok, en jy't geboorte gegee in die hospitaal? Was dit natuurlike geboorte of het
443   hulle 'n keisersnit gedoen?

444   C1: Natuurlik.

445   I: Hoe was dit om geboorte te gee?

446   C1: Dis nie eintlik seer gewees nie, dit was net die pyn gewees.

447   I: Ok, dit was nie te seer nie?

448   C1: Ek het geslaap, en toe wat ek wakker skrik toe pyn dit en ek was nog deur die
449   slaap wat ek wakker skrik toe sien ek die kind is al halfpad uit. Ek het geskree … en
450   hulle sê push, push … En die dokter was baie oor my gewees. Daar was 'n vrou,
451   sy's al twintig jaar oud, maar wat sy haar pyne gekry het, toe't sy erg aangegaan.
452   En dan sê die dokters vir haar, kyk daar, hier lê 'n kind van 14 jaar oud wat nie
453   eens so aangaan nie. En as die dokters wil kyk en voel hoe ver is haar kind, dan wil
454   sy nie haar bene oopmaak nie, sy skree, sy vloek die dokter en agterna toe moes
455   sy sign om huis toe te gaan en haar kind by die huis te gaan kry want sy wou nie hê
456   die dokters moet haar help nie. Wat die kind wil kom, toe stoot hulle vir haar in
457   kraamsaal toe, toe wil sy nie haar bene oopmaak laat die kind uitkom nie.

458   I: En hoe was die dokters en die susters teenoor jou?

459   C1: Hulle was oraait gewees. Hulle het baie gepraat met my en so, gesê ek moet
460   terug skool toe gaan en so.

461   I: So hulle het jou goed behandel?

462   C1: Ja.

463   I: En het hulle jou iets gegee vir die pyn toe jy begin kraam het?

464   C1: Ja. Hulle het vir my sulke lang, pienk pilletjies gegee. En daai ding wat ek so
465   asem moet haal, daai ding.

466   I: Was jy bang toe jy begin kraam het?

467   C1: Nee, hulle het vir my gesê ek moet my nie steur aan die meisie wat so aangaan
468   nie.

469   I: So jy was nie bang toe jy begin kraam het nie? En dit was nie vir jou te erg nie?

470   C1: Omdat die dokter gesê het ek moet kalmeer, dit gaan nie seer wees nie. Elke
471   een kry die kraampyne …

472   I: Was dit vir jou lekker toe die baba dan gebore is en …

473   C1: Ja, wat ek haar sien toe begin te huil ek sommer.

474   I: Was jou ma by toe jy geboorte …?

475   C1: Ja. Ja ek weet nie waar't ek daai krag gekry om my ma so vas te gehou het nie.
476   My ma vat my nog vir 'n ghaai hoe't ek geskree.

477   I: Was Alex daar?

478   C1: Huh-uh. Hy was in die P.E. gewees met sy pa-hulle.

479   I: Wou jy gehad het hy moes daar gewees het?

480   C1: Hy is… sy ma wou nie gehad het hy moet vir my sê hy gaan P.E. toe nie, want
481   nou-nou ontstel ek my. Toe sê hy vir my, toe sê ek dis ok.

481   I: Nou dat jy die baba gehad het en alles, voel jy jy't 'n keuse oor as jy nog 'n baba
482   wil hê? Het jy nie 'n keuse nie? Gaan jy nog kinders hê?

483   C1: Seker eendag wanneer ek getroud is.

484   I: Maar, voel jy jy't beheer oor wanneer dit sal gebeur?

485   C1: (inaudible)

486   I: Ok. Behalwe van hierdie prent wat jy geteken het, was daar nog foto's wat jy wou

487   geneem het wat jy nie geneem het nie? Ok, wat het jy hier geteken?
488   C1: My ma, ek en Alex en Sumarie.
489   I: Wat is dit?
490   C1: Die TV met die kind.
491   I: Hoekom is jou pa nie in hierdie prent nie?
492   C1: Ek het nou vergeet.
493   I: Ok. Hoekom het jy die TV geteken?
494   C1: Want hulle wys baie goete van babas, hoe die babas siek raak, op die TV en …
495   die kinders vuil melk het …
496   I: In jou opinie, wat hulle veral op 'n movie of 'n TV-show, nie 'n aktualiteitsding nie,
497   'n TV-show, wat hulle wys oor ma-wees, is dit vir jou akkuraat, is dit regtig so, of
498   glamourise hulle dit 'n bietjie? So dis … Is dit 'n ware uitbeelding wat hulle wys op
500   die TV? Ok. Hoekom het jy die prent geteken?
501   C1: Omdat ons lief is vir mekaar en gee om vir mekaar en so …
502   I: So jy wou, sou graag 'n foto wou gehad het van jou ma en jy en Alex en die kind,
503   soortvan 'n familie-portret? Net om uit te wys hoe julle vir mekaar lief is?
504   I: Hoekom staan almal so? Is jou ma meer betrokke by die kind as wat Alex is?
505   C1: As hy by die huis is en die kind is deur die dag daar, dan sorg hy dat hy ...
506   I: En jy't gesê daar is ander foto's wat jy wou geneem het wat jy nie geneem het
507   nie? Wil jy hulle teken?
508   C1: Huh-uh.
509   I: Hoekom nie?
510   C1: Want ek kan nie.
511   I: Wil jy oor hulle gesels?
512   C1: Huh-uh. Ek weet nie nou wat moet ek sê nie.
513   I: Van, wat wou jy foto's geneem het?
514   C1: Daar's klomp, maar ek kan nie nou nie. As ek die camera het kan ek dit neem.
515   I: So, as julle die kameras weer kry, gaan jy …? Ok.
516   C1: Ja.
517   I: Jy sê julle leer baie van julle ouers af?
518   Al twee: Ja.
519   I: So hulle's regtig rolmodelle vir julle?
520   Al twee: Ja.
521   C1: Ons gee baie om …
522   Lucy: Hulle is eintlik meer bekommerd as ons is.
523   I: So hulle neem dit meer ernstig op as wat …?
524   Al twee:Ja, as wat ons.
525   C1: Want my ma sê vir my Sumarie gaat vir my sê "gaan, jy's nie my ma nie, jy's
526   my suster".
527   I: Voel julle nog soos kinders?
528   Al twee: Ja. Ek voel baie soos 'n kind.
529   Lucy: Veral wanneer ek nog agter my ma se rug lê en iemand kom in. Of wanneer
530   my ma my sê "Baby, kom hierso".
531   C1: En vir my en my ma, ek bly "mammie", dan sê my ma jy bly soos 'n klein kind,
532   jy bly "mammie, mammie". En by die skool is die kind mos nie by my nie, dan voel
533   ek meer na 'n kind.
534   Lucy: Wanneer ons tussen onse vriende is, dan voel ons nogsteeds dieselfde.
535   I: Carol, het jy uit die skool uitgegaan toe jy swanger was?
536   C1: Ek het skool gegaan tot wanneer ek ses maande was. Ek het nie groot gedra
537   nie.
538   I: Ok. So jy't in die skool gebly totdat jy ses maande was?
539   C1: Net elke keer as ek probleme by die skool het, dan sê ek my meneer dan't my
540   meneer my huis toe geneem.
541   I: En hoe was jou onderwysers teenoor jou?
542   C1: Hulle was goed en hulle't gesê as daar probleme is sal hulle my bystaan en so.

321

543	Die hoof was baie by my hy't sommer gesê ek is sy kind het hy vir my ma gesê en
544	altyd drukkies gegee en hy't hoeka vir my ma gesê ek moet die kind kom wys want
545	ek was nog nie daar by die laerskool die kind gewys nie.
546	I: So was dit die hoof by die laerskool?
547	C1: Ja.
548	I: Ek kry die gevoel die hoof by Uitsig Hoër is baie … hy gee baie vir julle om. Dis
549	net die indruk wat ek kry en kan verkeerd wees. Is hy so?
550	C1: Met ons wat kinders het?
551	I: Ja.
552	C1: Nee, ek het nog nooit met daai hoof gepraat nie, of iets soos daai nie. Ek weet
553	nie of daai hoof weet ek is, ek het 'n kind nie.
554	I: Wat is sy naam, hier by die …?
555	C1: Mnr. ? Ek weet net mnr. Trout weet, maar ek weet nie of hy weet nie. Mnr.
556	Trout en my meneer.
557	I: So jou onderwysers weet nie regtig jy't 'n kind nie?
558	C1: Net mnr. ? weet nie en mnr. Trout en mnr. Needly, my meneer.
559	I: Ok. Is hy jou klasonderwyser?
560	C1: Ja
561	I: En hoe is hy teenoor jou?
562	C1: As, as ek uit die skool uitbly, dan weet hy hoekom is ek by die huis en so.
563	I: Ok. So hy's ondersteunend?
564	C1: Ja.
565	I: En hoe is dit vir jou om in die skool te wees terwyl jou kind by die huis is?
566	C1: Dis oraait, want ek weet sy's onder sorg.
567	I: Ok. Beplan jy om skool klaar te maak?
568	C1: Ja.
569	I: Wat wil jy doen na skool? As jy klaar is met skool, wat wil jy doen?
570	C1: Ek wil graag 'n juffrou gewees het. Maar die kinders moet net nie op my nerve
571	werk nie, want ek gaan hulle slat.
572	I: Slat julle onderwysers vir julle?
573	C1: Nee. Net op die laerskool wat onse pak gekry het.
574	I: So, om nog skool toe te gaan is vir jou ok?
575	C1: Ja, want die dokters en die mense sê ek moet skool klaar maak.
576	I: Ja. Hoe is jou klasmaats teenoor jou?
577	C1: Hulle is oraait, want ek het nog nie … net daai ander meisie wat nou wat die
578	skool nou begin het, die … hulle het saam met … die meisie met my niggie baklei
579	en toe wil hulle nou sommer saam met my ook baklei dan sê hulle by die .. dan skel
580	hulle vir my uit by die skool, uhm, hulle gaan vanmiddag baklei saam met my en my
581	kind gaan huil by die huis.
582	I: Ja, en hoe laat dit jou voel as hulle so is?
583	C1: Hartseer, maar ek gee nie antwoord nie.
584	I: Het jy onmiddellik uit die skool uitgegaan toe jy uitvind jy's swanger, Lucy?
585	Lucy: Uhm. Want ek het 'n probleem gehet mos met die dinges …
586	I: So jy't nie … ek kan nie regtig vir jou vra hoe dit … hoe was jou onderwysers
587	teenoor jou of so iets nie? Weet die onderwysers hoekom jy uit die skool uit is?
588	Lucy: Ja.
589	I: Het hulle vir jou iets gesê voor jy weg is?
590	Lucy: Nee.
591	I: So hulle het nie vir jou iets gesê soos jy moet terugkom nie …
592	Lucy: Net - die onderhoof het gesê ek moet terugkom as ek klaar is.
593	I: Hoe laat dit jou voel as hulle vir jou so iets sê?
594	Lucy: Dit gee my hoop om terug skool toe te gaan.
595	I: Ja.
596	C1: Gisteraand toe, nou, daai meisie wat daar langsaan ons bly, sy's onse skool se
597	hoofdogter. Nou sy't … gister toe sê ek vir haar sy moet my meneer sê ek is vir

598   Sumarie by die huis en toe sê sy ja sy gaan vir my meneer sê en toe vra sy my
599   meneer of ek nie aandskool kan loop nie. En toe sê my meneer ek moet eers my
600   ma vra en toe het ons my ma gevra en toe sê my ma dis die beste ook vir my en
601   dan kan ek nou miskien deur die dag vir Sumarie is en in die aand dan kom my ma
602   uit die werk uit en dan's my ma by haar en dan gaan ek skool toe.
603   I: Ja.
604   C1: En dan, nou moet ek weer vandag skool toe gegaan het, maar ek het nou nie
605   gegaan nie, dan praat ons mos nou met my meneer en nou gaan ek môre.
606   I: Hoekom was jy nie vandag by die skool nie?
607   C1: Wat ons die kind vanoggend na Alex se ma toe geneem het, toe't hy vir my
608   gegooi met die klip en toe draai ek om … was seer gewees.
609   I: Wie was dit, Alex?
610   C1:
611   I: So hy's ook nie vandag by die skool nie?
612   C1: Wie?
613   I: Alex.
614   C1: Hy gaan nie skool nie.
615   I: Gaan hy nie skool nie?
616   C1: Ja en ek het gesê ek gaan vir my ma sê hy dink omdat hy nie meer skoolgaan
617   nie, nou moet ek ook by die huis bly. En my ma't gesê ek moenie agter hom
618   aangaan nie. En as my ma nou weer gaan hoor ek was nie vandag in die skool nie,
619   gat my ma vir my uitskel.
620   I: Wat doen hy as hy nie in die skool is nie?
621   C1: Hulle bly by die huis. Sy pa het sy pa se eie besigheid daar in die yard en hy
622   kan sy pa help ja, maar hy's baie lui.
623   I: Het jy daai opsie om aandskool toe te gaan?
624   C1: Ja.
625   I: Waar gee hulle die aandskool?
626   C1: Hier by die skool.
627   I: Is dit?
628   C1: Ja, en hy't gesê hy gaan my kom haal en …

TEENAGE MOTHERS (10/05/02)
Interview One
LouAnn

001 I: When you said here you didn`t consider an alternative to keeping your baby – you
002 didn't think about adoption, you didn't think about having an abortion. Are you
003 aware of alternatives? Do you know that they exist – that you can do these things?
004 LA1: Yes
005 I: Ok, but you didn't even think about it because you have support from your family?
006 LA1: Yes
007 I: Is that support from your family important to you?
008 LA1: Yes
009 I: Ok, you also said that you weren't using a birth control method. Why not?
010 LA1: My mom said I was not big enough. And I am still her house so…
011 I: So, when she was saying that you shouldn't be using birth control methods, um,
012 was she saying as well you mustn't have sex?
013 LA1: Yes.
014 I: So what did she say when she heard you were pregnant?
015 LA1: For me it was difficult because I didn't know what to do and my boyfriend
016 knew I was pregnant. I told him that we must tell my mom and my father but he said
017 we must first wait and see if it really is … if I really am pregnant. And so we went to
018 a doctor and I found out – it was on valentine's day (very difficult to hear). I tried to
019 carry on like the old LouAnn, going on and so. But after three weeks my mom said,
020 'LouAnn? Why are you like this my child – I know you, I know what you are like'.
021 She said that I have changed a lot en hoekom het ek nog nie my maandstonde
022 gekry nie. Toe sê ek nee ek het dit gekry – ek het net nie vir mammie gesê nie,
023 want my ma weet wanneer ek dit kry. En toe sê sy sy gaan my doktor toe vat en toe
024 sê ek nee dis nie noodig nie, en toe los my ma vir my. En die volgende maand toe
025 vra sy weer, 'LouAnn wanneer kry jy jou maanstonding?' en toe sê ek ek het dit
026 gekry en toe sê sy ek moenie vir haar lieg nie, aseblief my kind. En die vierde
027 maand toe sê sy vir my ek moet met haar praat – ek moenie iets vir haar wegsteek
028 nie, want dan kan sy nie vir my help nie. Dan moet ek die skuld op myself dra, want
029 ek is nog jonk en so. Ons is nog onder ouderdom. Ons het toe doktor toe gegaan
030 en toe het hy en my ma gepraat daaroor. Sy het nie vir my geskel nie – sy het gesê
031 sy aanvaar dit en sy sal vir my bystaan en my pa ook en my boyfriend is nog altyd
032 by my.
033 I: So dit het nie `n familie krisis veroorsaak nie?
034 LA1: Nee
035 I: As jy nou die baba kry, gaan jy dan voorbehoedmiddels gebruik?
036 LA1: Ek moet ja
037 I: Wat sal jy gebruik?
038 LA1: Die naald
039 I: So die inspuiting?
040 LA1: Drie maande.
041 I: Hoekom?
042 LA1: Omdat ek vir eers niks wou gebruik het nie omdat ek het myself het ek getrust
043 dat ek nie seks sal hê voor die tyd nie, maar na die tyd, toe dit nou klaar gebeur
044 het, toe het my ma vir my gesê hoekom as ek so gevoel het dat dit gaan gebeur
045 dan kan jy die naald of iets gebruik het daarvoor, dan so die swangerskap nie
046 plaasgevind het nie. Ek weet hoekom ek so gesê het dat ek dit nooit sal doen nie -
047 maar nou na die baba sal ek dit doen, want just in case dit weer gebeur, en dan ist
048 ek weer met 'n baba en wat gan ek dan doen.
049 I: So jy het amper vir jouself ook gesê dat as jy nie voorbehoedmiddels gebruik nie,

324

050   sal dit jou amper keer.
051   LA1: Ja
052   I: Hoekom dink jy sal jy die inspuiting in plaas van die pil?
053   LA1: Omdat die inspiuting, veral, ek verkies die drie maande inspiuting, want dan
054   sal jy nie vergeet nie en dit hou langer, en jy sal wees wanneer jou datum weer is
055   want dit is oor drie maande. En hoekom nie die pil nie - want somtyds vergeet jy dat
056   jy die pil moed gebruik.
057   I: Was dit die eerste keer wat jy seks gehad het toe jy swanger geraak het?
058
059   LA1: Ja, dit het die 24 Desember gebeur het. En ek het self nie geweet - ek het
060   eers agterna uitgevind wat ek regtig gedoen het. Dit was mals...
061   I: Jy het geweet jy het seks gehad? Maar ...
062   LA1: Agterna het ek geweet ek het nou seks gehad, maar terwyl dit plaasgevind
063   het, was dit vir my amper gewees - dit niks.
064   I: Amper asof dit nie werklikheid was nie?
065   LA1: Ja
066   I: Was jy bang?
067   LA1: Ja, dit was die eerste keer wat ons daaroor gepraat het. Hy het vir my gesê hy
068   sal wag as ek nie nou wil nie, maar toe het dit daai dag gebeur.
069   I: Dit klink asof hy baie respek vir jou het.
070   LA1: Ja
071   I: Hoe oud is hy?
072   LA1: Hy word 22.
073   I: Wat doen hy?
074   LA1: Hy werk nog – hy het geld en als. Hy gaan swot nog.
075   I: Wat gaan hy swot?
076   LA1: Nursing
077   I: En jy woon by jou ouers op die oomblik?
078   LA1: Ja
079   I: Hoeveel mense is julle in die huis?
080   LA1: My ma, pa, ek en my twee susters.
081   I: Is hulle jonger as jy?
082   LA1: Ja
083   I: Wanneer gaan die baba gebore wees?
084   LA1: September – first week
085   I: Do you know if it is a boy or a girl?
086   LA1: It is a boy
087   I: Are you excited?
088   LA1: Yes
089   I: Are you glad it is a boy?
090   LA1: Not actually, but I must be thankful because God gave me a baby
091   I: Is everything ok with the baby?
092   LA1: Yes
093   I: You are in grade 12 now – you have to finish your matric final exams. How do you
094   think will the baby influence your exams?
095   LA1: It won`t because my mom says that she will help me. My boyfriend will also
096   help me with the baby. So I don't have to worry. And my teachers also said I
097   mustn't worry.
098   I: I can see your school is very important for you. What are you going to do next
099   year?
100   LA1: Not actually next year. Ek wil by die huis bly vir `n jaar. Ek wil nie werk vir `n
101   baas nie. Ek wil werk vir myself.
102   I: Wat wil jy doen?
103   LA1: Eers wil ek ontwerp – klere ontwerp. Ek het al van my ontwerpe gestuur na
104   UWC en hulle het vir my `n vorm gestuur. Hulle wil eers my matriekuitslae hê.

105 I: Hoe lyk jou skoolpunte. Is hulle goed?
106 LA1: Ja
107 I: So volgende jaar gaan jy eers by die huis wees vir `n ruk.
108 LA1: En werk, ja.
109 I: Is dit omdat die baba dan nog baie jonk gaan wees dat jy hierdie besluit geneem
110 het?
111 LA1: Ja
112 I: Ek het ook gewonder – waar is die kliniek van julle huis af?
113 LA1: Dit is in Elsiesrivier.
114 I: Ok, so dit is vêr. So is dit moeilik om by die kliniek uit te kom?
115 LA1: Nee
116 I: Ok, wat ek nou gaan doen, ek wil hê jy moet na die fotos kyk en die een kies
117 waarvan jy die meeste hou en ook die een waarvan jy die minste hou.
118 I: Kom ons gesels oor hierdie een. Hoekom het jy hom gekies?
119 LA1: [LA6] Ek het altyd gedog dat eendag as ek my goal het wil ek vir hom – ek sal
120 altyd as hy vir my iets vra, sal ek vir hom iets koop. Ek het nooit gedink ek sal op 17
121 swanger raak nie. Ek het altyd gedink eendag sal ek vir my kind alles wil gee wat
122 ek nie gehad het toe ek `n baba was nie.
123 I: Hoekom sê jy dan dat jy die meeste van die een hou, want jy sê eintlik dit is nie
124 eintlik hoe jy wou gehad het dit moes gewees het nie?
125 LA1: Omdat `n baba is vir my iets baie spesiaals en dis baie mooi en die gevoel vir
126 my – ek is baie gelukkig. So as ek die poppe sien dan dink ek sommer aan wat ek
127 vir hom gaan koop.
128 I: So al is dit nie regtig die omstandighede wat jy wou gehad het nie – die foto wys
129 dat jy baie gelukkig is?
130 LA1: Although dit nie op die regte tyd is nie, ek dink nog altyd dis – ek moet dit
131 aanvaar, dis nog altyd my droom dat ek 'n baba, of iemand eendag sal bederf of
132 sal...
133 I: Ok, en hierdie foto?
134 LA1: [LA2] Dit is my vriende – my portuurgroep hier by die skool en by die huis –
135 my vriende kring. Hulle is altyd daar vir my. En nou in die tyd van my swangerskap
136 het ek geweet – ek het nie eentlik gedink dat ek vir hulle sal sê dat ek swanger
137 gerak het, hulle sal maar self uitvind as ek klaar weg is van die skool want ek wil
138 nie dit aan hulle gesê het nie, want hulle het altyd opgekyk na my en vir my gesê
139 hulle dink baie van my en hulle sal nie wil hê dat ek voor die tyd moet swanger raak
140 nie. Hier in Uitsig is daar baie jong mammies – jong meisies wat swanger is. Ons
141 het altyd ons toekoms saam – almal het almal ons toekoms saam toegepas, mar dit
142 het nie so uitgewerk nie (very despondent at the end).
143 I: Maar ten spyte van dit, is hulle baie ondersteunend en hulle bly jou vriende?
144 LA1: Ja
145 I: En voel jy hulle vriendskap help jou baie deur hierdie tyd?
146 LA1: Ja, baie. Hulle is baie supportive
147 I: Voel jy jy het baie ondersteuning?
148 LA1: Ja
149 I: En as dit nie vir jou vriende was nie, sê nou jou vriende was nog baie
150 ondersteunend, maar jou ouers was nie, sou dit vir jou moeilik gewees het?
151 LA1: Baie, want ek woon in die huis by my ouers. En hulle woon nie saam met my
152 nie, my vriende woon vêr van my af so (inaudible)
153 I: En as dit andersom was – as jy baie ondersteuning gekry het van jou ouers, maar
154 nie van jou vriende nie?
155 LA1: Dan het ek skool verlaat.
156 I: Al was die onderwysers baie ondersteunend?
157 LA1: Ja, want ek is baie lief vir my vriende.
158 I: Hoekom het jy hierdie een gekies en gesê jy hou nie daarvan nie.
159 LA1: [LA3] Ek hou van die seuns – hulle is my klasmaats. Hulle is altyd die wat

160	dinge vir jou sê wat jy nie van hou nie en agterna sê hulle dit was net `n grap. Hulle
161	terg jou. Dan voel ek sleg. Dit maak my baie kwaad, maar hulle is baie oor my.
162	I: Weet baie mense in die skool jy is swanger? Of net jou vriende?
163	LA1: My klasmaats weet – ek weet nie of almal weet nie, maar ek dink na Maandag
164	sal almal weet seker – my klasonderwyser en my hoof weet ook.
165	I: Was dit oor waar maandag gegaan het?
166	LA1: Nee
167	I: So hulle maak jou baie kwaad, want hulle terg jou?
168	LA1: Ja
169	I: Vind jy partykeer dat hulle terg jou en dan voel jy dit raak te erg – jy kan nie meer
170	skool toe kom nie. Jy kan nie meer die situasie hanteer nie?
171	LA1: Nee, ek het vir myself gesê ek kan dit maak. Ek kan dit maak. Alhoewel hulle
172	so aangegaan het – hulle is nie elke dag die selfde nie.
173	I: Kies die foto wat ma-wees die heel beste uitbeeld en die een wat ma-wees die
174	heel minste uitbeeld. Hoekom het jy hierdie een gekies?
175	LA1: [LA9] Ek kyk op na hierdie vrou. Sy is altyd daar en sy gee altyd vir jou `n
176	woord. Sy gee om vir haar familie, sy is altyd daar vir die familie en sy doen baie
177	dinge. Baie dinge doen sy vir die familie. Sy vra vir jou altyd of jy gelukkig is en of jy
178	dit wil hê, as sy sien jy is af dan gee sy vir jou - dan maak sy `n grappie so dat jy
179	lekker kan lag. Sy praat altyd met jou oor dinge wat jy gedink het jy sal nooit oor
180	praat nie.
181	I: So sy is baie betrokke by jou en sy gee om vir jou – nie net fisies nie, maar ook
182	emosioneel. En dit is hoe ma-wees is?
183	LA1: Ja
184	I: En is dit jou ma?
185	LA1: Ja
186	I: En is dit jou sussie?
187	LA1: Ja
188	I: Sy is baie oulik. Hierdie foto – hoekom sê jy dit is ma-wees.
189	LA1: [LA7] Jy kan sien sy is gelukkig saam met haar familie. Sy is daar saam met
190	ons! Sy doen alles, sy gee vir jou kos, sy sien om na jou – jou bad tyd en alles. Als
191	is op tyd by haar.
192	I: En hoekom is dit nie ma wes nie?
193	LA1: Mmm – want jy moet baie omsien na baie dinge! Byvoorbeeld, jy kom uit die
194	werk uit dan moet jy kom kos maak, dan sien jy die doeke is nog nie gewas nie,
195	dan moet jy dit - nie met een kind nie, maar byvoorbeeld met drie kinders!
196	I: So jy is bewus van die stres wat daar is aan ma-wees en as gevolg van daai
197	stresse kan `n ma moed verloor.
198	LA1: Ja, byvoorbeeld ek het nie gedog - wat sal sy vir my sê as ek swanger word
199	want ek is 'n meisiekind: my ma het nie baie geskel met my nie, maar sy het baie
200	gepraat met my. En met 'n seun kind sal jy baie harder wees. As jy met 'n groep
201	vriende is wat nie vir jou reg is nie – hulle hou by verkerde plekke uit en hulle drink,
202	en so. En 'n meisiekind wat baie tedoen het met seuns en sy moet bang wees en
203	sy moet weg bly van sulke plekke af want dis gevaarlik in die aande.
204	I: Is dit goed waarvoor jy bang is vir jou eie kinders?
205	LA1: Ja
206	I: Wat dink jou ouers van jou ou?
207	LA1: Hulle is baie oor hom. Hy is altyd daar en ons is almal soos huiskinders.
208	I: So hou hulle van hom?
209	LA1: Ja. Hy is daar as my pa vir hom te help - iets te doen, in die huis in, dan is hy
210	daar of ma vra om iets te doen, dan doen hy dit.
211	I: Dink jy julle sal trou eendag?
212	LA1: Ek weet nie.
213	I: Dink jy nie so vêr op die oomblik nie?
214	LA1: Nee

215 I: Watter foto wys wat jy die meeste van ma-wees sal geniet en watter een wat jy
216 nie sal geniet van ma-wees nie?
217 LA1: [LA8] Hierdie foto summarize vir my en my baba.
218 I: Hoekom het jy hom gekies?
219 LA1: Omdat ek is baie gelukkig op die oomblik, al het ek nog nie geboorte geskenk
220 aan hierdie baba nie, ek is baie lief vir hom en ek sal als vir hom doen.
221 I: So jy het alreeds `n verhouding met die kind al is hy nog nie gebore nie.
222 LA1: Ja
223 I: En jy dink dit gaan vir jou baie vreugde skep – hierdie verhouding? Dat jy kan
224 omsien vir hierdie kind?
225 LA1: Ja, met my ouers en boyfriend se bystand.
226 I: En die ander een – hoekom sê jy dit is wat jy nie van ma-wees hou nie.
227 LA1: [LA9] Van al hierdie vrou se – wat sy moet doen en – dis vir my baie, dis baie.
228 As ek self sien in die huis wat sy alles moet doen – as ons nie vir haar help nie –
229 dan is dit baie, dis vir my baie.
230 I: So daai stres deel – die harde werk deel. Jy is bang jy sal dit nie kan doen nie.
231 LA1: Ja. En die praatery, want sy praat baie met ons.
232 I: Jou ma praat baie met julle oor goed waaroor jy nie sou gedink het nie – en ek
233 wonder of dit reflekteer die verantwoordelikheid wat jy gaan hê vir die kind.
234 LA1: Ja. Dis eintlik wat sy vir my sê, sy't vir my altyd gesê 'LouAnn, my kind, ek sê
235 vir jou jy moet nooit kinders kry nie, aseblief, want - sy praat baie met ons, sy sê so
236 sal julle voel as julle eendag kinders het. Baie praat en kwaad raak.
237 I: Is daar enige ander foto hier waaroor jy wil gesels?
239 LA1: [LA1] Wel, hierdie foto, dit is vir my iets baie, um, soos ek terugdink: Toe ek
240 hierdie ouderdom was, het ek nooit geweet dat ek 'n baba sal hê of swanger sal
241 raak. En op die ouderdom van 17 gebeur dit met my. Baie mense sê dit is nie iets
242 om oor skuldig te wees nie of om te voel jy wil nie meer lewe nie want baie mense
243 – daar is baie jong meisies vandag wat weet nie of hulle kinders kan kry nie, en jy
244 het nou die geleentheid om 'n kind in die lewe te bring. Maar ek dink nog altyd soos
245 hierdie meisie is nog op skool – sy het nog haar hele toekoms voor haar. Dis nie
246 dat ek nie meer 'n toekoms het nie, ek het nog altyd 'n toekoms dis nou maar net,
247 maar daar is nou die baba.
248 I: So dit is amper of die baba nou nog `n obstacle is? Jy kan verby dit kom maar dit
249 is nog iets.
250 LA1: Ja, want ek kan nie net op my ma en pa en boyfriend staatmaak nie. Ek moet
251 self staat maak. Ek is die ma. Ek moet eers daarmee deal en dan kan ek aangaan.
252 I: Wie is sy?
253 LA1: Dit is my suster.
254 I: Hoe oud is sy?
255 LA1: Sy's 14. Ek is amper `n voorbeeld vir haar. Sy kan sien wat nou met my
256 gebeur het, so sy moet sien dit moet nie met haar gebeur nie.
257 I: Is daar baie meisies hier in Uitsighoër wat `n baba het?
258 LA1: Ja, daar is twee in my klas, en Carol en die ander een in my klas. Verder weet
259 ek nie – hier is ook iemand in die skool wat `n aborsie gehad het.
260 I: Do you think if more girls come to school with a baby – brought the babies with
261 them to school - so that other people can see their experiences, they would be
262 more supportive because they can see what you have to go through.
263 LA1: Ja ek dink so. Want daar is baie in die skool hulle hoor dat die en die is
264 swanger en dan is eintlik so – hulle wat dit nie kop toe nie, en hulle gooi skimpe,
265 hulle sê goed in jou gesig wat jou sleg laat voel. Maar hulle weet dit gan met hulle
266 gebeur, alhoewel dit nie met hulle nou gaan gebeur nie, maar hulle dink nie aan
267 mense se gevoelens nie.
268 I: Maak dit vir jou baie seer as mense so iets doen?
269 LA1: Ja, maar my doel is eintlik dat – ek is wie ek is en ek kan staan – ek kan oor
270 alles kom. Dis nou die doel wat ek vir myself gestel het. Ek moet nie worry oor wat

271   ander mense van my dink en wat hulle van my sê nie. Ek dink ek is myself. Ek is
272   ek. Ek is uniek.
273   I: Jy is trots op jouself.
274   LA1: Ja
275   I: Is daar enige foto hier waaroor jy nie wil gesels nie?
276   LA1: Ek het oor als eintlik gesels.
277   I: Is daar `n foto wat jy graag wou neem, maar nie kon nie?
278   LA1: Van my partner
279   I: Hoekom nie?
280   LA1: Hy was nie in die rondte nie.
281   I: Waar was hy?
282   LA1: Hy was by die job wat hy het.
283   I: Ok, so jy kon nie van hom `n foto neem nie. Sou jy net `n foto van sy gesig wou
284   neem? Of?
285   LA1: Ja
286   I: Wil jy probeer om te teken?
287   LA1: Nee – ek kannie (starts laughing)
288   I: Wat dink jy gaan jou die meeste help wanneer die baba gebore is?
289   LA1: Wat vir my sal help is my ma byvoorbeld as ek by die skool is dan sal my ma
290   altyd daar wees en sy sal vir hom sê – sy sal vir hom alles gee wat hom makeer.
291   Byvoorbeeld as hy nou groot is en hy weet wat om te doen soos drie of vier jaar
292   our, dan sal sy vir hom sê moenie so maak nie en moenie so maak nie so in die
293   vervolg sal hy weet hy moenie weer daar gaan en so an nie. Maar respek is
294   belangrik. Want deesdae die kinders hier in Uitsig, hulle is almal lelik, van kleins af
295   hulle gaan nie kerk toe nie. Die jong mammies gaan saam met hulle kinders na die
296   smokkelhuise en dit is wat ek nie graag wil doen nie.
297   I: So jy gaan respek en dissipline in jou kind leer. En die rol van jou ma in jou kind
298   se grootmaak – gaan dit jou baie help. Sy gaan hom op 'n verantwoordlike manier
299   hom help groot maak, sy gaan nie hom net bederf of…
300   LA1: Ja. My ouma doen dit (i.e. bederf) en omdat ons is ses susters, en hulle het by
301   my ouma groot geword en my ouma het hulle baie gespoil nou as hulle iets soek by
302   my pa dan kan hy dit nie vir hulle gee nie dan is dit amper so dat hulle is nie in die
303   huis nie, daar is nie liefde nie, en. Dit kan lei na konflik want die kry die meeste en
304   die anders kry niks.
305   I: Het jy al met jou ma hieroor gesels en vir haar gesê dis vir jou belangrik en die
306   kind dat sy nie hom bederf nie?
307   LA1: Soos sy nou aangaan is dit net asof sy vir hom sal bederf! Ek bedoel as sy vir
308   hom bederf, en dan kom hy na my toe dan het ek nie eits om vir hom te gee nie
309   dan gaan dit iets anders wees.
310   I: So jy voorsien nie dat sy rerig vir hom sal bederf nie.
311   LA1: Sy sê as jy iemand bederf en hy raak grooter, so raak hy grooter met daai
312   manier – hulle bederf vir my so ek kry alles wat ek wil hê, en eendag as hy nie kan
313   kry dan sal hy steel! En dan sal hy dink nee ek kan niks meer kry wat ek wil hê nie
314   so ek gaan maar my eie way maak, en hy sal op die straat gaan bly en sal steel om
315   te koop wat hy wil hê.
316   I: Jy het nooit daaraan gedink om van die huis af weg te loop nie?
317   LA1: Nee
318   I: Toe jou ouers uitvind jy is swanger, hulle was ok daarmee?
319   LA1: Ja, nee, nie met my pa nie – my pa het, toe ek my boyfriend om nou van - hy
320   was amper asof hy dit nie kon glo nie. Ek is die derde oudste en ek is nog in
321   matriek en ek bring die eerste kleinkind.
322   I: Hoekom dink jy dit het so gebeur?
323   LA1: Ek weet nie – baie keer dink jy die een waarvoor jy die liefste is, dan gebeur
324   dinge met daai een. Hulle het nie gedink dit sal met my gebeur nie. Vir my is dit
325   amper – jy moet nie kies vir wie jy die liefste is nie. Jy moet vir almal lief wees.

326   I: Dink jy miskien jou pa se houding het jou beinvloed – dat jy gedink het dit kan nie
327   met jou gebeur nie?
328   LA1: Omdat hy altyd vir ons gesê het hy sal vir ons uitsit by die huis. Hy sal niks
329   doen vir die kind nie en so. Dit is hoekom – ek was bang! My ma het met ons
330   gepraat oor seks. Met my vriende het ek nooit daaroor gesels nie. Oor
331   voorbehoedmiddels en so. Ek het nie gedink dit sal wees wat ek eendag sal moet
332   gebruik nie.
333   I: Was dit nie baie swaar vir jou daai eerste vier maande nie? Jy wou nie vir jou
334   ouers vertel nie en dit was `n geheim. Was dit nie vir jou baie swaar nie?
335   LA1: Ja, baie.
336   I: Was dit `n groot stres?
337   LA1: Nie 'n groot stress, want elke dag het ek dieselfde gelyk, maar binne het ek
338   gewonder wat gaan my ma sê? Sy gaan my uitsit. Wat gaan my ouma sê? Gaan
339   my boyfriend my los? Gaan my vriende my verlaat? Almal gaan omkeer. Maar dit
340   was nie so nie.
341   I: So jy was bang hulle verwerp jou?
342   LA1: Ja
343   I: Was jy baie verlig toe jou ma uiteindelik uitvind?
344   LA1: Ja, omdat sy het vir my gesê sy kon sien iets is nie reg nie. Die tyd toe ek vir
345   haar sê, sy was nie kwaad nie. Sy het by my gestaan.
346   I: Dink jy omdat sy elke maand na jou toe gekom het en gevra het wat is fout, sy
347   eintlik `n kans gehad het om deur dit te werk?
348   LA1: Ja
349   I: Dink jy dat jou swangerskap jou in enige manier laat groei het? Is daar iets in jou
350   wat jou anders is as voordat jy swanger geraak het?
351   LA1: Ek was eers `n baie grapjas. My houding het nou verander. In die huis was ek
352   nie baie helperig nie. Maar nou het ek die responsibility. Ek weet ek gaan 'n
353   responsibility het so ek moet maar nou al begint. Ek was en ek doen dit en as my
354   ma vir my vra, dan doen ek dit. Al vra sy nie.
355   I: So jy het meer verantwoordelik geraak
356   LA1: Ja
357   I: Voel jy asof jy ouer geraak het?
358   LA1: Nee
359   I: Hoe het jy uitgevind jy is swanger?
360   LA1: Toe ek begin opgooi het – every Sunday mornings. Ek was by my ouma, maar
361   ek het nie eintlik geweet dit is `n teken van swangerskap nie. My ouma het gevra
362   wat gaan aan. Toe dink ek by myself is ek dalk swanger.
363   I: En het jy jou ou gevra om jou doktor toe te vat?
364   LA1: Nee, hy het self gesê hy wil weet of hy nou moet begin geld spaar of wat.
365   I: Hoe was sy houding teenoor jou toe jy uitvind.
366   LA1: Die dag toe ek uitvind, was ek baie hartseer – ek het aan my toekoms gedink,
367   ek het an almal gedink – my vriende, my ouers, my familie. So ek het nie eintlik
368   gekyk hoe sy houding is nie. Maar hy het my hand gevat en dit het gelyk asof hy dit
369   saam met my voel. Maar hoe kan hy dit saam met my voel? Dis al twee van ons se
370   responsibility.
371   I: En is hy beslis `n deel hiervan. Hy voel ook so?
372   LA1: Ja
373   I: Jou swangerskap tot dusver. Was dit ok?
374   LA1: Net somtyds bv. raak ek gou kwaad as ek iets wil hê en ek kan dit nie kry nie.
375   I: So het jou emosies verander? Is jy baie meer buierig?
376   LA1: Ja!
377   I: Beplan jy om in `n hospitaal geboorte te gee?
378   LA1: Ja
379   I: Weet jy al waar?
380   LA1: Tygerberg of Elsies

381 I: In die toekoms, voel jy asof jy beheer het nou? Om swanger weer te raak?
382 LA1: Dit is nie my plan om weer swanger te raak nie. Maar eers voordat ek
383 swanger geword het, het ek gesê ek wil eendag 6 kinders hê! En nou dat ek
384 swanger is met die eerste kind wil ek nie meer…
385 I: So nou dink jy jy wil net die een kind hê – hoekom?
386 LA1: Ek het nie geweet dat met die eerste kind dan sal my mind change nie. Ek het
387 altyd gedink ek wil 6 hê, maar ek het nie geweet wat swangerskap is nie. Nou wat
388 ek weet wat swangerskap is!
389 I: Is dit net die swangerskap of is dit die verantwoordelikheid ook?
390 LA1: Dit is baie geld.
391 I: So geld is 'n groot faktor?
392 LA1: Dis nie eintlik 'n groot faktor nie, maar ek dink daaraan.
393 I: So as jy een kind het, kan jy beter vir daai kind sorg?
394 LA1: Ja
395 I: Maar jy het beheer oor jou besluit. Jou ou sal nie omdraai en sê hy wil meer hê
396 nie.
397 LA1: Ek weet nie of ons ver in die toekoms nog saam sal wees nie. Ek kan nie sê
398 nie.
399 I: Sien jy uit na die geboorte?
400 LA1: Nee
401 I: Is jy bang?
402 LA1: Ja, ek neem boeke uit en ek sien dit is baie seer. My ma sê ook dit is baie
403 seer.
404 I: As jy na die kliniek toe gaan, sê hulle vir jou wat om te doen as jy geboorte gee?
405 LA1: Ja
406 I: Hoe hanteer hulle jou by die kliniek? Is hulle ombeskof of vriendelik?
407 LA1: Hulle hanteer jou goed. Hulle is ok.

TEENAGE MOTHERS (08/05/02)
Interview One
Lucy

001   I: Ek gaan eers met hierdie vrae begin wat ek uitgewerk het. In die vraelys het ek
002   die vraag gevra: "Het jy alternatiewe oorweeg as om die baba te hou? Ek het
003   gewonder – was jy bewus van alternatiewe? Was jy bewus dat jy `n aborsie kon kry
004   of die baba vir aanneming kon gee? Was jy bewus daarvan?
005   L1: Nee
006   I: Nie? So gesels hulle met julle in die skool? Gesels hulle met julle oor goed soos
007   aborsie?
008   L1: Nee glad nie.
009   I: En ek het ook aan die einde gevra, was jy op `n voorbehoedmiddel toe jy
010   swanger geraak het? Was jy bewus van voorbehoedmiddels?
011   L1: Ja
012   I: Jy was. Jy het gesê jy het nie voorbehoedmiddels gebruik nie. Het jy dan beplan
013   om die baba te kry? Hoekom het jy nie voorbehoedmiddels gebruik nie?
014   L1: geen respons
015   I: Jy weet nie? Het jy beplan om die baba te kry?
016   L1: Nee
017   I: Was die voorbehoedmiddels nie beskikbaar nie?
018   L1: Dit was beskikbaar. Dit het nie in my gedagte opgekom nie.
019   I: Hoekom dink jy het dit nie in jou gedagte opgekom nie?
020   L1: Alles het so gou gebeur.
021   I: Het jy vir lank met die pa van die baba…Het julle `n verhouding gehad. Was hy
022   jou ou? Is hy nogsteeds jou ou?
023   L1: Ja, vir omtrent `n halwe jaar.
024   I: `n Halwe jaar. En het julle toe jy swanger geraak het vir `n lang tyd al seks gehad
025   of het julle net begin seks hê?
026   L1: Nee
027   I: So was dit die eerste keer?
028   L1: Ja
029   I: So nou verstaan ek hoekom jy nie voorbehoedmiddels gebruik het nie. Hoe oud
030   is die baba se pa?
031   L1: 16 jaar
032   I: Is hy nog op skool?
033   L1: Ja
034   I: Beplan hy om skool klaar te maak?
035   L1: Ja
036   I: En ek het gewonder – hoekom is jy uit die skool uit?
037   L1: Toe ek nou uitgevind het, toe los ek die skool.
038   I: So het jy bloot skool gelos omdat jy swanger was en het jy nie kans gesien om
039   skool te gaan terwyl jy swanger is?
040   L1: Ja
041   I: En ek het gewonder saam met wie woon jy op die oomblik.
042   L1: By my ma
043   I: Wie is almal in die huis?
044   L1: Dit is net ek en my ma en my suster.
045   I: Is dit jou suster se baba die?
046   L1: Ja
047   I: Hoe oud is jou suster?
048   L1: Sy is nou 21.
049   I: Ok. Ek gaan nou die fotos uithaal en dan gaan ons oor hulle gesels. Ek wil hê jy

332

050   moet twee fotos kies. Die een waarvan jy die meeste hou en die een waarvan jy die
051   minste hou.
052   I: [Lucy20] Hoekom hou jy van die foto so baie?
053   L1: Want ek is lief vir my ma en sy hou baie van lê
054   I: Hoekom noem jy dit op?
055   L1: Want ek het daai van haar afgeleer. Ek hou baie van lê in die laaste tyd.
056   I: So as jy gaan lê dink jy aan jou ma.
057   L1: Ja
058   I: Is jou ma baie ondersteunend met jou swangerskap?
059   L1: Ja baie
060   I: Hoe het sy gereageer toe jy vir haar vertel het?
061   R: Sy het vir `n bietjie nie met my gepraat nie.
062   I: Was sy geskok of was sy kwaad?
063   R: Sy was altwee, maar agterna toe begin sy beter raak.
064   I: So nou het sy dit aanvaar en is sy nou ok daarmee?
065   L1: Dit lyk of sy nou ok is daarmee.
066   I: Hoekom sê jy dit *lyk* asof sy ok is daarmee?
067   L1: Somtyds skel sy my daaroor en somtyds praat sy goed – dan is sy net goed
068   met jou.
069   I: Het sy vir jou gesê hoekom sy kwaad is met jou hieroor?
070   L1: Ja
071   I: Wat is haar redes?
072   L1: Sy het gesê sy het baie opgekyk na my en sy het gedink ek gaan skool
073   klaarmaak sonder `n kind. Sy het gesê dit maak haar baie kwaad en sy sal my nie
074   gou vergewe nie. Sy sal, maar dit sal `n tyd vat voor sy oor dit kom.
075   I: So sy het drome vir jou gehad?
076   L1: Ja sy het groot drome gehad.
077   I: Dink jy jy kan nog daai drome behaal selfs al het jy `n kind?
078   L1: Ek kan my drome nog behaal as ek skool klaarmaak. Ek sal vir haar wys ek stel
079   nog belang.
080   I: Sy het baie drome gehad en het jy baie drome vir jouself?
081   L1: Nee net een – om `n doktor te word. `n Sukses te maak vir jou lewe?
082   I: Wat was jou ma se drome gewees?
083   L1: Sy wou ook gehad het ek moet `n doktor word en as ek nou groot is dat ek `n
084   goeie voorbeeld kan wees vir my susters, want ek is mos nou al een nog op skool
085   en sy het baie uitgegee vir my.
086   I: So hoekom hou jy nie van die foto nie?
087   L1: [Lucy3] Hulle terg my en as ek miskien nou hier skoongemaak het, dan krap
088   hulle weer hierso en dit maak my kwaad.
089   I: Waaroor terg hulle jou?
090   L1: So miskien as ek my was, dan wil hulle hier wees en hulle wil met my maag
091   speel. Hulle is oral waar ek bedrywig is, daar wil hulle ook daar wees. As ek sê klim
092   af van die kooi af, dan wys hulle hulle sal nie.
093   I: So hulle is baie irriterend
094   L1: Baie
095   I: En hulle is altwee jou suster se kinders.
096   L1: Ja
097   I: As jy na daai twee kyk, hoe laat dit jou voel oor die kind wat jy nou verwag?
098   L1: Ek weet nie eintlik wat om te dink nie.
099   I: Is jy bang dat jou kind dieselfde gaan wees?
100   L1: Soos hulle twee, want sy het vir haar geleer die geitjie maniere.
101   I: Hoe is jou suster teenoor hulle? As jou suster daar is, dan gedra hulle hulle?
102   L1: Ja, maar wanneer ek alleen is en hulle twee is saam, dan maak hulle amper of
103   hulle die ma in die huis is.
104   I: Is jou suster baie betrokke met haar kinders?

105	L1: (unclear)
106	I: Kies nou aseblief die foto wat ma-wees die heel beste vir jou verteenwoordig.
107	Watter een laat jou dink dit is vir my hoe `n ma is.
108	L1: [Lucy6] Om haar kind netjies te hou.
109	I: Wie is dit?
110	L1: Dit is my niggie
111	I: En is dit jou niggie se kind?
112	L1: Nee, dit is my vriend se kind.
113	I: So wat is spesiaal vir jou aan die foto? Die feit dat sy die kind was?
114	L1: Ja, en agter die kind kan kyk.
115	I: En om vir die kind te sorg. Hoe verstaan jy om vir `n kind te sorg?
116	L1: Om agter die kind te kyk, om hom versorg te hou.
117	I: Wat bedoel jy om agter die kind te kyk? Is dit meer fisies of meer emosioneel?
118	L1: Want sommige mense hulle het kinders en dan los hulle miskien die kind vir `n
119	halwe dag by die huis en dan is hulle op die go en ek wil nie so wees nie. Ek wil
120	heeldag agter die kind kyk.
121	I: So dit is om regtig betrokke te wees.
122	L1: Ja
123	I: En dit is net om te voorsien vir die kind se klere en kos of is daar meer?
124	L1: Nee, ook sy gesondheid.
125	I: En as die kind `n bietjie groter raak?
126	L1: Dan sal ek mos vir hom skool toe stuur.
127	I: As jy na die fotos kyk, watter een is vir jou hoe `n ma nie moet wees nie?
128	Hoekom kies jy hierdie een?
129	L1: [Lucy13] `n Ma moet nie drink nie. `n Ma kan drink, maar sy moet nie baie drink
130	nie. Sy moet darem haar step hou. Sy moenie eintlik drink nie. Dit is nie gesond
131	nie.
132	I: So sy kan drink, maar sy moet nie dronk raak nie.
133	L1: Ja
134	I: Wie is dit?
135	L1: Dit is die kind se ma. Baie lief vir drink.
136	I: Drink sy net in die aande of
137	L1: Net weekends.
138	I: So jy sê `n ma maak nie so nie. Raak sy kwaad as sy so is?
139	L1: Sy is baie, hoe kan ek sê – vulgar.
140	I: So sy maak vuil grappies en so?
141	L1: Ja
142	I: Hoekom sê jy dit is nie ma-wees nie? Hoekom is dit nie goed vir die kind nie?
143	L1: Die kind kyk mos nou op na sy ma. Hy wil mos nou hê sy ma moet deur die dag
144	daar wees vir hom. Nou drink die ma.
145	I: Hoekom het jy daai foto geneem?
146	L1: Ek haat moeders wat so is. Wat drink.
147	Ok, watter foto wys wat jy die heel meeste van ma-wees sal geniet. Of kom ek vra
148	dit so – watter van die fotos wys wat jy die meeste van swangerwees geniet.
149	L1: [Lucy8] Om kos te maak. Ek hou baie van kosmaak.
150	I: Hoe is dit verbonde aan die feit dat jy swanger is? Wat is dit van swangerwees
151	en kosmaak – wat is die verhouding tussen die twee?
152	L1: Dit hou vir my besig.
153	I: Ok, so is dit vervelig. Vind jy dat jy verveeld word noudat jy uit die skool is.
154	L1: Ja
155	I: So as jy kosmaak, dan is jy besig.
156	L1: Ja
157	I: Hoekom spesifiek kosmaak?
158	L1: Want ek hou nie eintlik van radio luister nie of so. Ek wil iets doen met my
159	hande.

160   I: Ok. En watter foto wys wat jy die minste van swangerwees hou? Wat is erg vir
161   jou om swanger te wees?
162   L1: [Lucy4] Tussen mense wat drink te wees.
163   I: Waar was hierdie foto geneem?
164   L1: Agter in die jaart.
165   I: En wie is hierdie mense?
166   L1: Hulle (unclear) en toe vat ek die foto terwyl hulle drink. Vir my was dit erg
167   gewees.
168   I: Hoekom is dit vir jou erg?
169   L1: Want hulle drink en nou skel hulle en hulle kom verby my en hulle loop en rook
170   en nou kom praat iemand miskien met my. Dit is swaar om met sulke mense te
171   wees wat elke dag om jou is.
172   I: Jy het gesê hulle rook om jou. Hoekom hou jy nie daarvan nie?
173   L1: Die doktor het gesê dit is ongesond vir my – dit affect die kind ook. Nou asem
174   ons ook daai in en die kind kan miskien siek raak en so.
175   I: So dit is jou gesondheid en die kind se gesondheid.
176   L1: Ja
177   I: Dit is vir jou belangrik.
178   L1: Ja, ek het mos `n borsprobleem as dit warm is.
179   I: Wat gebeur?
180   L1: Dan trek my bors toe.
181   I: Ok, so doen jy presies wat die doktor vir jou sê vir jou gesondheid?
182   L1: Ja
183   I: Is daar enige ander foto waaroor jy graag wil praat wat hier is?
184   L1: [Lucy15] Dit is die pa
185   I: Hy lyk vies. Is hy? Wat het sy ouers gesê toe hulle uitvind jy is swanger en hy is
186   die pa?
187   L1: Ek weet nie eintlik wat het hulle vir hom gesê het nie. Hulle het nie met my
188   kwaai gepraat nie. Hulle het met hom gepraat.
189   I: Ok
190   L1: En my ma het met my gepraat. Agterna toe sê hulle aanvaar dit. Dit is mos nou
191   klaar so – hulle kan mos nou nie die kind afmaak of so nie. Dit is mos nou net soos
192   dit is en klaar.
193   I: En hy het niks vir jou gesê oor wat sy ouers gesê het nie?
194   L1: Nee, en ek het vir hom niks gesê oor wat my ma gesê het nie.
195   I: Ok. Hoe is Bernard se ouers teenoor jou?
196   L1: Hulle gee baie om. Maar sy ma drink baie. Hy worry nie eintlik oor haar nie.
197   I: En as sy drink, hoe is sy met jou?
198   L1: Nee ek loop.
199   I: Ok, so hulle is baie ondersteunend?
200   L1: Ja
201   I: Wanneer die baba nou gebore is, gaan hy by sy ouers bly en jy gaan by jou
202   ouers bly?
203   L1: Ja
204   I: Hoe is julle verhouding?
205   L1: Dit is goed.
206   I: Kom julle goed oor die weg?
207   L1: Ja
208   I: En is hy baie liefdevol en ondersteunend?
209   L1: Ja
210   I: Ok, is daar enige foto hier waaroor jy nie wil praat nie? Hoekom?
211   L1: [Lucy9] Want ek het geslaap, toe maak my ma my wakker en toe sien ek daar
212   gaan die flash af in my gesig in.
213   I: Wat het jou ma gedink van die hele ding dat jy die kamera het en dan jy die fotos
214   neem?

215	L1: My ma het gesê dit is goed dat ek my besig hou.
216	I: So sy was positief hieroor?
217	L1: Ja
218	I: Het jy vir haar verduidelik wat jy mee besig is?
219	L1: Ja
220	I: Sê vir my wat is moeilik vir jou om swanger te wees?
221	L1: Wanneer ek nie kan slaap nie.
222	I: Is dit iets wat gebeur het toe jy swanger geraak het?
223	L1: Ja
224	I: Hoe laat dit jou voel as jy nie kan slaap nie?
225	L1: Ek raak moeg.
226	I: Wat maak jy in die aande as jy nie kan slaap nie?
227	L1: Ek kyk tv of luister musiek.
228	I: Gebeur dit gereeld?
229	L1: Nou gebeur dit gereeld
230	I: Wat is belonend vir jou om swanger te wees? Is daar iets wat jou spesiaal
231	daaroor laat voel?
232	L1: Nie eintlik nie.
233	I: Waaroor is jy regtig bang vir wanneer die kind gebore is. Is daar iets wat jou bang
234	maak?
235	L1: Nie regtig nie
236	I: So jy is fine met die geboorte van die kind? Is daar nie iets wat jou angstig laat
237	voel nie?
238	L1: Ek is bang daar loop iets verkeerd met my of die kind.
239	I: En wanneer die kind bietjie groter is?
240	L1: Ek kan nie nou al daaraan dink nie!
241	I: So jy vat dit dag vir dag.
242	L1: Ja
243	I: Is daar enigiets wat jy uit die ervaring geleer het – om swanger te raak? Soos van
244	`n lewensles?
245	L1: Ek het geleer om om te gee
246	I: Voel jy asof jy groot geword het – emosioneel – binnekant?
247	L1: Nee
248	I: Toe jy swanger geraak het, hoe het jy uitgevind?
249	L1: Daai is die eerste keer toe my bors by die skool toegeslat het. Ek het `n
250	borsprobleem gehad toe ek jonger gewees het, maar skielik daai dag, toe attack dit
251	my weer en toe het ek hospitaal toe gegaan en daar het ek uitgevind.
252	I: So het hulle bloed getrek
253	L1: Ja
254	I: Was jy `n paar weke swanger of hoe lank?
255	L1: Ek was twee maande gewees.
256	I: As die kind gebore is, gaan jy dan voorbehoedmiddels gebruik?
257	L1: Ja!
258	I: Hoe het jy gevoel toe jy uitgevind het jy is swanger?
259	L1: Ek was eerste bang gewees om te dink wat gaan ek nou doen.
260	I: Hoe lank het dit vir jou gevat om oor die bangheid te kom?
261	L1: Twee weke en toe my ma nou toe begin praat met my, toe voel ek ook nou reg.
262	I: So haar ondersteuning was vir jou baie belangrik
263	L1: Ja
264	I: Die dag toe jy uitvind, hoe lank daarna het jou ma uitgevind?
265	L1: Ek was by die doktor gewees en toe het een van die onderwysers van die skool
266	af vir my ma laat weet en toe het sy ook soontoe gekom
267	I: So sy het ook by die hospitaal uitgevind.
268	L1: Ja
269	I: Het die doktor of suster wat vir jou behandel het vir jou alleen gesê dat jy

270 swanger is of was jou ma by?
271 L1: Eerste alleen en toe vra hulle of ek my ma wil sê en of hulle dit moet sê. Toe sê
272 ek ek sal maar eerste huis toe gaan, want ek wil mos nou vir hom ook by my hê dat
273 ons altwee daar is.
274 I: So hy was by jou toe jy vir jou ma gesê het?
275 L1: Ek was baie, baie, baie bang?
276 I: Maar hoe sou dit vir jou gewees het as hy nie by jou gewees het nie?
277 L1: Dan sou ek nie vir my ma gesê het nie.
278 I: So sy ondersteuning in daai oomblik was…
279 L1: Dit was belangrik gewees.
280 I: Wat het hy gesê toe jy vir hom gesê het?
281 L1: Hy het niks gesê nie.
282 I: Was hy geskok?
283 L1: Ja
284 I: En nou?
285 L1: Hy is nou fine
286 I: Is hy bang oor pa-wees of is hy opgewonde daaroor?
287 L1: Hy is baie opgewonde daaroor nou in die laaste paar maande.
288 I: Beplan jy om geboorte te gee in die hospitaal?
289 L1: Ja
290 I: Watter hospitaal sal jy na toe gaan?
291 L1: Hulle sal my Tygerberg toe stuur.
292 I: Beskryf vir my hoe jy mawees verstaan.
293 L1: Ek verstaan nie eintlik wat dit is om 'n ma te wees nie, want ek is nog nie een
294 nie. Maar ek moet nie meer na my ma kan kyk nie. Ek moet op my eie twee voete
295 staan, want ek het nou iemand om voor te sorg. Dit is nou my deel daai.
296 I: So voel jy wanneer die kind gebore is, dan gaan jy 'n volwasse mens moet wees.
297 L1: Ja
298 I: Sê vir my, voel jy asof iets van jou weggeneem is?
299 L1: Nie eintlik nie
300 I: Voel jy asof jy iets bygekry het in jou lewe in 'n positiewe sin?
301 L1: Ja
302 I: So hierdie gebeure, al die bangheid opsy, is eintlik vir jou 'n positiewe ervaring.
303 L1: Nie eintlik nie
304 I: Is dit vir jou meer negatief?
305 L1: Ja
306 I: So as jy dit kon oorhê, sou jy eerder gewag het?
307 L1: Ja
308 I: Is daar enigiets anders wat jy wil sê oor jou swangerskap?
309 L1: Nie eintlik nie.
310 I: Sê vir my as jy kliniek toe gaan, vertel hulle vir jou goed om jou voor te berei vir
311 wanneer die baba daar is?
312 L1: Toe die kliniek my hospitaal toe gestuur het, die eerste twee weke toe praat
313 hulle met ons.
314 I: So het hulle al met jou gepraat oor goed soos borsvoeding?
315 L1: Ja, hulle het ook boekies uitgedeel.
316 I: Gaan jy borsvoed?
317 L1: Die doktor het gesê dit is die gesondste.
318 I: Was daar 'n foto wat jy wou geneem het wat jy nie kon neem nie?
319 L1: Daar is een wat ek wou gevat het van my en my ma.
320 I: Hoekom het jy dit nie geneem nie?
321 L1: My ma was die meeste van die tyd besig gewees. Sy het nie tyd gehad nie.
322 I: Wil jy graag teken hoe die foto sou gelyk het?
323 I: Is daar enigiets wat jy wou bysit?
324 L1: Nee

325 I: Jou ma en jy kyk na mekaar. Hoekom?
326 L1: Daar is tye wat my ma besig is, dan het sy nie tyd vir my nie. Dan kyk ek net so
327 in haar rigting en dan kyk sy vir my. Dan voel ek so uit.
328 I: So dit sal vir jou lekker wees as sy vir jou tyd maak
329 L1: Ja, dit voel asof sy nie note vat nie. So as of sy nie tyd vir my het nie. Agterna
330 as sy met my praat, dan voel ek weer gelukkig.
331 I: As sy met jou praat, hoe laat dit jou voel?
332 L1: Dit laat my gelukkig voel.
333 I: Jou ma se rok het blomme aan en jou nie nie. Hoekom?
334 L1: Sy is lief vir blommeklere!
335 I: Het julle verhouding verander toe jy uitgevind het jy is swanger?
336 L1: Vir twee weke, maar toe agterna is dit weer dieselfde.
337 I: Dink jy miskien julle het nader aan mekaar gekom?
338 L1: Nou? Ja.
339 I: So miskien het jou swangerskap jou nader aan haar gebring.
340 L1: Ek dink so, ja
341 I: Hoe hanteer jou ma jou nou? Nog soos `n kind, of meer soos `n volwassene?
342 L1: Nogsteeds soos `n baby.
343 I: Hoekom is daar niks op jou rok nie?
344 L1: Ek hou van iets plain.
345 I: Wat was vir jou verkeerd met hierdie een?
346 L1: Ek wou een gevat het waar ek sonatoe staan.
347 I: Sodat `n mens jou maag kon sien?
348 L1: Ja
349 I: Kan ek vir jou `n weird vraag vra? Is jy trots oor jou maag?
350 L1: Nie vir buitekant nie.
351 I: En as jy alleen binnekant is?
352 L1: Dan, ja, voel ek baie goed. Mense praat baie. En dit is grootmense. Hulle is
353 meer oor ander mense se kinders – praat, maar hulle kyk nie eens agter hulle eie
354 kinders nie. Toe sê my ma vir my moenie worry oor ander mense nie – ek is my ma
355 se kind en my ma se kind sal ek bly. So wat hulle te sê het, is hulle saak.
356 Nevermind hulle – hulle is nie familie nie.
357 I: Maar hoe laat dit jou voel?
358 L1: Ek kyk net een rigting as ek loop. Ek worry nie nog om rond te kyk nie. Anders
359 sou ek baie gedink het oor wat hulle te sê het.
360 I: En as jy oor dit gedink het, sou dit jou seergemaak het?
361 L1: Dit sou my baie seergemaak het.
362 I: En daai mense wat so skinder, wat maak hulle kinders?
363 L1: Hulle steel, kry alles reg. (vertel storie van bure – ma en kind wat vloek en skel)
364 I: So hierdie ma en kind is nie eintlik voorbeeldige mense nie.
365 L1: Die vrou gaan so elke keer kerk toe, maar sy vloek en skel. Elke keer soek
366 haar kind eerste moeilikheid met die mense en dan wil sy niks weet van haar kind
367 nie.
368 I: Is dit vir jou hartseer dat jy nie al die tyd kan, soos jy alleen binnekant is en die
369 baba skop, dan maak dit jou warm binnekant. Dan kan jy trots wees oor jou maag
370 en lekker voel oor als. Is dit vir jou hartseer dat jy – dat dit mense is soos hierdie
371 vrou wat dit van jou wegneem – jy kan nie as jy buitekant stap so voel nie.
372 L1: Ja, ek kan nie gelukkig voel nie, want hulle hou `n mens dop en jy weet nie hoe
373 om te voel nie. Ek voel baie hartseer daaroor, maar net wanneer ek by die huis is
374 rondom my vriende en familie, dan voel ek gelukkig.
375 I: Is dit vir jou baie swaar om dit in jou omgewing te hê – hierdie mense.
376 L1: Dit is baie swaar.
377 I: Maak dit vir jou baie hartseer as mense so met jou is.
378 L1: My ma sê solank ek binne die huis is en my ma vir my liefde kan gee, moet ek
379 nie worry nie oor dit wat buite aangaan nie.

380   I: Raak jy ooit bang om buite te stap?
381   L1: Eerste was ek bang om buite te gaan, uit te gaan, maar nou toe sê my ma ek
382   moenie worry nie. Ek moet loop – ek moet vir hulle wys. Terwyl my ma omgee, is
383   alles oraait.

TEENAGE MOTHERS (08/05/02)
Interview One
Nici

001   I: Ek wou vir jou vra, het altwee die kinders dieselfde pa?
002   N1: Ja
003   I: So jy ken hom al van lank af al.
004   N1: Ja
005   I: Hoe oud is die pa?
006   N1: 17
007   I: Ok. En julle het lankal uitgegaan?
008   N1: Van 11 jaar af het ons uitgegaan en ek was 13 toe kry ek my eerste baba. En
009   my tweede baba was ek 16.
010   I: En jy was nie swanger tussenin met `n ander kind nie?
011   N1: Nee
012   I: Ok, en jy het gesê jy het nie voorbehoedmiddels gebruik nie.
013   N1: Ek het toe ek vir hom (i.e. her eldest son) klaar het, toe het ek vir `n tyd
014   gebruik. Maar toe worry ek nie meer nie, want ek het nie met outjies en so geworry
015   nie, maar toe los ek dit en toe was ek en my suster was by die home (i.e.
016   orphanage) gewees – my tweeling suster – en as ek kom kuier het, het ek altyd hier
017   by hulle kom slaap want ek wou altyd by hom wees – by my kind wees. En so het
018   ek en sy pa weer bymekaar gekom.
019   I: En wanneer jy voorbehoedmiddels gebruik het, wat het jy gebruik?
020   N1: Met hom (i.e. her eldest son) het ek twee maande inspuiting gebruik, maar nou
021   gebruik ek drie maande inspuiting.
022   I: Ok, so jy gebruik nou weer. En wanneer ek gevra het in die vraelys, het jy
023   alternatiewe oorweeg – het jy van alternatiewe geweet toe jy die eerste keer
024   swanger geraak het? Het jy geweet jy kan vir `n aborsie gaan?
025   N1: Ja, maar ek het nie gegaan nie. My ma wou gehad het ek moet gaan, maar toe
026   het ouma (i.e. the father's mother) gesê hulle sal self vir hom sorg en toe het ek nie
027   gegaan nie. En omdat, hoe kan ek nou sê, ek was lief vir sy pa gewees en toe dink
028   ek, ek wil nie my eerste kind nou vir 'n aborsie gaan en daai nie. Toe hou ek ma die
029   baba.
030   I: Omdat jy lief was vir die pa?
031   N1: Ja, en omdat ek graag my eerste kind wou sien.
032   I: Jy sê ook hier jy het nie jou kind se geboortesertifikaat nie.
033   N1: Ja ek het nou syne (i.e. the eldest son).
034   I: O ok. Is geld die enigste rede dat jy nie die geboortesertifikaat het nie?
035   N1: Omdat ek nie geld het nie en hulle pa werk nie. Ek kan ook nie daar uitkom nie.
036   I: Want jy moet Bellville toe gaan.
037   N1: Ja
038   I: So vir die taxi en als, dit is duur. Vra hulle geld vir die geboortesertifikaat ook?
039   N1: Ek weet nie of hulle nou vir haar (i.e. her baby daughter) sal vra nie. Sy is mos
040   nou al 4 maande, so ek weet nie of hulle nou sal vra nie.
041   I: Ek het gevra 'ontvang jy `n toelaag vir die baba' en jy het nee gesê. Ek het ook
042   gevra hoekom nie en jy sê om dat ek nie daaruit kan kom nie. Wat bedoel jy
043   daarmee?
044   N1: Waar jy moet gaan vir die toelae is ook in Bellville – die plekke is langsaan
045   mekaar. Ek het so gedink – as ek die geld het en ek kan nou gaan, gaan ek eerste
046   vir die geboortesertifikaat, want ek moet dit hê om te wys en die kliniekkaard en so
047   om te wys vir die mense by die 107.
048   I: Ok, nou verstaan ek. Ek wil ook weet – beplan jy om terug te gaan skool toe?
049   N1: Nee

Stellenbosch University http://scholar.sun.ac.za

050   I: Hoekom nie?
051   N1: Ek voel nie so nie.
052   I: Maak dit net nie vir jou sin nie?
053   N1: Ja
054   I: Hoekom nie?
055   N1: Ek was nou na hom, toe het ek weer terug gegaan maar ek het nie vir lank
056   gebly nie. So ek voel net ek wil eerder by my kinders wees by die huis.
057   I: Verlang jy na die kinders as jy by die skool is?
058   N1: Ja
059   I: Is dit die hoofrede?
060   N1: Ja
061   I: Maar toe jy terug skool toe gegaan het, was dit moeilik om na die kind te kyk en
062   in die skool te wees?
063   N1: Sy ouma het eintlik na hom gekyk en hy het melk gedrink. Dit was nie eintlik my
064   probleem nie, maar ek het net gevoel ek wil nie meer skoolgaan nie.
065   I: Was jy ouer as die ander kinders in die klas?
066   N1: Nee
067   I: Ok, so dit was nie so iets nie. En jy is natuurlik uit die skool uit toe jy met hom
068   swanger was.
069   N1: Ja
070   I: Ok. En saam met wie woon jy op die oomblik?
071   N1: Met hulle (i.e. her 2 children) en hulle oupa en ouma en hulle pa.
072   I: En hulle oupa en ouma, is dit hulle pa se ouers?
073   N1: Ja
074   I: Waar is jou ouers?
075   N1: My ma bly hier bo in die pad by ander mense.
076   I: So sy is hier in Uitsig.
077   N1: Ja
078   I: Sien jy jou ma gereeld?
079   N1: Ek sien haar net nou en dan. Maar my twee broertjies bly by hulle pa – my
080   stief pa. En hy het `n ander vrou en hulle bly saam nou. Maar hulle gaan eet by
081   hulle pa en so, maar hulle slaap by hulle ouma.
082   I: Ok, en waar is jou pa?
083   N1: Ek weet nie waar hy bly nie. Hy het nou op `n tyd in die Delft gebly, maar ek
084   weet nie nou waar hy bly nie.
085   I: Ok, so jy het nie `n baie goeie verhouding met hom nie.
086   N1: Nee
087   I: Ek gaan nou die fotos uitpak. Kies vir my die foto waarvan jy die meeste hou.
088   Respondent kies
089   I: En kies vir my die foto waarvan jy die minste hou.
090   Respondent kies
091   I: Hoekom hou jy van hierdie foto?
092   N1: [Nici2] Omdat altwee my kinders hierop is en ek is lief vir hulle en ek het gevoel
093   ek wil `n foto van hulle twee vat.
094   I: Is altwee jou kinders vir jou baie belangrik?
095   N1: Ja, hulle is baie belangrik vir my.
096   I: Is dit hoe jy jouself nou sien. Jy is nou `n ma?
097   N1: Ja!
098   I: En jy neem dit baie ernstig op.
099   N1: Ja
100   I: Ok, en hoekom hou jy nie van hierdie foto nie?
101   N1: [Nici7] Omdat ek hier gestres het vir Thembo. Hy het oor die kamera gehuil en
102   ek het baie kwaad geraak vir hom. En toe sê sy ouma vir my 'hoekom het jy nie net
103   die kamera weg gesit nie? Hoekom bly jy dat hy die ding kan sien?' Toe sê ek 'nee
104   maar hy kan nie oor alles wil huil nie en sy sin kry as hy oor 'n ding huil nie.' En ek

341

105	het gestres en toe vat ek sommer `n foto van hom (laughing).
106	I: So is dit moeilik vir jou om vir hom dissipline te leer.
107	N1: Ja, omdat sy ouma-hulle spoil hom. Nou wil hy by my ook so maak. As hy 'n
108	ding wil hê dan gee sy ouma-hulle dit vir hom. Nou ek is nou nie weer so nie - ek
109	gee nie somer 'n ding vir hom nie. Want hy kan nie altyd alles kry nie. Lateraan as
110	ek nie het nie, dan raak hulle groot en groei op met daai maniere en dan raak hulle
111	ombeskof met 'n mens.
112	I: Is dit moeilik vir jou omdat hulle spoil hom en jy probeer dissipline handhaaf?
113	N1: Ja, dit is moeilik. Hy mag ook nie pak kry by `n mens of so nie, dan skel sy
114	ouma en sy oupa `n mens uit. Hy mag ook nie seerkry nie. As hy nou geval het en
115	'n mens is nou by hom dan skel hulle 'n mens uit. 'n Mens kan hom nie reg dop hou
116	of so nie. En met daai vat ek baie stress.
117	I: So dit maak dit vir jou baie moeilik. Het jy al met hulle gesels en vir hulle gesê
118	hoe jy voel?
119	N1: Ek het vir hulle gesê ja, hy moet pak kry. Hy is ombeskof – hy praat wonderlike
120	goed – omdat sy pa so alles vir hom praat en ombeskof is met my, daarom is hy
121	ook so.
122	I: So hy leer van sy pa af?
123	N1: Ja!
124	I: Vind jy dat hulle pa se ouers – vat hulle dikwels die pa se kant as hy so ombeskof
125	is?
126	N1: Nee
127	I: Hulle vat nie sy kant nie.
128	N1: Nee
129	I: So as hulle dink hy doen iets verkeerd, dan sê hulle vir hom.
130	N1: Ja
131	I: Help dit vir jou?
132	N1: Ja
133	I: En as hy so ombeskof is met jou, wat sê sy ouers vir hom?
134	N1: Hulle skel hom uit en so. Maar sy ma-hulle is nie altyd daar nie.
135	I: Is hy net ombeskof met jou, of doen hy ander goed ook?
136	N1: Hy baklei met my. Hy skop my en vloek my lelik in die pad in uit.
137	I: Het hy jou geskop?
138	N1: Geskop en in die huis in getrap.
139	I: Hoe laat dit jou voel?
140	N1: Dit laat my hartseer voel. Dan voel ek net ek wil my kind vat en liewerster loop
141	en vir my ander blyplek soek.
142	I: Dink jy jy kan dit doen?
143	N1: Ek dink ek kan dit doen, maar ek vat dit so, as ek wegloop uit hulle huis uit,
144	waantoe gaan ek met my kind? Daai is die problem!
145	I: Ja, maar as jy `n ander opsie sou hê, dan sal jy dit doen?
146	N1: Ja, dan sal ek loop!
147	I: So jy bly regtig net by hom omdat jy `n plek het.
148	N1: Ja
149	I: Dit moet baie moeilik vir jou wees.
150	N1: Ja, sy ma-hulle is nie so nie - dis net hy wat so is! En as sy ma dronk is, is sy
151	net so lief vir skel en so.
152	I: Drink hulle baie?
153	N1: Sy ma drink, maar sy pa drink ook nie so baie nie. Sy ma drink
154	I: Drink sy gereeld?
155	N1: Sy drink elke dag
156	I: Dit moet baie moeilik wees.
157	N1: Sy sorg altyd dat daar kos is en so – dat hy sy melk het en daai, maar … as
158	hulle dronk is, is hulle lief vir stres. Ek het dan nêrens om te gaan met my kind nie,
159	maar as ek `n plek het waantoe ek kan gaan, dan sal ek loop. Dan vat ek vir haar,

160   dan loop ek.

161   I: Watter een van die fotos wys van ma-wees? Dit is hoe dit is om ma te wees. Wat

162   is dit oor hierdie foto wat vir jou laat dink dit is hoe ma-wees is?

162   N1: [Nici6] Ek wil graag `n foto met haar gewees het. Toe wys ek vinnig vir ouma

163   hoe werk die kamera dat ek gou 'n foto saam met haar het, want ek het nog nie

164   eintlik fotos van my en my kinders gevat nie. Toe voel ek nou ek gaan met my eie

165   kind `n foto vat, want ek is haar ma!

166   I: So die foto beeld uit jou verhouding met jou kind.

167   N1: Ja

168   I: Beskryf die verhouding vir my – hoe is dit?

169   N1: Ek is lief vir my kinders en ek wil als vir hulle doen wat die beste is vir hulle – ek

170   wil die beste vir hulle kan gee en so.

171   I: Wat dink jy is die beste vir hulle?

172

173   N1: Ek gee vir hulle liefde en ek wil nie hê hulle moet ombeskof opgroei nie en

174   vloek en so aan nie. Ek wil nie hê hulle moet rou opgroei nie. Hulle moet vir my

175   respek het. Dat hulle moet altyd vir my respekteer en daai!

176   I: So hulle moet ordentlik grootword.

177   N1: Ja, al is hulle nie in `n ordentlike plek nie, maar hulle moet ordentlik grootraak.

178   I: Hoe verstaan jy ma-wees? Hoe moet `n ma wees?

179   N1: Sy moet altyd met haar kinders wees en altyd met haar kinders praat as hulle

180   verkeerd doen. Altyd daar wees om vir hulle om te sien en vir hulle kos te gee en

181   vir hulle liefde te gee en meer aandag - aandag vir hulle te gee en as hulle kom na

182   jou toe en hulle vra, 'mammie, het mammie nie vir my dit nie?' nie vir hulle uitvloek

183   nie, en sê 'jy gaan weg hier!' of so nie. Sê vir hulle mammie het nie, maar as

184   mammie het, sal mammie vir jou gee.

185   I: Ok, so jy behandel ook jou kinders met respek?

186   N1: Ek behandel hulle met respek, maar somtyds raak ek baie kwaad vir Thembo,

187   maar die way `n mens kan stres, dan kom die vloek mos uit, want hy is ook baie

188   ombeskof met `n mens. Dis hoekom!

189   I: Wat maak hy wat jou so kwaad maak?

190   N1: Hy vloek! Hy vloek lelik.

191   I: So as hy soos sy pa aangaan.

192   N1: Hy vloek, sy ouma sê ook hy moet nie soos sy pa wees nie. Sy pa is baie

193   ombeskof. Hy het nie eens respek vir sy ma nie!

194   I: Wat is vir jou moeilik om ma te wees?

195   N1: Vir my – ek is nie spyt dat ek die twee kinders het nie - ek is spyt dat ek so jonk

196   is nou moet ek baie probleme deurgaan. Ek moet baie probleme – my ma het nie

197   haar eie woning nie. Ek is nie eens in my eie huis waar ek kan doen wat ek wil, ek

198   kan sê nie. Ek het nie `n werk nie, so ek kan nie als vir my kinders gee wat ek wil

199   nie, ek kan nie als koop wat ek graag vir hulle wil koop nie.

200   I: Dink jy jou ouderdom is `n baie groot faktor in al hierdie dinge wat jy nou

201   opgenoem het?

202   N1: Ja, ja

203   I: So as jy ouer was, sou dit heelwat anders kon gewees het?

204   N1: Ja

205   I: Watter foto wys wat jy die heel meeste van ma-wees geniet?

206   I: Watter een wys wat jy die heel minste van ma-wees geniet?

207   N1: Ek het nie eintlik so een nie.

208   I: Verduidelik hoekom jy daai foto gekies het.

209   N1: [Nici1] Ek het dit gelaaik om dit te vat van haar, en ek het dit baie geniet om dit

210   te vat van haar. Ek het my tyd gevat dat ek dit net mooi te vat van haar. Daarom

211   het ek dit geniet en daarvan hou ek om van ma te wees.

212   I: Jy hou van daai dele van ma-wees waar jy jou kind spesiaal kan laat lyk en voel?

213   N1: Ja!

343

214	I: Voel jy dat ma`s het iets wat net hulle kan doen?
215	N1: Ja
216	I: Wat is vir jou belondend om ma te wees?
217	N1: Hoe bedoel Linda nou?
218	I: Soos jy nou gesê het die feit dat jy goed met jou kinders kan doen wat net jy as
219	ma kan doen, maak dit vir jou dit die moeite werd?
220	N1: Dit is vir my die moeite werd dat ek vir my kinders die beste kan gee en so an.
221	I: Is daar enige ander foto waaroor jy wil gesels?
222	N1: [Nici8] Die foto – ek het gevoel ek wil van my broertjie `n foto vat omdat hulle –
223	ek kan nie sê hulle kry min liefde nie, maar hulle kry min aandag van my ma af en
224	so – my ma is amper nooit saam met hulle en so aan nie. Toe voel ek ek wil hierdie
225	foto vir hom vat sodat ek kan wys ek is daar om vir hulle liefde te gee. Daarom het
226	ek gevoel ek will eerder van hom `n foto vat en van waar hy met die baby staan.
227	I: So voel jy jy speel `n belangrike rol in sy lewe?
228	N1: Ja
229	I: Voel jy dit wat jou ma nie vir hom kan gee nie, kan jy vir hom gee?
230	N1: Ja
231	I: Hoe laat dit jou voel?
232	N1: Dit laat my baie gelukkig voel en sso, maar soms voel ek baie ongelukkig en so
233	as hulle nou daar na my toe kom – en dan is Kegan so snaaks met hulle. Hy sê vir
234	hulle 'julle fok of' en so, en slat hulle en knou hulle af en so. En dit laat my baie
235	hartseer voel en so!
236	I: Hoekom laat dit jou hartseer voel?
237	N1: want ek is lief vir hulle en ek doen nie dit aan hulle kinders nie – aan hom
238	niggie se kinders nie. En hulle is ook so groot soos my broortjies. Ek is nie
239	ombeskof met hulle en so aan nie. Maar ek wil nie hê hy moet so wees met my
240	broortjies en so nie want ek is lief vir hulle en … dit is amper as of almal wil hulle
241	afdruk en daai en ek hou nie daarvan nie.
242	I: So 'n mens maak nie rerig so met 'n kind nie?
243	N1: Ja!
244	I: Is daar `n foto hier waaroor jy nie wil gesels nie?
245	N1: Nee
246	I: So daar is nie regtig `n foto waaroor jy nie wil praat nie?
247	N1: Nee
248	I: Hoe het jy uitgevind jy is swanger?
249	N1: Ek het mos siek geraak elke maand (i.e. menstruation). Toe het ek nou nie siek
250	geraak nie en ek het altyd naer gevoel en ek eet nie – ek wil net slaap en ek voel
251	moedeloos. So het ek uitgevind. Ek wou vir `n aborsie gegaan het en toe dink ek
252	weer nee ek wil dit nie doen nie. Sy ouma was baie ontevrede oor die tweede kind,
253	het baie geskel, en dan sê sy vir ons ons moet loop, uitgaan, en vok of, vir ons
354	nuwe blyplek soek want sy gaan nie vir die kind sorg nie en al die dinge. Maar ek
255	het maar deurgedruk met al die dinge wat hulle gesê het en so an.
256	I: So jy het in die begin `n aborsie oorweeg? Jy het daaroor gedink?
257	N1: Ja, ek het daaroor gedink, maar ek het nie gegaan nie.
258	I: Het jy gesê sy pa was in die tronk toe jy met hom swanger was?
259	N1: Ja
260	I: Vir wat?
261	N1: Vir poging tot moord. Maar hy was daai aand in die huis gewees en toe kom
262	die poliesie en toe sê hulle nou hy was betrokke by die skietery, maar hy het
263	geslaap al en toe was hy twee weke in die tronk gewees.
264	I: Hoe oud is hy?
265	N1: 17
266	I: En hy is ook nie op skool nie?
267	N1: Nee
268	I: Hoe oud was hy toe hy skool gelos het?

269   N1: 13 – st.6
270   I: En hy doen niks nou nie?
271   N1: Nee
272   I: Wat het hy gesê toe jy vir hom sê jy is swanger?
273   N1: Hy het net gesê wat gaan sy ma-hulle sê en sy ma-hulle gaan hom uitsit en so
274   aan. En ek is jonk en so aan – toe sê ek nee maar dit maak nie saak nie. Ek sal
275   maar my kinders moet grootmaak – al doen ek dit sukkel sukkel.
276   I: Was dit met die eerste of tweede baba?
277   N1: Met die tweede een
278   I: So hy was nie baie gelukkig daaroor nie.
279   N1: Nee
280   I: En met die eerste een?
281   N1: Hy was met die eerste een ook nie bly gewees nie, maar omdat sy pa het vir
282   hom polisse gekry en daar was geld vir as hy gaan studeer en so aan, toe was sy
283   ma baie hartseer daaroor. Maar toe die kind gebore is, is sy ma baie lief vir die kind
284   – sy ma is baie lief vir Thembo en sy gee baie om vir hom nou nog.
285   I: Maar nie so erg oor die tweede baba nie?
286   N1: Nee
287   I: Hoe laat dit jou voel?
288   N1: Dit laat my baie sleg voel
289   I: Maak dit dit vir jou baie moeilik?
290   N1: Ja
291   I: Wat sal jou help om jou kinders groter te maak?
292   N1: Om net in `n werk in te kom en nie dat ek wil wegtrek van sy ma-hulle of so nie,
293   maar dat ek vir my `n ander plek kan kry en ek bly by my kinders daar.
294   I: So as jy daai opsies sou kon hê, want soos ek nou verstaan, moet jy nou by hulle
295   bly – jy het nie 'n keuse nie, maar jy sal as jy daai keuses kon hêm sal jy dit doen?
296   N1: Ja
297   I: Hoe was jou ma toe sy uitvind jy is swanger?
298   N1: Was my ma was nie gelukkig gewees nie. Met die tweede een was sy ook nie
299   gelukkig nie, want hy is net so ombeskof met my ma. Hy stoot somer my ma, en hy
300   vloek my ma lelik uit en so.
301   I: So was sy ongelukkig oor die feit dat jy swanger was of meer oor die feit wie hulle
302   pa was?
303   N1: Oor die feit dat ek weer vir hom `n kind gee.
304   I: En die eerste keer toe jy swanger geraak het, hoe was sy dan?
305   N1: Umm…
306   I: Sy was nie gelukkig nie?
307   N1: Nee.
308   I: Het dit jou verhouding met haar beinvloed?
309   N1: Nou eintlik soos nou op die oomblik – nou dat my suster verkrag gewees het,
310   nou is my ma-hulle so met my – omdat dit is `n skollie, 'n gangster wat my suster
311   verkrag het en hy en die gangster is eintlik bevriend. Maar hulle loop nie elke dag
312   saam en so nie, en hy worry nie eintlik met hulle nie. Maar toe is my ma kwaad vir
313   my. My ma sê hy is net so saam. Want hulle het my suster gesoek – die jongetjies
314   en so. Toe sê ek vir my ma my ma kan nie vir my kwaad weees nie - ek kan mos
315   nou nie daarvoor help nie. Ek probeer ook net my bes om my bes vir hulle toe doen
316   en daai. En my ma weet dit vir haarself.
318   I: So jy voel amper of jy in `n hoek in gedryf is?
319   N1: Ja! En ek voel amper my probleme is erger as my ma s`n.
320   I: En sy verstaan dit nie?
321   N1: Ja. Nou sê my ma ek wil nie wegkom van hom af nie ek wil nie loop nie en al
322   die dinge, maar hulle verstaan nie – waantoe moet ek gaan met my kinders? Daai
323   is die punt!
324   I: So sy verwag dat jy moet wegloop?

325   N1: Ja, soos nou wat hy my nou weer so geslat het, toe sê hy vir my fokkof, maar jy
326   los die kind net hier. Ek sal dit nooit doen nie om my kind hier by julle te los en dan
327   moet ek loop. Toe sit ek net heeltyd daar en toe voel ek hartseer. En ek huil. Ek
328   dink net hoekom moet ek sulke dinge deurgaan?
329   I: Slaan hy vir die kinders ooit?
330   N1: Nee, hy slaan nie die kinders nie. Laaskeer toe kom haal Terrance vir my, toe't
331   hy hoeka so aangegan. Baklei, gooi koffie op my uit - in my gesig in. Toe vra
332   Terance vir my hoekom lyk ek so hartseer? Toe vertel ek vir Terrance.
333   I: Was hy kwaad vir jou omdat jy deelneem aan hierdie navorsing?
334   N1: Nee
335   I: Net oor ander goed
336   N1: Ja
337   I: Voel jy asof jy nie baie ondersteuning het nie? Jy moet als op jou eie doen?
338   N1: Ja
339   I: Is daar iemand op wie jy kan staatmaak?
340   N1: Nie eintlik nie
341   I: Hoe het jy gevoel toe jy uitvind jy is swanger?
342   N1: Ek het ook nie eintlik gelukkig gevoel nie, want ek het geweet sy ma-hulle gaan
343   skel en ek is nog jonk en so. Met die eerste baba het die pa nog `n ander meisie
344   ook gehad en toe wil hy nie meer oor my worry nie. En toe laat hy dit weer doen
345   aan my.
346   I: Die tweede keer – hoe het dit jou laat voel?
347   N1: Hartseer!
348   I: Hoekom? Oor al hierdie dinge?
349   N1: Ja
350   I: Beskryf jou swangerskap met altwee.
351   N1: Ek was net baie in die hospitaal met hom omdat sy longe het op `n tyd plat
352   geval en so. Maar met haar was daar nie eintlik `n probleem gewees nie.
353   I: En hoe was die mense in die hospitaal met jou?
354
355   N1: Hulle het my oraait gebehandel, baie lekker behandel. Ek het dit baie geniet om
356   by Tygerberg dagkliniek te wees asom by die dag hospitaal te wees.
357   I: Hoekom?
358   N1: Want Tygerberg se mense is beter as die daghospitaal se mense.
359   I: So hulle was meer vriendelik en so?
360   N1: Ja
361   I: Het jy geboorte gegee in die hospitaal?
362   N1: Ja
363   I: Altwee kere?
364   N1: Ja
365   I: Het jy natuurlik geboorte gegee of `n keiser snit?
366   N1: Natuurlik
367   I: Met altwee?
368   N1: Ja
369   I: En hoe was dit vir jou toe jy geboorte gegee het?
370   N1: Met hom was dit nog nie so pynlik nie, want die doktors en susters het my baie
371   lekker gehelp by Tygerberg. Ek was net bly dat dit klaar was. Maar met haar was
372   dit baie moeilik gewees. En toe was ek by die daghospitaal klaargemaak. Hulle
373   worry nie by jou nie – hulle los jou net so – en die pyn is sterk en so.
374   I: Was jy bang toe jy begin kraam het?
375   N1: Nee nie eintlik nie, want ek het hulp gehad en so.
376   I: Is daar enigiets anders wat jy oor wil gesels?
377   N1: Nee

TEENAGE MOTHERS (29/07/02)
Interview Two
Brenda

001   I: Toe jy swanger geraak het, hoekom het jy nie voorbehoedmiddels gebruik nie?
003   B_FU: Toe ek swanger geraak het?
004   I: Ja, toe jy destyds seks gehad het, hoekom het jy nie voorbehoedmiddels gebruik
005   nie?
006   B_FU: Nee, ek weet nie. Daar was nie van sulke goed gepraat nie. Ek het geweet
007   daar is sulke goed, maar waar ons gebly het, daar was nie van sulke goed gepraat
008   nie. Dit was nie - Dit was amper so, dit was nie nodig gewees nie so, vir my … . Ek
009   het nie daaraan gedink nie.
010   I: So jy het van voorbehoedmiddels geweet, maar het jy geweet, het jy verstaan hoe
011   hulle werk en waarvoor hulle daar is?
012   B_FU: Ek het geweet daar is sulke goed, maar nie regtig nie. - Nee
013   I: Was dit die eerste keer wat jy seks gehad het toe jy swanger geraak het?
014   B_FU: Toe ek swanger geraak het, ja.
015   I: Regtig?
016   B_FU: Ja, hierso as ek alltyd met kinders gepraat het en so, dan sê ekvir hulle, vir
017   my was dit nie reg gewees nie, want ek het net begin. Ek het net daai jaar begin en
018   nou is ek sommer swanger. Daar is ander kinders wat altyd dit doen en so. Maar
019   nou kan ek verstaan ook hoekom hulle nie swanger geraak het nie.
020   I: Gebruik hulle voorbehoedmiddels?
021   B_FU: Nee, party praat van – die ouens praat van hulle wil nie kinders maak nie –
022   dit is net om saam te slaap en so. En party van hulle voor hulle kom nou dan haal
023   hulle dit uit en sulke goed en so.
024   I: So jy het nie gevoel dit is nodig nie?
025   B_FU: Nee
026   I: Het jy beplan om seks te hê?
027   B_FU: Nee, uhuh, … Ek het dit nie beplan nie.
028   I: En daai tyd toe jy seks gehad het, wou jy?
029   B_FU: Ja natuurlik, dit was – ek wou probeer en so
030   I: So op daai oomblik wou jy dit doen?
031   B_FU: Ja
032   I: So hy het jou nie geforseer of iets nie?
033   B_FU: Nee, hy't my nie geforseer - hy was nie `n outjie wat ek sommer net gekry
034   het nie. Ons was lank saam gewees.
035   I: Hoe het jy uitgevind jy was swanger?
036   B_FU: Ek het eers nie my periods gekry daai Maartmaand nie en my maag het
037   begin pyn en ek het altyd naar ook geraak. En toe na die Maart vakansie het ek vir
038   my vriend gesê en sy het nou vir hom gesê en hy het vir haar gesê ek moet kliniek
039   toe gaan, dan gaan ek nie en tot die 26ste Mei toe – toe het hy gesê sy moet vir my
040   kliniek toe vat en toe gaan ons en toe gaan ons in en toe. Hulle het eers gevoel, en
041   toe sê ek – nee ek doen nie sulke goed nie en so nie. En toe agterna toe toets hulle
042   my pee en toe sê ek nee, en toe toets hulle my bloed en toe sê hulle ek moet weer
043   kom en toe wys hulle vir my dit is positief. Ek is swanger. Toe't ek nog nie geglo nie,
044   en toe vat hulle my hospitaal toe – ek moet op die sonar kyk.
045   I: Hoe was dit vir jou toe hulle vir jou die sonar wys?
046   B_FU: Ek was, ek was hartseer en so, maar dit was vir my mooi gewees. Ek kon dit
047   nie geglo het nie.
048   I: So jy was hartseer?
049   B_FU: Ja, want ek moes skoolgaan en so. Dit was nie vir my reg nie. Ek sê altyd,
050   ek het altyd vir my ma gesê dit was nie reg gewees nie. Vir my was dit nie reg nie.

051   Dit was te gou!

052   I: Wat was nie vir jou reg nie?

053   B_FU: Ek het so gou swanger geraak, so.

054   I: Bedoel jy dat jy so jonk was toe jy swanger geraak het?

055   B_FU: Nee, ek het nie boyfriends gehad nie. Dit was net hy gewees.

056   I: Hoe het jou ma uitgevind dat jy swanger was?

057   B_FU: In Junie toe kom my ma daantoe – toe is ek nou swanger en toe sê ek wil
058   mammie saamgaan hospitaal toe, want ek moet hospitaal toe gaan. My ma het nie
059   geweet en so. Toe het die dokter my nog gevra wat gaan ek maak en toe sê ek nee
060   ek wil nie die baba hê en so nie en toe was daar twee social workers daar gewees
061   en hulle het met my gepraat en so. En toe sê ek dit is my ma, my ma weet nog nie
062   en so nie. Toe kom my ma huis toe. En toe September toe gaan my ma weer
063   soontoe en toe het my ma klaar baba goedjies in die sak en `n geel teddy bear en
064   toe sê ek vir my ma sy moet saam kom, en toe gaan ons saam na die social workers
065   toe en toe het hulle my ma vertel, beskrywe en so. En ek het vir my ma gesê sy
066   moet my verskoon, vra my ma moet my vergewe, en so. My ma sê toe my sy het
067   gesien my liggaam was nie meer soos wat dit gewees het nie. Ja. En toe ons
068   huistoe gaan toe het my ma die goeters uitgehaal.

069   I: So sy het net gesien jy het gewig aangesit en so?

070   B_FU: Ja.

071   I: Was sy kwaad vir jou?

072   B_FU: Nee, my ma was hartseer en so, want toe ek klaar kraam – sy't aanmekaar
073   huis toe gekom en so, hulle het gesê ek gaan die 17de Oktober kraam, toe kom sy
074   weer terug huis toe, en in Oktober maand toe gaan sy weer terug soentoe. En toe
075   het ek nog nie gekraam nie, toe bly sy daarso totdat ek gekraam het die 22ste
076   November. Toe die kind 'n week oud is, toe kom sy huis toe.

077   I: Hoe het dit jou laat voel toe sy jou huis toe bring?

078   B_FU: Ek was bly gewees.

079   I: Vertel my `n bietjie meer van die rol van jou geloof nou. Watter rol speel dit in jou
080   lewe nou?

081   B_FU: Omdat ek nou gered is?

082   I: Ja

083   B_FU: Dit help my baie omdat ek gered is. Ek het mos nou `n kind en ek kan nou
084   ander mense help en so. Ander mense wat ook `n kind het en so, ek kan vir hulle op
085   `n beter manier verduidelik hoekom het ek die kind en so. Ek kan ook vir hulle sê
086   omdat my ma oorlede is en ek het nou die kind en dit is goed so! As ek miskien nou
087   nie die kind gehad het nie en my ma is oorlede, waar sou ek miskien vandag
088   gewees het? Miskien was ek dan nou los gewees of ek meen maar. Maar nou het ek
089   `n kind en ek weet nou wat is reg en so.

090   I: Voel jy dat omdat jy `n ma is, dat dit vir jou meer verantwoordelik gemaak het

091   B_FU: Ja, baie ja.

092   I: En dink jy jou geloof help jou om goed in perspektief te sien?

093   B_FU: Ja, baie. Want partykeer as dit swaar gaan en so, dan is ek net bly ek is by
094   die Here, want as ek nie by die Here gewees het nie, kon ek dalk ander goed
095   gedoen het.

096   I: So jy maak baie staat op die Here om vir jou te sorg?

097   B_FU: Ja

098   I: Die laaste vraag wat ek het is wat kan jou pa doen om vir jou meer ondersteunend
099   te wees?

100   B_FU: Daar is niks wat my pa kan doen nie. Partydae sê ek my pa hoef nie te werk
101   nie, want hy kan na die kind kyk, maar nou as hy ook werk, dan werk hy so, hy gee
102   vir my geld en netnou dan kom vra hy weer geld en so. So ek sê nie daar is niks wat
103   my pa kan doen nie, maar dit is net omdat ek nou by die Here is, is als vir my reg.
104   Die Here help vir my baie. Ek vertrou op hom vir als.

105   I: So jy aanvaar dit is hoe jou pa is?

106   B_FU: Ja, hy kan miskien vir my reghelp – sê nou maar daar is `n mansmens
107   waarin ek belangstel en so, dan kan hy nou vir my kom sê ek moet my mind afhaal
108   van daai jong af – hy is a mind devil en so. Sulke goed kan hy doen. Hy kan my van
109   mense af warn ja – dis wat hy kan doen!
110   I: Amper meer vir jou sorg.
111   B_FU: Ja
112   I: Ek het vir jou laaskeer ook gevra - met jou pa - voel dit vir jou amper hy is ook `n
113   kind vir jou. Jy moet na hom ook sorg?
114   B_FU: Ja
115   I: So voel dit partykeer dit moet andersom wees – hy moet eintlik nog vir jou sorg?
116   B_FU: Nee, soos nou – vir my is dit so ek moet nou vir hom ook werk en so. Ek
117   moet my beste vir hom gee. Hy is soos hy is. Hy is nalatig en so. Maar ek sal vir
118   hom werk en so. Ek sal vir hom alles gee wat ek vir hom kan doen en daai. Mense
119   het hom so gemaak. Ek weet nie of Linda glo en of Linda al gehoor het van mense
120   wat sulke goed kan doen nie, maar as mens nou Paarl toe ry, dan staan daar mense
121   wat sulke blaadjies uitdeel van die toordoktors en sulke goeters. Hulle deel sulke
122   blaadjies uit vir mense. Nou vir my is dit so – my pa is iets aan gedoen – toe hy nou
123   eers gewerk het – hy is baie goed met sy hande. Dan het mense altyd vir hom gevra
124   om goed vir hulle reg te maak en so. En nou sit hy by die huis en so. Maar altyd dink
125   ek hy is nie reg nie. Hy was seker iets aangedoen. Nou dan roep die mense ook vir
126   hom om die electric goed reg te maak en so. Dan sê ek, 'Ded, ded moet ded se
127   hande onder die' dan hoor hy nie wat ek sê nie! Dan sê ek vir my pa hy moet sy
128   hande onder die bloed trek, en so. Soss nou die oggend kom daar ook 'n vrou – so
129   'n ouerige vrou – netjies en so. Toe kom vra sy of sy die tiolet kan gebruik. En ek vra
130   my pa het die vrou – het sy nie 'n wooning nie? En sê my pa, 'nee – dis 'n ou vrou.
131   Die vrou gaan die tiolet gebruik'. To kom dit so by my op: Dis seker weer mense wat
132   besig is met 'n ding. En toe gaan ek in die kamer, toe gaan bit ek. 'n mens kan
133   niemand trust nie! Die mense sê hulle is klaar met my pa. Dit is nog net ek en die
134   kind wat in hulle way staan. Toe my ma nog gelewe het toe as iemand vir my pa
135   geroep het, dan sê my ma nee, maar nou is my ma oorlede. Nou is dit net ek en my
136   pa en die kind. En die dag toe my ma gesterwe het, toe het die mense ook daar
137   gekom en gesê hulle gaan die huis verkoop, so die mense is besig met ons huis en
138   sulke goed. Maar ek bid altyd. Partykeer is dit so – dit is nie dat ek nie hou van
139   mense nie, maar ek kan nie mense trust nie. (Sy praat nog oor die mense wat sê
140   hulle is klaar met haar pa. Die pastoor het aangebied om in die huis te kom bid en
141   die mense uit te bid).
142   I:As jy sê, 'die mense is klaar met hom', wat bedoel jy?
143   B_FU: Soos, as ek nou Jo'burg toe gaan, en iemand kom met R10 000 – hy sal nie
144   eers weet die R10 000 nie – hy sal net die huis vir hulle gee. So is dit.
145   I: Maak dit vir jou bang?
146   B_FU: Dit maak my nie bang nie, maar ek kan nie mense trust nie. Partykeer sê my
147   pa die kind kan nie eens gaan speel nie, maar my pa verstaan nie. Die kind kan
148   gaan speel, maar daai kinders kom niks oor nie – dit is net jou kind wat iets oorkom.
149   Dit is so. My pa verstaan nie. Dit is so.

TEENAGE MOTHERS (29/08/02)
Interview Two
Carol

001   I: In ons vorige onderhoud het jy gesê dat daar baie dinge is waarvan jy sou gehou
002   het om fotos te neem. Maar jy het nie. Kan jy onthou wat dit was?
003   C-FU: Van my ma-hulle.
004   I: Ok so van jou ma en jou pa. Hoekom het jy nie fotos daarvan geneem nie?
005   C-FU: Omdat ek nie kans gehad het nie.
006   I: Was dit al waarvan jy fotos wou neem waarvan jy nie geneem het nie?
007   C-FU: Ja
008   I: Ok. In ons vorige onderhoud het jy die volgende gesê, 'ek was in die eerste plek
009   bang gewees. Ek wou sê nee, maar agterna'. Toe het ek gevra was jy bang oor die
010   voorbehoedmiddels of oor die seks. Toe sê jy oor die seks ook. Hoekom het jy nie
011   nee gesê vir die seks daai dag nie?
012   C-FU: Ek weet nie
013   I: Wou jy seks gehad het daai dag?
014   C-FU: Nee
015   I: Het jy gevoel hy plaas druk op jou om seks te hê?
016   C-FU: Ja
017   I: Het hy jou forseer of oortuig om seks te hê?
018   C-FU: Oortuig
019   I: Oortuig. Hoe voel jy daaroor?
020   C-FU: Oor wat?
021   I: Die feit dat jy nie eintlik wou seks hê nie en hy het jou daar ingepraat?
022   C-FU: Ek voel so as ek daaraan dink dan dink ek wat dink my ma-hulle van my en
023   so.
024   I: So jy voel sleg teenoor jouself?
025   C-FU: Ja
026   I: Wat verstaan jy onder voorbehoedmiddels?
027   C-FU: Dit maak jou safe en as jy daai goed gebruik dan sal jy nie gou swanger raak
028   nie.
029   I: Iets om jou safe te maak van swangerskap. Enigiets anders?
030   C-FU: en AIDs ook
031   I: En watter voorbehoedmiddels is daar waarvan jy weet?
032   C-FU: Die pil en die inspuiting en die kondoom.
033   I: Wat het jou laat besluit om kliniek toe te gaan om jou te laat toets of jy swanger is?
034   C-FU: Want ek het nie geweet nie. Een dag toe kom ek van die skool af en toe stry
035   ek en die ander meisie en toe weet ek mos nou ek en hy het geseks en toe sê die
036   ander meisie maar hy het vir haar ook geseks en toe skel sy my en toe is ek bang ek
037   het `n siekte ook opgetel en so en toe het ek ook nie lekker gevoel nie en toe vind ek
038   uit ek is 3 maande swanger.
039   I: So jy het snaaks gevoel en jy was bang hy het vir jou `n siekte gegee.
040   C-FU: Ja
041   I: Het hy al ooit vir jou `n siekte aangedra waarvan jy weet?
042   C-FU: Nee
043   I: Jy het voorheen gesê, 'toe sê hulle ek moet gaan pie en toe toets hulle my pie en
044   toe sê hulle as ek by die nommer 1 strepie is dan is ek nie pregnant nie en as ek by
045   die nommer 2 strepie is dan is ek pregnant. En toe wat hulle sê ek is by die nommer
046   2 strepie, toe begin ek huil. Toe huil ek sommer. Ek het gedink wat gaan my pa-hulle
047   maak. My pa gaan my slat, want my pa is baie kwaai. En toe vra die een nurse vir
048   my kom ek en my ma goed oor die weg en toe sê ek nie eintlik nie, want my ma skel

350

049   my baie. Somtyds voel ek sommer ek wil wegloop uit die huis uit'. Het jy al
050   weggehardloop uit die huis uit?
051   C-FU: Nee
052   I: As jy sou weghardloop, waarheen sou jy gaan?
053   C-FU: Na my ouma toe.
054   I: Was jy al ooit jaloers op Alex?
055   C-FU: Nee
056   I: Al gaan hy so te kere?
057   C-FU: Ek was net twee keer gewees. En ek het baklei
058   I: Wat sê dit vir jou dat jy nie jaloers raak op hom nie?
059   C-FU: Omdat my ma-hulle vir my gesê het ek moet hom uitlos. Toe dink ek ek gaan
060   nie meer so aangaan nie. Nou kom ek sonder hom klaar. Wanneer hy lus kry, kom
061   hy hiernatoe, maar ek gaan nie.
062   I: So julle is amper uitmekaar uit?
063   C-FU: Ja
064   I: Slaan hy jou nogsteeds?
065   C-FU: Nee
066   I: Ek het hier gevra, want dit is nou `n paar maande wat intussen gegaan het – op `n
067   stadium het hy nog baie by jou kom kuier en hy het so rof aangegaan. Ek het
068   gewonder – sou jy wou hê hy moet dit stop?
069   C-FU: Ja
070   I: Maar jy sê hy kom nog baie hier.
071   C-FU: Ja
072   I: As julle nou amper uitmekaar uit is – is julle nou defnitief uitmekaar uit?
073   C-FU: Ja, maar as mens hom kry, dan sal hy ons roep en so.
074   I: Gee sy ouers nog ondersteuning vir die kind?
075   C-FU: Ja, net as mens vra.
076   I: Die laaste keer wat ons gepraat het, het ek gevra wat is vir jou moeilik van ma-
077   wees. Toe sê jy wanneer sy stout is en huil vir onnodige goeters. Wat doen jy
078   wanneer sy huil?
079   C-FU: Ek los haar so of maak haar droog en laat sy slaap.
080   I: So as sy onnodig huil, dan los jy haar net uit.
081   C-FU: Ek maak haar net aan die slaap.
082   I: Ok! Dit was al my vrae. Ek wou net weet – hoe was dit vir jou om die keer fotos te
083   neem?
084   C-FU: Dit was lekker gewees.
085   I: Lekkerder as die vorige keer?
086   C-FU: Ja. Ek kon fotoes neem want ek lief is vir hulle en hoe hulle aangaan oor
087   Sumarie.
088   I: Enige nare ondervindings?
089   C-FU: Nee
090   I: Ok, dan is ek klaar!
                                Einde van onderhoud

The following is an extract from an interview with Lucy. Carol sat in during

this, and joined in this section of the interview

100   I: Wat dink julle as julle terugdink oor hoe julle swanger geraak het en julle lewens.
101   Wat moes anders gewees het sodat julle kon verhoed om swanger te raak?
102   C-FU: (onduidelik – Lucy discusses how she would have licked to stay in school
103   during her pregnancy)

104   I: En wat moes anders in julle lewens gewees het sodat julle nie swanger geraak het
105   nie?
106   Carol: As ons net daai goed gebruik het, dan sou ons nie swanger geraak het nie.
107   I: So Carol, vir jou is dit regtig net `n kwessie van voorbehoedmiddels?
108   C-FU: Ja
109   I: Het jy net eenvoudig te min van voorbehoedmiddels geweet op daai stadium of
110   was dit vir jou moeilik om dit in die hande te kry. Hoekom het jy nie
111   voorbehoedmiddels gebruik nie?
112   C-FU: Ek weet nie. Ek hou nie van daai goeters nie.
113   I: Van die pil of kondome of inspuiting?
114   C-FU: Ek is op die inspuiting. Ek praat van die kondome en daai goed.
115   Lucy: Op `n tyd toe het ons gehoor `n meisie en 'n jongetjie het omgang gehad en
116   toe het `n kondoom binne in haar gebreek… so ek was 'n bietjie bang gewees.
117   I: Het julle nie regtig geweet van die pil en die inspuiting op daai stadium nie?
118   Carol en Lucy: Net van kondome geweet.
119   I: So dit was regtig `n leemte in opvoeding?
120   C-FU: Ja.
121   I: So as iemand by die skool vir julle gesê het dit is nie net kondome nie, …
122   C-FU: Dan sou ons… Ja.

TEENAGE MOTHERS (29/07/02)
Interview Two
Lucy

001 I: Lucy – wat ek vandag oor wil praat is `n paar vrae wat ek uitgewerk het oor die
002 vorige onderhoud. En ek het ook weer deur jou fotos gegaan en ek het hierdie drie
003 uitgekies. Ons het nie baie oor hulle gepraat nie en ek wil graag meer oor hulle
004 praat. My eerste vrag in ons eerste onderhoud het jy vir my gesê dat jy nie ander
005 opsies – bv. aborsie of aanneming oorweeg het nie. Omdat jy nie bewus was van
006 sulke opsies nie. As jy daarvan geweet het, sou jy dit oorweeg het?
007 L_FU: Nee
008 I: Jy het ook gesê jou suster se kinders is baie irriterend. Hoe hanteer jy hulle as
009 hulle so is?
010 L_FU: Somtyds dan slat ek hulle en soms dan loop ek weg.
011 I: So somtyds slaan jy hulle. As jy hulle slaan, waar slaan jy hulle?
012 L_FU: Op hulle stêre.
013 I: En wat maak hulle dan?
014 L_FU: Dan huil hulle en dan los ek hulle, want dan weet hulle mos hulle moenie.
015 I: So dan is hulle gedrag `n bietjie beter.
016 L_FU: Ja, maar net vir `n tydjie en dan begin hulle maar net weer.
017 I: Is jou suster baie betrokke by haar kinders?
018 L_FU: Ja sy is baie betrokke.
019 I: Ok. Weet sy van hulle gedrag?
020 L_FU: Ja, sy weet.
021 I: Wat doen sy dan?
022 L_FU: Sy sê die kinders is nog klein en ons moet nie te erg aangaan nie.
023 I: Stem jy met haar saam?
024 L_FU: Ek stem met haar saam ja, want sy is mos nou ouer.
025 I: Jy het gesê jy hou daarvan om kos te maak, want dit is iets om jou besig te laat bly
026 – dit is nou toe jy nog swanger was. Raak jy nou nogsteeds verveeld nou dat die
027 baba gebore is?
028 L_FU: Nee!
029 I: So sy hou jou baie besig!
030 L_FU: Baie besig.
031 I: Jy het voorheen gesê dat dit vir jou sleg is om tussen mense te wees wat drink en
032 toe neem jy die foto. Wie is daai mense?
033 L_FU: Dit is die bure wat langsaan bly.
034 I: Ok, en as hulle rook of drink – is dit by hulle huis of by jou huis?
035 L_FU: Somtyds dan kom hulle om en dan is hulle hier en partykeer is hulle by hulle
036 eie huis.
037 I: Is dit vir jou nogsteeds erg as hulle by hulle eie huis drink en so te kere gaan?
038 L_FU: Ja
039 I: Jy het van hierdie mense gesê dat, 'hulle drink en dan skel hulle en dan kom hulle
040 verby my en praat hulle miskien met my en dit is swaar om met hierdie mense te
041 wees'. Wat beteken 'hulle kom verby my'?
042 L_FU: Hulle kom en staan so miskien naby my en skel of rook miskien en so.
043 I: So dit voel asof hulle in jou space is?
044 L_FU: Ja.
045 I: En as hulle op jou skel en so wat sê hulle?
046 L_FU: Hulle het nog nie geskel op my nie
047 I: Ok. En as hulle met jou praat, hoe praat hulle met jou?
048 L_FU: Dan is hulle dronk en dan is hulle baie ombeskof en so. Ek weet nie hoe om
049 sulke mense te hanteer nie.

353

050   I: Het van hulle al ooit probeer om aan jou te vat of jou te beledig of so?
052   L_FU: Nog nie
053   I: In ons vorige onderhoud het ek gevra of jy iets bygekry het in jou lewe in `n
054   positiewe sin en toe sê jy ja. Toe sê ek so hierdie gebeure is eintlik vir jou `n
055   positiewe ervaring? Toe sê jy nee nie eintlik nie. Toe vra ek is dit vir jou negatief?
056   Toe sê jy ja. Ons het gepraat oor die feit dat jy swanger is. Wat dink jy het jy bygekry
057   uit hierdie ervaring en hoekom is dit steeds `n negatiewe ervaring ten spyte van die
058   goed wat jy bygekry het. Verstaan jy my vraag?
059   L_FU: Nie so lekker nie.
060   I: Ek kry die indruk dat die feit dat jy swanger geraak het, iets meer in jou lewe vir jou
061   gegee het. Amper of jy `n ryker persoon is. Maar in `n sekere sin was dit nog vir jou
062   `n negatiewe ervaring om swanger te raak. Verstaan ek jou reg? Was dit vir jou
063   bietjie negatief om swanger te raak?
064   L_FU: Ja, dit was nie maklik nie.
065   I: Ok. So jy is amper `n ryker persoon omdat jy swanger geraak het – nie ryker in `n
066   geld sin nie maar in `n persoonlike sin?
067   L_FU: Ja
068   I: Nou wat ek probeer verstaan is, want dit is `n bietjie van `n kontras, want op die
069   een kant is dit positief dat jy swanger geraak het en aan die ander kant is dit
070   negatief. Nou wat was positief en wat was negatief?
071   L_FU: Positief is ek was mos altyd eers alleen gewees en negatief is ek wou mos
072   nie eintlik swanger gewees het nie.
073   I: Voel jy jou lewe is op `n manier te na gekom nou dat jy `n kind het?
074   L_FU: Ja
075   I: Hoe?
076   L_FU: Nou moet ek baie dinge doen en omsien na die kind wat ek nie voorheen
077   gedoen het nie.
078   I: En dink jy jou vooruitsigte vir die toekoms het verander?
079   L_FU: Nie eintlik verander nie. Ek kan mos nogsteeds skoolgaan en my drome kan
080   nog steeds waar word as ek wil.
082   I: Jy het gesê jy was voorheen baie alleen. Het jou kind nou `n leemte in jou lewe
083   volgemaak?
083   L_FU: Ja
084   I: As julle sou kon kies, sou julle miskien later in julle lewens liewer julle kinders wou
085   gehad het?
085   L_FU: Ja. Ons sou `n stap verder gevat het om eerder te wag.
086   I: Wat dink julle as julle terugdink oor hoe julle swanger geraak het en julle lewens.
087   Wat moes anders gewees het sodat julle kon verhoed om swanger te raak?
088   L_FU: (onduidelik – Lucy discusses how she would have licked to stay in school
089   during her pregnancy)
090   I: Wat moes anders in julle lewens gewees het sodat julle nie swanger geraak het
091   nie?
092   Carol: As ons net daai goed gebruik het, dan sou ons nie swanger geraak het nie.
093   I: So Carol, vir jou is dit regtig net `n kwessie van voorbehoedmiddels?
094   Carol: Ja
095   I: Het jy net eenvoudig te min van voorbehoedmiddels geweet op daai stadium of
096   was dit vir jou moeilik om dit in die hande te kry. Hoekom het jy nie
097   voorbehoedmiddels gebruik nie?
098   Carol: Ek weet nie. Ek hou nie van daai goeters nie.
099   I: Van die pil of kondome of inspuiting?
100   Carol: Ek is op die inspuiting. Ek praat van die kondome en daai goed.
101   L_FU: Op `n tyd toe het ons gehoor `n meisie en `n jongetjie het omgang gehad en
102   toe het `n kondoom binne in haar gebreek… so ek was `n bietjie bang gewees.
103   I: Het julle nie regtig geweet van die pil en die inspuiting op daai stadium nie?
104   Carol en Lucy: Net van kondome geweet.

105   I: So dit was regtig `n leemte in opvoeding?
106   L_FU: Ja.
107   I: So as iemand by die skool vir julle gesê het dit is nie net kondome nie, ...
108   L_FU: Dan sou ons... Ja.
109   I: Wie is dit hierdie?
110   L_FU: [Lucy1] My suster se kind
111   I: Voor skool?
112   L_FU: Ja
113   I: Hoekom het jy hierdie foto geneem?
114   L_FU: Voordat ek swanger gewees het, toe is sy baie na aan my en nou wat ek
115   swanger geraak het, toe is sy so ver van my af. Sy wil niks meer te doen hê met my
116   nie. Ons is nie nou meer close aan mekaar nie.
117   I: So dink jy sy het bietjie jaloers geraak?
118   L_FU: Ja, nou lyk dit amper so, sy hou nie meer van my nie, want ek is nou te veel
119   met die kind. Nou wil sy niks meer te doen hê nie.
120   I: Hoe laat dit jou voel?
121   L_FU: Dit laat my bietjie sleg voel.
122   I: Hoekom het jy hierdie foto geneem?
123   L_FU: [Lucy5] Ek wou eintlik van hulle gevat het?
124   I: Is daar enigiets wat jy oor hierdie foto wil sê?
125   L_FU: Die tweetjies – hulle het altyd saam met my gespeel en nou speel hulle alleen
126   en dit laat my net nog sleg voel daaroor want nou het ek nie rerig tyd oor vir hulle
127   nie.
128   I: Ok. So ek het die gevoel gekry dat jy eintlik `n bietjie van `n tense verhouding met
129   hulle het, want hulle terg jou baie
130   L_FU: Ja
131   I: En hulle gee jou baie grief. Maar julle het eintlik baie goed oor die weg gekom. Het
132   dit net verander vandat jy swanger is?
133   L_FU: Ja, want nou kon ek niks meer met hulle doen nie want hulle is ... toe dink ...
134   nou as hulle – toe wat ek swanger gewees het - nou is hulle meer erg – hulle wil nou
135   net vir my terg, en so aan.
136   I: Hoe het dit vir jou laat voel toe daai verhouding met hulle verander het?
137   L_FU: Dit het vir my sleg laat voel. Maar dis – ek moet nou net aangaan
138   I: En hierdie foto, hoekom het jy die een geneem?
139   L_FU: [Lucy2] Nou dat ek `n ma is, nou moet ek baie wasgoed was en besig wees
140   en so.
141   I: Ok, is dit vir jou lekker om hierdie werk te doen?
142   L_FU: As dit baie is, is dit nie lekker nie. Party van dit moet jy doen. Dit is maar net
143   so.
144   I: Ok. Ek wou ook gevra het hoe dit was om die fotos te neem hierdie keer.
145   L_FU: Lekker
146   I: Was dit vir jou beter hierdie keer as die vorige keer?
147   L_FU: Ja
148   I: Hoekom sê jy so?
149   L_FU: Die vorige keer het ek probeer om dit reg te doen, maar nou wat ek klaar is,
150   nou weet ek hoe kom dit te neem.
151   I: So jy kon net ontspan en fotos neem?
152   L_FU: Ja
153   I: Enige nare ondervindings?
154   L_FU: Niks eintlik nie

TEENAGE MOTHERS (29/07/02)
Interview Two
Nici

001   I: Jy het in die vorige onderhoud gesê ek was lief vir sy pa gewees en ek wou nie my
002   eerste kind opgegee het nie. Is jy nie meer lief vir die kind se pa nie?
003   N_FU: Ek is nog, maar nie meer soos wat ek gewees het nie. Nie meer baie
004   gevoelens vir hom nie.
005   I: So jy is nog lief vir hom, maar..
006   N_FU: Nie eintlik nie. Ek kan nie eintlik meer sê ek is lief vir hom nie.
007   I: Voel jy net miskien vir hom omdat jy vir hom so lank ken en hy is hulle pa?
008   N_FU: Ja
009   I: Maar dit is nie liefde nie.
010   N_FU: Ja
011   I: Ok. Ek verstaan. Ek verstaan nog nie mooi hoekom jy nie terug skool toe gegaan
012   het nie.
013   N_FU: As ek in die skool was ek dink baie aan die kind wat by die huis is en so. My
014   aandag is nie eintlik by die skoolwerk nie. Daarom het ek maar gebly.
015   I: Ok. Jy het in jou vorige onderhoud gesê dat altwee jou kinders vir jou baie
016   belangrik is.
017   N_FU: Hulle is baie belangrik vir my. Ek is lief vir hulle en ek wil nie vir hulle verloor
018   of so nie. Weg gee vir ander mense en daai nie. Ek is baie lief vir hulle – hulle
019   altwee.
020   I: Hoekom wil jy nie vir hulle weggee nie?
021   N_FU: Ek is te lief vir hulle en … hoe kan ek sê – al is ek jonk, maar ek sal liewerste
022   self sukkel. Maar nie eintlik met Thembo nie, want hy is by sy ouma, maar ek sal self
023   sukkel met haar. Maar ek sal hulle nie wil weg gee nie.
024   I: Wat beteken hulle vir jou?
025   N_FU: Baie!
026   I: Watse betekenis gee hulle vir jou lewe?
027   N_FU: Om soos `n ma te voel. Rustig te wees. Nie meer te doen wat ek in die begin
028   gedoen het nie toe ek nog nie vir hulle gehê het nie – soos altyd op jaarte gaan sit
029   en te baklei of so. En ek is bly ek is uit sulke dinge uit. Hulle hou my eintlik af
030   daarvan om sulke dinge te doen en daaraan te dink. Ek is altyd in die huis in. Dit hou
031   my af van stories af. En daaroor is ek bly.
032   I: So dit hou jou verantwoordelik.
033   N_FU: Ja
034   I: Ons het oor `n foto gepraat die voorige keer. En jy het gesê die rede omdat jy die
035   foto gekies het was omdat jy op die foto stres het vir Thembo. Hy het oor die kamera
036   gehuil en jy het kwaad geraak vir hom, want hy kan nie altyd kry wat hy wil hê nie. Jy
037   het gestres en toe vat jy sommer `n foto van hom.
038   N_FU: Ja!
039   I: En later sê jy: "Ek behandel hulle met respek, maar somtyds raak ek baie kwaad
040   vir Thembo, maar die way `n mens kan stres, dan kom die vloek mos uit, want hy is
041   baie ombeskof met `n mens". Ek het gewonder wat doen jy aan Thembo wanneer hy
042   jou so kwaad maak?
043   N_FU: Somtyds dan slat ek hom. Nie nou geweld of so nie, maar dan raak en baie
044   kwaad. Dan slat ek hom of verskree hom. Ook soos sy ouma met hom praat.
045   I: So jy gee vir hom `n pakslae.
046   N_FU: Ja
047   I: Ek het ook gewonder wat beteken gestres vir jou. Wat bedoel jy daarby?
048   N_FU: Ek raak kwaad en so – ek raak baie kwaad, en byvoorbeeld die dag toe ek
049   die fotos geneem het en toe hy die kamera wou hê en dan huil hy – toe stres ek en
050   ek was woedend kwaad gewees, want ek kan nie die ding vir hom gee nie, want dit

356

051   is nie myne nie. Toe wat hy so huil, toe vat ek die foto.
052   I: So 'gestres' is iets wat jou baie kwaad maak.
053   N_FU: Ja
054   I: Ok, en raak jy kwaad omdat jy voel daar is baie druk op jou oor iets?
055   N_FU: Ja
056   I: So dit is waar die stres inkom. In jou laaste onderhoud het jy die volgende oor die
057   pa van die kinders gesê, 'hy het jou geskop en jou in die huis ingetrap'. Wat beteken
058   'in die huis ingetrap'?
059   N_FU: Hy het baklei met my en toe sê hy ek moet in die huis inbly en ek mag nie
060   weggaan nie.
061   I: En as jy uit die huis uit sou gaan?
062   N_FU: Dan baklei hy met my, so ...
063   I: Hoe baklei hy met jou?
064   N_FU: Slat my, klap my en skop my en so.
065   I: Waar skop hy vir jou?
066   N_FU: So op my lyf.
067   I: So slaan hy jou op die grond plat? En dan?
068   N_FU: Of ek staan en as sy ma by is, dan keer sy en dan skel sy hom uit. `n Ruk
069   terug was ek alleen by die huis gewees en toe het ek hier bo by my ouma gekom en
070   toe wou ek nie huis toe gegaan het nie – toe het hy met my baklei in die pad –
071   geslaan met `n yster en toe hardloop ek by ander mense in en toe kom haal hy my
072   daar uit en baklei met my. Toe loop ek weg met die kind – en toe kom haal hy my
073   die Donderdag en toe was ek in die Tygervalley gewees en toe kom haal hy my en
074   die kind.
075   I: So dit is hoekom jy weggeloop het?
076   N_FU: Ja
077   I: Jy het gesê dat die ouma baie drink. Drink die pa van die kinders ook?
078   N_FU: Nee
079   I: Rook hy iets?
080   N_FU: Ja.
081   I: So hy rook dagga? En mandrax?
082   N_FU: Ja.
083   I: Enigiets anders?
084   N_FU: Nee
085   I: Hoe raak hy as hy daai goed rook?
086   N_FU: Hy raak eintlik 'n bietjie rustiger.
087   I: Ok, so dit is eintlik beter as hy bietjie gerook is?
088   N_FU: Ja
089   I: Is hy betrokke by die gangs?
090   N_FU: Nee
091   I: Is hy bevriend met enige gangmembers?
092   N_FU: Ja.
093   I: Maar hy is nie self in `n gang nie. Hoe laat dit jou voel dat hy dwelms doen en hy is
094   bevriend met gangsters?
095   N_FU: Ek kan nie eintlik sê nie, maar as hy gerook is, dan is hy nie eintlik so
096   ombeskof met `n mens nie, maar as hy die oggend opstaan, dan is hy baie
097   ombeskof. Dis nie elke oggend wat hy in 'n goeie mood opstaan nie.
098   I: So jy weet nie wat om te verwag deur die dag nie?
099   N_FU: Nee.
100   I: In ons laaste onderhoud het jy gesê daar is spesiale dinge wat net `n ma vir haar
101   kinders kan doen. Kan jy vir my `n voorbeeld hiervan gee?
102   N_FU: Liefde vir hulle gee. En vir hulle te gee wat – nie eintlik was hulle wil hê nie –
103   as sy het, en sy kan dit vir hulle gee of sy kan dit vir hulle doen, om dit vir hulle te
104   doen. En altyd by hulle te wees en vir hulle by te staan en as hulle wil praat met
105   iemand – om altyd vir hulle te sê as julle wil praat – as daar 'n probleem is – kom na

106   mammie toe, praat met mammie.

107   I: So dit is ook emosionele ondersteuning vir jou kinders gee?

108   N_FU: Ja.

109   I: Ok. Toe ek vir jou gevra het om vir my `n foto te wys wat jy die minste van ma-

110   wees geniet, het jy gesê dat jy nie so `n foto geneem het nie. As jy so `n foto

111   geneem het, waarvan sou dit gewees het?

112   N_FU: Ek weet nie

113   I: Jy het ook vir my gesê jy wou vir `n aborsie gegaan het, maar toe dink jy nee.

114   Hoekom het jy nie `n aborsie gehad met die tweede kind nie? Wat het jou van plan

115   laat verander?

116   N_FU: Nee, ek het net gedink: dit is verkeerd om so iets te doen. Die Here straf `n

117   mens. Daar is mense wat graag `n baba wil hê en dan kan hulle babas nie kry nie.

118   Ek sal nie so iets doen nie – al is ek jonk met twee kinders. Die Here moet dit

119   liewerster self van my wegneem of so. Maar ek sal dit nie kan doen nie.

120   I: So jy het dit oorgelos in die Here se wil.

121   N_FU: Ja

122   I: Jy het ook gesê laaskeer dat die pa van die kinders vriende is met die skollie wat

123   jou suster verkrag het en dat jou ma baie druk op jou plaas as gevolg hiervan. Hoe

124   voel jy daaroor dat jy saam met die vriend van die man wat jou suster verkrag het,

125   bly?

126   N_FU: Hulle is vriende nou so in die gangsters in en so, maar nie eintlik elke dag

127   bymekaar nie en hy kom nie daar by die huis nie. En my suster sy het self besluit dat

128   sy die saak teruggetrek en toe was sy weer saam met die klong hier gewees en ook

129   eenkeer weer saam met hom geslaap. Nou ek kan nie sê wat nou eintlik in hulle

130   besigheid aangaan nie.

131   I: Maar hoe het dit jou destyds laat voel?

132   N_FU: Die Sondag wat hulle vir haar gesoek het, toe voel ek baie kwaad en

133   hardseer. Toe dink ek, dit is nie sy besigheid nie, nou waarvoor wil hy ook nou vir

134   haar gaan soek. Of vir sy vrinne nou bystaan en daai – en dit is nie eers sy

135   besigheid en so nie. En toe was ek baie kwaad en teleurgesteld in hom.

136   I: So jy voel ook mense moet by hulle eie besigheid bly.

137   N_FU: Ja!

138   I: Nici, is jy `n baie privaat mens?

139   N_FU: Hoe bedoel Linda nou?

140   I: Jy hou dinge vir jouself?

141   N_FU: Ja

142   I: Dit is al die vrae wat ek gehad het.

TEENAGE MOTHERS (23/08/02)
Interview Three
Brenda

001 B2: En die eerste keer het ek gedink dit moet so wees, dit is hoe ek lewe – dit
002 moet so wees, en ek moet net go with the flow, maar nou dat ek die fotos geneem
003 het en so – nou is dit vir my anders. Ek sien dit op `n ander manier. Dit gaan nie so
004 bly nie. Dit gaan verander.
005 I: Sluit dit aan by wat ek vir jou eenkeer gesê het dat jy jou lewe kan…
006 B2: Ja, soos Linda vir my gesê het ja. Dit het vir my baie gehelp. Soos my suster
007 se kind en so. Baiekeer sê sy vir my sy wil nie hê sy moet soos ek wees nie en dan
008 raak ek hartseer, maar nadat Linda met my gepraat het, wys ek nie ek is hartseer
009 nie. Ek sou sê ek was bang – as sy vir my sê haar chomies het bofriends en so, en
010 hulle bring vir hulle chocolates, en as ek nou vir haar sê 'dit is nie reg nie' en so-en-
011 so, dan sal sy vir my sê, 'nee maar ons het nie vir jou gesê jy moet so make nie!'.
012 En so het ek hartseer gevoel. Maar nou kan ek vir haar iets beter sê. Ek voel nou
013 goed oor myself.
014 I: So jy het eintlik `n bietjie beter selfbeeld gekry.
015 B2: Soos gister skryf ek `n toets en toe gee ek die blaai in en toe vra hy vir my is
016 ek klaar en toe sê ek ja. En toe sê hy dank die vader – waar daar `n wil is is daar `n
017 weg.
018 I: En hoe gaan dit met die skoolwerk nou?
019 B2: Dit gaan beter. Eerste het ek gedink my werk gaan af en af, dit moet seker so
020 wees, maar nou probeer ek. Ek gaan dit doen.
021 I: En daar is omtrent net 3 maande oor van die jaar.
022 B2: Ja ons begin nou met eksamen.
023 I: So dit is net hierdie laaste rukkie. Vasbyt. Het jy planne vir volgende jaar?
024 B2: Ek het nog nie gedink nie. Ek dink daaraan dat ek moet kyk vir `n werk en so,
025 maar ek sien myself nie in `n "overol" nie.
026 I: Ek wil net teruggaan na wat jy al vantevoer gesê het. Ek wil net eers deur die 3
027 fotos gaan. Wie is dit hierdie? Is dit jou tannie?
028 B2: Dis 'n vriendin van my ma. Maar dit het nou onlangs uitgekom dat ons familie –
029 vêrlanks familie is. Met die begrafnis en daai. Sy bly daar in die wendyhouse.
030 I: Help sy jou met jou seun?
031 B2: Kyk sy betaal mos vir ons. En as die kind daar is dan sal sy kyk na die kind en
032 so.
033 I: So sy is 'n positiewe persoon in jou lewe?
034 B2: Ja
035 I: Is jou suster oorlede?
036 B2: Ja
037 I: Wanneer?
038 B2: 1998
039 I: Mag ek vra hoe?
040 B2: Sy het gesweet en so en toe het sy weggehardloop en toe gaan ons deur haar
041 goed en so en die Sondag toe wil sy net mooi wees daar by my antie se huis en wil
042 die beste kosse hê van wat sy hou en mooi klere en so en toe sê sy, sy gaan die
043 Maandag hospitaal toe en so en sy trek haar mooi aan en sy ry met die taxi en toe
044 die mense uitklim uit die taxi uit, toe het sy nie uitgeklim nie. Sy het net so in haar
045 slaap gesterf. Hulle sê sy het geelsig gehad. Langal, maar sy het vir niemand gesê
046 nie.
047 I: Hoe voel jy daaroor?
048 B2: Ek is so, as sy (referring to her niece) nou so ombeskof is met my en so het ek
049 altyd vir haar gesê ek is met haar so want ek het nie `n suster gehad wat vir my kon

359

050   sê soos wat ek vir haar kan sê nie. My suster het nie vir my vertel, 'jy moenie 'n
051   boyfriend kry' of daai is nie reg nie. Sy het vir my daantoe gestuur met haar geld
052   daar na haar toe.
053   I: Waar is dit?
054   B2: In Vryburg.
055   I: En dit is jou broer?
056   B2: Ja
057   I: Waar woon hy?
058   B2: Hy bly in Valhalla Park
059   I: Wat doen hy?
060   B2: Hy werk hier by Food World
061   I: Gee hy vir jou ondersteuning?
062   B2: As die mense nou hier kom by ons dan sê hy maar sy praat nie, sy praat nie
063   met my nie. Dan sal hy gee, maar ek sal nie vir hom vra nie.
064   I: So jy is nie baie naby aan hom nie.
065   B2: Nee
066   I: Is dit omdat hy soveel ouer as jy is?
067   B2: Nee, daar was in die begin iets nie reg nie. Toe ek in Joburg was en my pa
068   was hier by die huis en my ma het nie meer daar gebly nie – my ma het iemand
069   anders gehad. En toe ek nou terugkom, toe ek vir my ma sê ek gaan by my pa bly.
070   Die kind was by my ma gewees. En toe moet my ma huis toe kom want ek is daar
071   en die kind is by my ma. En toe bly hy en sy vrou daar by daai huis. En toe het ek
072   gehoor hy het nie my pa reg getreat nie. My pa is nie sy regte pa nie. Hy het nie vir
073   my pa kos gegee nie en so. Hy't nie my pa se klere gewas nie. My pa was soos `n
074   boemelaar en so. Hy het nie geworry oor die huis nie – net oor hulle kamer en so.
075   Toe eendag toe lui die foon en toe tel ek die telefone op, en toe sê hulle hulle wag
076   vir Mnr de Wee se doodsertifikaat - my pa se doodsertifikaat - en ek sê nee die
077   man lewe, hy's my pa en so. Toe sê hulle die meneer en sy vrou was daar en my
078   ma – my ma kan nie hoor nie en alles die huis en so het hulle op sy naam gesit en
079   so en hy het gesê hy kyk na my, maar ek was in Joburg. En toe het ek vir my ma
080   verduidelik met my vingers en so en toe sê sy nee, my broer het nie vir haar sulke
081   goed verduidelik nie en hulle het gesê my pa is oorlede en so. En toe ek
082   teruggekom het, het ek vir hulle gesê hulle moet loop. En toe kom my ma huis toe.
083   Maar ek het nou vrede gemaak met daai. Dit het my seergemaak. En my pa het vir
084   hom ook grootgemaak. Hy was klein – toe maak my pa vir hom groot en toe gaan
085   hy ook Joburg toe. Tot nou nog toe sê my pa hy het vir hom ook gewerk.
086   I: Wanneer was jy in Joburg?
087   B2: Ek was 1997 December was ek soontoe. En toe kom ek 1999 December
088   terug,
089   I: Ok. Hoekom was jy daar?
090   B2: Ek sou mos daar skoolgegaan het.
091   I: Waar in Joburg?
092   B2: In Vryburg
093   I: Ok. So dit was daai tyd toe jy in Vryburg was?
094   B2: Ja
095   I: Ok. Hoekom het jy die foto geneem?
096   B2: [Bren2] Want hy is die uncle en so.
097   I: Ok. En hierdie foto?
098   B2: [Bren1] Dit is om te wys hulle is lief vir hom. Hulle stry oor hom en so. Ja! Hulle
099   is lief vir hom. Ek kan vir hom trust by hulle twee en so. En vir my pa en so.
100   I: Hoekom het jy hierdie foto geneem?
101   B2: Ek het dit maar net gevat.
102   I: Speel hy sort van?
103   B2: Ja
104   I: Is dit vir jou lekker as hy so is?

105	B2: Ja, hy is gelukkig daar so.
106	I: Dan wil ek net deur van hierdie goed gaan (i.e. previous interview). Dit is goed
107	wat jy voorheen gesê het. Jy sê jy het nooit daai vrymoegheid gehad om die fotos
108	te neem nie? Wat bedoel jy?
109	B2: Sê maar daar was nou `n kompetisie by die skool – ek sou nooit deelgeneem
110	het en so nie.
111	I: Ok. So jy het gesê as daar `n kompetisie of so was.
112	B2: Ja, eers was ek mos bang gewees vir baie mense en so, maar nou toe ek die
113	Here aangeneem het en so. Ons gaan nou uit en so. En nou dat my ma gesterwe
114	het, het ek hulle aangeneem soos my eie mense. En dan gaan ek saam met hulle
115	uit.
116	I: Ok, en soos jy netnou gesê het is jou selfbeeld nou baie beter. Toe sê jy maar
117	nou kan ek en ek praat baie daaroor. So dit is vir my iets groots. Met wie praat jy
118	daaroor?
119	B2: Ek dink soos ek gewees het eerste, ek is nie meer so nie. Met enige iemand
120	sal ek nou so praat en so.
121	I: So jy't baie meer selfvertroue en so?
122	B2: Ja
123	I: Ok. Jy sê ook 'ek sou gelike het om `n foto van die pa geneem het, maar ek kan
124	nie want hy is ver. Ek wou ook fotos geneem het van mense wat my help op `n
125	manier wat hulle nie van weet nie'. Soos wie?
126	B2: Soos Ricardo en so. En soos ons pastoor. Hulle help my - nie met geld nie,
127	maar mense wat vir my positiewe dinge sê en so. Wat vir my opbouend is.
128	I: Ok. Hoe gaan dit nou met die kind se pa? Stuur hy nog vir jou geld?
129	B2: Toe ek vir hom nog nie aangegee het nie, het hy mos nie gestuur nie, maar toe
130	ek nou mos vir hom aangegee het, en toe het hy mos nou gebel en gesê hy gaan
131	die einde van die maand insit en so. Toe het hy mos nou einde Junie en Julie
132	ingesit. So ons moet die 10de Oktober voorkom op die matriek afskeid dag. Maar
133	dit maak niks nie. Hy kan maar die geld los. Toe hy nie gestuur het nie, toe was
134	daar nie gewees nie en toe moes ek gaan leen het en ek moes vir die kind gesê het
135	daar is nie. Dit is nie reg nie. Dis seer!
136	I: So dat jy hom moes dwing om die geld te gee.
137	B2: Nee, ek moes vir my kind gesê het daar is nie. Maar ek het vrede gemaak met
138	hom en so.
139	I: Maar jy dring daarop aan dat hy sy maintenance moet betaal.
140	B2: Ja. Hy gee mos nou geld, want daar is mos nou die hofsaak.
141	I: Ok. Ek wil jou uitvra oor jou verhouding met die kind se pa. Ek het gevra of julle
142	onmiddelik oor die weg gekom het en toe sê jy ja. Hoe het hy gereageer toe hy
143	uitvind jy is swanger?
144	B2: Hy het lankal geweet ek is swanger. Dit was nou Maart maand en toe het ek
145	nie siek geraak en so nie. En ek sê vir hom ek raak nie siek nie, en hy worrie nie.
146	Die vriend wat ek saam geloop het altyd gesê, 'Brenda jy moet kliniek toe gaan'.
147	Aanmekaar! En toe vra ek vir haar – hoekom sê sy aanmekaar vir my so want ek
148	doen nie sulke goed nie! Sê ek nou vir haar! Maar sy sê nie vir my sy weet en so
149	nie. Hy't vir haar gesê om vir my te sê aanmekaar! Ek moet kliniek toe gaan, ek
150	moet kliniek toe gaan en so. Hy het geweet!
151	I: Hoe het hy gereageer? Toe jy uiteindelik
152	B2: Toe hy nou sien ek weet ek is swanger?
153	I: Ja
154	B2: Hy het nie geworry nie.
155	I: So hy was nie opgewonde nie?
157	B2: Nee, weet jy – hoe kan ek sê hoe was hy? Hy was nie kwaad of so nie. Dis
158	amper so iets - hy het altyd vir my ook gesê 'ek maak jou groot – ek het vir jou
159	groot gemaak'. Sulke goed. En hy was, hy't altyd vir my – Soos ek vir die kinders
160	sê, 'niemand gaan vir jou kry' en so nie. Want daar was baie seuns en so wat

161	belang gestel het in my, baie! En so hy't altyd snaakse dinge gedoen. Miskien, soos
162	die een keeB2: die een vriend – Donovan is sy naam – toe is hy by onse huis, en
163	hy's nou buite kant en so, en toe loop hy, en daar vat hy 'n ketang en hy gooi dit op
164	hulle dak. Sulke goed! En dan baklei hulle – sulke goed!
165	I: Was hy jaloers?
166	B2: Seker! Maar ek sê altyd, hy kon my gelos het vir iemand anders! Soos hy nou
167	gemaak het met die kind en die geld.
168	I: Sê vir my wie se idee was dit dat julle seks gehad het?
169	B2: Toe ek daar aangekom het, toe voel dit vir my ons ken mekaar al reeds. Hy het
170	altyd vir my gesê 'jy loop nie met daai mense nie'. So was hy gewees. Hy was –
171	hoe kan ek nou sê?
172	I: So was dit 'n wedersydse ding? Julle wou altwee seks gehad het?
173	B2: Ja
174	I: So was dit nie 'n ompratery nie.
175	B2: Nee
176	I: Nee, ek het net gewonder, toe jy sê hy't altyd vir jou gesê hy maak jou groot. Jy
177	het hier gepraat oor die geld. En jy sê hoe hy nie vir jou die geld gegee het nie en
178	oor die brief en so. Jy sê toe dat 'partykeer as ek nie gered was nie en ek gaan na
179	hulle huis toe, sou ek iets vir hom aangedoen het'. So dit klink nie of hy vir jou baie
180	ondersteuning gee nie.
181	B2: Daai tyd kon hy my mos gelos het vir iemand anders.
182	I: Ok, en hoe laat dit vir jou voel?
183	B2: Ek wil nie vir hom laat dink ek is tevrede nie, of hy kan dit weer doen of so nie!
184	Maar ek worry nie.
185	I: Ok, jy sê hier toe ek vir jou vra dat jy hierdie jaar nie meer jou ma se hulp het nie,
186	of dit vir jou moeilik is. Toe sê jy ja dit is vir jou moeilik. Jy blaai deur jou skoolboeke
187	en jy dink jy was nie so nie, maar jy kan nie met die onderwysers praat nie, want
188	hulle sal nie verstaan nie. Toe vra ek so jy kan nie eintlik met die onderwysers praat
189	nie. Toe sê jy 'ja hulle wil net praat en alleen praat'.
190	B2: Soos meneer nou. Die week en so. Maandag of Dinsdag toe kyk hy ons werk
191	en so en toe vra hy wat maak julle by die huis en so? Hy het so gevra, 'wat maak
192	julle by die huis?' maar ek het nie gepraat nie, maar ek het gedink as die meneer
193	moet weet wat ek moet doen as ek by die huis kom, dan sal hy vra hoe kan jy nog
194	skoolgaan?
195	I: So hulle praat uit 'n posisie van mag ?
196	B2: Hulle praat te gou! Hulle moet dink en so. Hulle ken nie 'n mens nie.
197	I: En weet die meneer van jou omstandighede?
198	B2: Nee. Niemand van die onderwysers weet nie.
199	[Inaudible]
200	I: So hy het hierdie foto geneem want dit is 'n ou vriend van jou en sy gee vir jou
201	baie ondersteuning?
202	B2: Ja sy gee vir my ondersteuning, maar sy vra nou weer vir my, soos want die
203	kêrel wat sy nou gehad het en so. Ek kan nou vir haar sê sy moet na daai kyk en so
204	en dis ook nie noodig dat sy haastig moet wees nie. Sulke goed sê ek, maar sy is
205	nou al 21 hierdie jaar, maar sy kom baie na my toe en so.
206	I: So sy is net 'n baie goeie vriendin.
207	B2: Ja
208	I: Ok. Jy wou oor een van hierdie fotos gesels.
209	B2: Ek en my pa is mos allenig en sou en hierdie is maar net om te wys ek is by
210	die skool en hierdie is die onderwyser.
211	I: Hou jy van haar?
212	B2: Sy is lekker – sy sal altyd jokes maak en so. En die is waar ek los hom met my
213	pa, was en aantrek en so. En hierdie is waar hy in die jaart speel. Ek sal verkies as
214	ek nou nie daar is nie, kan hy in die jaart in speel.
215	I: So hierdie foto waar jy vir hom was sluit aan by…

216 B2: Ja, by die omgee en so.
217 I: En hierdie foto hier?
218 B2: Daar huil hy mos nou. Ek wil nie hê hy moet hartseer wees nie! Ek het nie
219 gemaak dat hy moet huil …
220 I: Raak jy baie hartseer as hy huil?
221 B2: Ek raak hartseer as ek - miskien as my pa hom slaan en so. Hy hou van huil –
222 as my pa miskien nou hard klap en so dan huil hy. Dan raak ek hartseer, maar ek
223 wil nie vir hom wys nie, want hy moet weet dit is verkeerd en so.
224 I: Ok. Die fotos wat jy by die skool geneem het, is daar `n rede hoekom jy dit by die
225 rekenaar geneem het?
226 B2: Nee dit is net om te wys dat en kry inligting en dit help my en so.
227 I: En dit help jou baie met jou toekoms?
228 B2: Ja
230 I: Ok, so al is dit moeilik om skool toe te kom,
231 B2: Ja, dit is opbouend, dit is die moeite werd. Maar soos ek gesê het, ek wil nie
232 hê ander mense moet dink hulle kan swanger raak en skool toe gaan nie.
233 I: En dat dit maklik is of so nie?
234 B2: Ja!
235 I: Ok. Hierdie twee fotos wat jy geneem het. Wie is die mense?
236 B2: Ons twee en die ander een is klasmaats, maar ons is mos groupies-groepies
237 in die klas in en hy is ooral en so en pal met almal en so - hy is die slimste in die
238 klas in.
239 I: So julle is net vriende.
240 B2: Ja, ek sal mos nou nie met iemand in die klas wat laggend en so is nie. Ek sal
241 met hulle wees. Hy is ook iemand wat ek na kan opkyk – hy is goed in sy
242 skoolwerk.
243 I: Help hy ooit vir jou met jou skoolwerk?
244 B2: Ek sal vir hom vra, Darryl en so en dan sal hy vir my help. Altyd sal hy help -
245 vir enigeen in die klas in.
246 I: Is daar enige ander foto waaroor jy sal wil praat?
247 B2: Soos ek sê die eerste fotos was vir my nou (unclear) en die was vir my
248 makliker en so.
249 I: Meer gemaklik gevoel met die kamera en …
250 B2: Ja, so…
251 I: Het jy nog enige vrae vir my oor wat ons gedoen het?
252 B2: Nee
253 I: Ok.

TEENAGE MOTHERS (23/08/02)
Interview Three
Carol

Carol has her baby with her at this interview. The baby is fascinated with the tape recorder, so there is allot of interference as a result. Carol also looked very depressed, and as a result talks very quietly. The baby also looks very agitated – she cries allot etc. I feel the two are connected.

001   I: Hoe gaan dit?
002   C2: Dit gaan goed.
003   I: En met die werk?
004   C2: Gaan aan.
005   I: Was dit wat jy verwag het dit gaan wees?
006   C2: Ek het nie gedink dit gaan so wees nie. Maar dis alright.
007   I: Hoe het jy gedink sou dit wees?
008   C2: Ek het baie werk en so en dit is easy.
009   I: So dit is nie so moeilik as wat jy gedink het dit sou wees nie?
010   C2: Nee
011   I: Is jy bly daaroor?
012   C2: Ja
013   I: Ok. Voor ons by die fotos uitkom, Carol, wil ek net vir jou vra – jy het laaskeer
014   gesê jy het besluit om nie terug skool toe te gaan nie, want daar is kinders daar wat
015   bevriend is met Alex en wat vir jou `n harde tyd gee. Wat doen hulle?
016   C2: Elke keer, dan is ek daar, dan voel ek so sleg as hulle so is – dan praat hulle
017   voor 'n mense en dan vandag is die meisie dan weer by heer pa en dan more soos
018   een wat nie … amper as of ek iets vir haar gemaak het en so!
019   [haar pa = Alex
020   die meisie = daughter]
021   I: So dit is net `n geskindery. So daar is nie iets anders nie?
022   C2: En sy het mos die foto van haar en die pa ook gehad - daai meisie. En toe het
023   ek dit mos gevra. En sy wou dit nie terug gee nie.
024   [haar pa = Alex
025   daai meisie = One of Alex's other girlfriends]
026   I: Maar jy voel jy het die regte besluit gemaak om skool te los?
027   [Long silence, she does not answer, she only nods]
028   I: Ok. Nog iets waaroor ek wil gesels, ons het laaskeer daaroor gepraat en jy het
029   gesê jy wou nie eintlik seks met Alex gehad het nie. Hoe het dit gebeur dat jy wel
030   seks gehad het?
031   C2: Ek kan nie eintlik onthou nie
032   [She is very quite during the next section]
033   I: Maar hoe voel jy daaroor?
034   C2: Ek voel baie sleg. My ma-hulle het gisteraand gesê hulle het weer vir hom
035   gekry met `n ander meisie.
036   I: Is julle nou weer bymekaar of is julle uit? Is julle uit?
037   C2: Ja
038   I: Ok. Voel jy sleg dat jy met hom geslaap het?
039   C2: Ja
040   I: Voel jy jy het beheer daaroor gehad? Oor die besluit om saam met hom te slaap?
041   Voel jy jy was daarin geforseer of wou jy met hom slaap? [Because of her
042   quietness, I am trying to clearify her answers]
043   C2: Nee
044   I: Jy wou nie met hom slaap nie. So jy was amper daarin geforseer?
045   C2: Ja

046   I: En hoe laat dit jou voel?
047   C2: (Inaudible)
048   I: Ok. [Baby cries for a long time, so there is a break in our conversation] Sê vir my
049   nadat jy uitgevind het jy is swanger, het jy weer seks gehad?
050   C2: Nee
051   I: En nadat sy gebore is?
052   C2: Nee
053   I: So dit was net daai een keer. En jy sê jy voel sleg daaroor. Wat bedoel jy as jy sê
054   jy voel sleg?
055   C2: Omdat hy saam met my geslaap het en nou bly hy nie by my nie en ek het nog
056   nooit sulke goed aan hom gedoen nie.
057   I: So dit is die manier waarop hy jou hanteer. Voel jy sleg oor jouself?
058   C2: Nee
059   I: Nie. Jy blameer nie jouself nie.
060   C2: Nee
061   I: Hoe oud was jou ma toe sy die eerste keer swanger geraak het?
062   C2: Ek dink 16
063   I: So sy was ook `n tiener. Dink jy dit het haar meer gekant gemaak teen jou
064   swangerskap? Of kon sy meer verstaan waardeur jy gaan?
065   C2: Sy het meer verstaan.
066   I: Dan wil ek ook vir jou vra. As sy eendag groot is, waar kan seks in haar lewe
067   inpas wat vir jou gelukkig sal maak. Watter ouderdom?
068   C2: Wanneer sy 21 is of 20. Daar rond.
069   I: Ok, so sy moet ouer wees. Moet sy in `n vaste verhouding wees of kan sy maar
070   met enigiemand slaap?
071   C2: Nee, sy moet in `n vaste verhouding wees. [slight giggle when she says this]
072   I: Ok, en vir jou? Wat is jou besluit vir jouself vir die toekoms?
073   C2: Ek sal maar nou kyk. [resigned]
074   I: Maar wat seks betref. Wat is jou besluit vir jouself in die toekoms?
075   C2: Ek wil nie nou weer seks hê nie.
076   I: Wil jy wag tot jy ouer is?
078   C2: Ja
079   I: En wil jy ook wag tot jy in `n vaste verhouding is?
080   C2: Ja
081   I: Ok. Wat het tussen jou en Alex gebeur wat jou uiteindelik laat besluit het jy gaan
082   uitmaak?
083   C2: Want elke keer het hy `n different meisie en as hy by hulle vry, dan kom slat hy
084   vir my of my uitskel en is sommer net snaaks saam met my.
085   I: So het jy besluit dit is nie meer aanvaarbaar nie.
086   C2: Ja
087   I: Ok. Hoe is dit nou dat julle twee uitgemaak het?
088   C2: Dit is nog bietjie swaar, maar ek cope.
089   I: Is jy nog lief vir hom?
090   C2: (onduidelik – she is upset, she starts to cry)
091   I: Dit is altyd moeilik in sulke omstandighede. Hoe is Alex se verhouding met haar?
092   (She indicates yes – get more upset and non-responsive) Moet ons maar liewer oor
093   die fotos gesels? Is jy ok? Ok. Watter foto wys die beste jou verhouding met jou ma
094   en die rol wat sy speel in julle twee se verhouding. Hoekom sê jy so?
095   C2: [2Care4] Omdat sy omgee vir ons.
096   I: Ok. Hoe wys sy vir jou dat sy omgee?
097   C2: Sy koop vir die kind as die kind iets nodig het en so. Haar pa-hulle ge nie meer
098   eintlik so nie. 'n Mens moet net eerste vra, voor hulle 'n ding koop en so. En my ma
099   hat al die meeste gegee.
100   I: So sy staan jou finansiël by. En emosioneel?
101   C2: Ja

102	I: So sy verstaan waardeur jy gaan.
013	C2: Ja
014	I: Help dit vir jou baie?
105	C2: Ja
106	I: Noudat jy werk – maak julle beurte om die kind op te pas, of wat maak jy met
107	haar?
108	C2: Die vrou kyk somtyds na haar.
109	I: Wie is sy?
110	C2: Dit is haar ma – hulle bly langsaan ons.
111	I: So dit is die bure. Is sy `n ou familie vriend.
112	C2: Ja
113	I: So jy ken vir haar lank, en vertrou jy haar?
114	C2: Ja
115	I: Maar ten spyte van die feit dat jy haar vertrou, hoe voel jy om jou kind by haar te
116	los?
117	C2: Dit voel alright en as my ma van die werk af kom dan kyk sy na haar.
118	I: So dit werk lekker uit?
119	C2: Ja.
120	I: Watter invloed het jou ma op die manier waarop jy jou kind grootmaak?
121	C2: Nie baie nie
122	I: Maar is daar miskien lesse wat jy geleer het by jou ma? Bv. het jou ma goed
123	gedoen toe jy klein was en nou sê jy dalk, 'ek gaan nie so maak nie'?
124	C2: Nee
125	I: So jy begin van voor af? Jy doen jou eie ding?
126	C2: Ja
127	I: Ok. Watter van hierdie fotos wys die minste hoe dit is tussen jy en jou ma?
128	C2: Nie een van die fotos nie.
129	I: En as iemand vra vir jou beskryf bv. `n situasie wat nou glad nie jou ma en jou se
130	verhouding is nie – hoe so jy dit beskryf?
131	C2: Daar is nie sulke goed nie.
132	I: Sê nou byvoorbeeld jy sê julle skree glad nie op mekaar nie en so. Verstaan jy?
133	As daai goed glad nie tussen julle gebeur nie, hoe sou dit wees?
134	C2: Dit sal alright wees.
135	[I have used an example that I phrased incorrectly because of my second
136	language. It would appear that she interprets this as me asking what it would be
137	like if her and her mother did not scream at each other and fight...]
138	I: Sê vir my watter foto wys die verhouding tussen jou ma en jou kind. Nommer 19.
139	Hoekom sê jy so?
140	[Long pause]
141	C2: [2Car19] Ek kan net sê omdat sy lief is vir die kind.
142	I: Ok. Het hulle `n spesiale verhouding? Is daar `n band tussen hulle? Is hulle
143	verhouding special?
144	C2: Ja
145	I: So sy is baie geheg aan haar ouma?
146	C2: Ja
147	I: Watter foto wys wat is spesiaal omtrent jou verhouding met jou ma en jou dogter?
148	C2: Nie een eintlik nie
149	I: Kan jy vir my sê wat is vir jou wonderlik of spesiaal oor jou verhouding met hulle
150	twee? Waar pas jy in hulle verhouding in?
151	C2: Ons is gelukkig saam en elkeen is vir mekaar en so.
152	I: So net om bymekaar te wees. Wat doen julle as julle bymekaar is?
153	C2: Ons gesels en so.
154	I: Waaroor praat julle as julle by mekaar is?
155	C2: Sommer oor enigiets.
156	I: Oor oppervlakkige goed tot diep, privaat goed – so oor enigiets?

157	C2: Ja
158	I: So dit maak nie saak hoe privaat of persoonlik dit is nie?
159	[Long pause]
160	C2: Nie altyd nie.
161	I: So daar is goed waaroor jy nie met jou ma kan gesels nie. Soos wat?
162	C2: Wanneer ek nou miskien iets gedoen het en ek is bang om te sê.
163	I: Soos wat?
164	C2: Verkeerde goed wat ek nie moet doen nie.
165	I: Soos wat?
166	[Tape interference]
167	[Long silence]
168	C2: Ek weet nie.
169	I: As jy sê as jy het iets verkeerd gedoen, kan jy nie met jou ma daaroor gesels nie,
170	wat bedoel jy met 'verkeerd'. Kan jy vir my voorbeelde gee?
171	C2: Ek weet nie
172	I: Ok. Watter foto wys die beste hoe jou ma jou ondersteun?
173	C2: Gewoonweg?
174	I: Ja.
175	[Long pause]
176	I: Beskryf vir my hoe jou ma vir jou omgee? Wat doen sy vir jou wat ondersteunend
177	is?
178	C2: Wanneer sy vir my gee wat ek wil hê en so …
179	I: Soos wat – gee vir my `n voorbeeld.
180	C2: Soos as ek klere wil hê of as ek skoene wil hê of so. Dan koop sy vir my.
181	I: So dit is vir jou belangrik dat sy vir jou so ondersteun.
182	C2: En liefde
183	I: Hoe gee sy vir jou liefde?
184	[Long pause]
185	I: Is dit soos as sy vir jou drukkies gee en na jou luister?
186	C2: Ja
187	I: Ok. Is daar iets wat jy wens sy vir jou sou doen, maar sy doen dit nie?
188	C2: Nee niks
189	I: So daar is nie `n leemte in die ondersteuning wat sy gee nie. Is daar enigiets wat
190	jou ma huidiglik in jou lewe vir jou doen wat jy dink jy eendag vir jou baba ook wil
191	doen?
192	[Long pause]
193	C2: (completely inaudible due to interference from baby)
194	I: So net die hele manier hoe jou ma is met jou. Jy het gesê jou ma ondersteun vir
195	jou fisies deur vir jou kos te gee, klere te gee en goed vir haar te gee. En sy
196	ondersteun jou emosioneel. Sy luister na jou en so. Daai hele verhouding tussen
197	julle twee – jy wil so `n verhouding met haar eendag hê.
197	C2: Ja
198	I: Is daar enigiets wat jou ma doen wat jy anders sal doen?
199	C2: Nee
200	I: Ek wil net vir jou oor hierdie fotos vra. Hierdie een is nommer 20 – hoekom het jy
201	daai foto geneem?
202	C2: Omdat hulle omgee vir haar en sy was altyd vir Sumarie wanneer ek miskien
203	nou besig is of so.
204	I: So dit is deel van julle verhouding en hoe sy jou ondersteun. En hierdie foto? Wie
205	is sy?
206	C2: Anthea. Sy bly oorkant ons.
208	I: En is sy oor baie ondersteunend vir jou?
209	C2: Ja
210	I: Hoekom het jy hierdie foto geneem?
211	C2: Sy wou nie geslaap het nie

212	I: En toe hoekom het jy die foto geneem. Was dit vir jou moeilik?
213	C2: Nie eintlik nie.
214	I: So daar was nie eintlik `n rede nie.
215	C2: Nee
216	I: En hierdie foto?
217	C2: (onduidelik)
218	I: Is daar iets spesiaals vir jou oor badtyd?
219	C2: Ja
220	I: Wat is vir jou spesiaal?
221	C2: Sy hou daarvan om in die bad te speel en as ek haar los in die water dan speel
222	sy met die eendjies in die water en so.
223	I: Ok, so dit is `n baie lekker tyd van die dag?
224	C2: Ja
225	I: Is sy baie cute as sy in die bad sit en speel?
226	C2: Ja
227	I: Hoe laat dit jou voel as jy terugsit en na haar kyk?
228	C2: Ek voel bly daaroor want (inaudible)
229	I: Ok, so dit is vir jou nou `n spesiale tyd want sy moet baie vir haar sorg – sy's baie
230	afhanklik van jou?
231	C2: Ja.
232	I: Ok. En hierdie is jou vriendin van oorkant. En dit is die buurvrou. Is dit Anthea se
233	ma die?
234	C2: Nee
235	[Tape interference]
236	I: Is julle twee ook vriendinne?
237	C2: Ja
238	I: Wat is haar naam?
239	C2: Audrey
240	I: Is julle vriende vir `n lang tyd?
241	C2: (onduidelik)
242	I: Is sy ouer as jy?
243	C2: Ja
244	I: Hoeveel?
245	C2: Sy is 18
246	I: Wat doen sy?
247	C2: En sy is môre 22
248	I: En wat doen hulle – werk hulle?
249	C2: Sy werk en sy werk nie.
250	I: Ok, Hoekom het jy hierdie foto geneem?
251	C2: Ek weet nie.
252	I: Net om `n foto te neem?
253	C2: Ja
254	I: Ok. En nommer 8 en 9? Hoekom het jy hulle geneem?
255	C2: Ek het daai ook sommer net geneem.
256	I: Ok, wie is sy?
257	C2: Dit is my niggie
258	I: Is daar enige van die ander fotos waaroor jy wil gesels?
259	C2: Nee.
260	I: Of van hulle waaroor jy nie wil gesels nie?
261	C2: Nee
262	I: Dan het ek weer hierdie vorm. Onthou jy jy het laaskeer so `n vorm ingevul. Dit is
263	net om te sê ek kan van die fotos gebruik as ek wil. Is daar enige van die fotos wat
264	jy glad nie wil ek moet gebruik vir iets nie?
265	C2: (respondent wys een uit)
266	I: Hoekom daai een?

267   C2: [2Car21] Want ek hou van hom.
268   I: Is dit vir jou iets privaat en specials want dis oor julle verhouding?
269   C2: Ja
270   I: Enige ander fotos wat jy nie wil wys nie?
271   C2: (wys niks uit)
272   I: Om terug te gaan na die foto. Heg jy baie waarde aan julle twee se verhouding?
273   C2: Ja
274   I: Is daar enigiets wat jy nie vir haar sal doen nie?
275   C2: Nee
276   I: So jy sal enigiets vir haar doen?
277   C2: Ja

TEENAGE MOTHERS (27/08/02)
Interview Three
LouAnn

001   (vliegtuig……..)

002   I: Die baba vat baie uit jou liggaam uit en dan moet jy nog konsentreer en so.

003   LA2: Ja

004   I: En die eksamens begin volgende Vrydag?

005   LA2: Ja en ek begin volgende Donderdag.

006   I: LouAnn ek het so baie respek vir jou – regtig. Ek dink dit is ongelooflik wat jy doen,
007   want dit is baie moeilik en jy hou uit en jy gaan nogsteeds daarvoor.

008   LA2: Ja, ek gaan dit maak.

009   I: Ja, jy sal. Jy kan baie trots op jouself wees. Dit is presies daai houding wat ek wil
010   verstaan. Waarvandaan kom dit? Jy het die houding van ek gee nie om wat gebeur
011   nie – ek gaan my matriek kry en ek gaan iets van my lewe maak. Waar kom dit
012   vandaan? Hoe het dit gebeur?

013   LA2: Van kleins af was ek `n go-getter - ek gan vir dit! My ma het altyd vir jy gesê
014   moenie dat iets vir jou afhou nie – gaan en gaan doen dit – jy kan dit doen en so het
015   ek opgegroei. Ek is so – ek gaan `n try vat – ek gaan nie worry oor wat ander mense
016   vir my sê nie. Wie ek is of wat – dit was vir my so: dit eerste keer toe ek gaan , toe
017   gaan ek. En toe kry ek dit! Ek het vir die Here gevra om my te help. Toe sê my ma
018   vir my, 'ja die Here sal jou help my kind, jy kan dit doen!' Voor ek swanger was, het
019   ek vir my ma gesê ek gaan vir die mense wys ek is beter. Ons het in die ander
020   gebied gebly – daar in Uitsig en daar was baie mense wat vir my afgedruk het. Hulle
021   het gesê ek wil altyd net daar bo wees en so. Dan dink ek hoekom ek? Ek is net so
022   `n persoon – ek het ook gevoelens. En toe ek swanger raak, toe dink ek, moet ek
023   nou sit of wat? En toe dink ek as ek nou gaan sit, dan gaan die mense nou dink,
024   'ons het vir haar!' Sy's nou down – sy's nie meer LouAnn, daai LouAnn wat net daar
025   bo wou gewees het nie. Sy is nou net soos ons almal – soos die meisies in Uitsig -
026   `n young teenager wat swanger geraak het en haar lewe gaan dieselfde wees. Maar
027   toe dink ek by myself. My lewe gaan nie dieselfde wees nie. Ek gaan daar bo
028   uitkom.

029   I: Jy sê so baie interessante goed. Ek kry die gevoel jou ma het `n belangrike rol
030   gespeel in hoe jy jouself sien en jou houding. Dink jy dat haar invloed op jou
031   beinvloed hoe jy jou vriende kies?

032   LA2: Nee, dit is my eie keuse. My vriende is nie soos ek nie. Ons karakters verskil
033   van mekaar.

034   I: So jou vriende het verskillende houdings oor die lewe?

035   LA2: Ja, maar op die einde sien ons almal die lewe op dieselfde wyse.

036   I: Dit is wat ek wonder. Kies jy vriende wat amper dieselfde houding as jy het?

037   LA2: Ja. Ons het mekaar op laerskool ontmoet – ons al 5 – en soos ons groot
038   geword het, het ek altyd gedink, as ek so sê, dan sê die vriendin van my die
039   volgende week, 'Haai! Maar dit is dan so!' en 'Dit het met my gebeur' – dan het dit
040   klaar met my gebeur. Dan dink ek – maar hoekom dink ons die selfde, ons doen die
041   selfde dinge. Miskien is ons bedoel om by mekaar te wees.

042   I: Ok, watse rol speel jou geloof in jou lewe. Hoe jy dinge aanpak? Waar pas jou
043   geloof in?

044   LA2: Soos in my culture?

045   I: Jou geloof in die Here.

046   LA2: Dit is baie sterk, alhoewel ek nie meer is soos wat ek was nie. Ek het
047   grootgeword in die kerk. My ouers het my so groot gemaak. My ma vertrou altyd op
048   die Here, so hoekom kan ek dit nie doen nie. As sy bid, vra sy altyd Here doen dit en
049   my kinders en dan vra ek altyd vir haar mammie wanneer gebeur dit en toe ek

370

050   gesien het dit gebeur, toe dink ek LouAnn jy kan ook dit doen. Toe vra ek vir die
051   Here om vir my te help. Dit is net hoe ek is.
052   I: So dit speel 'n belangrike rol in jou lewe.
053   LA2: Ja
054   I: So veral as dinge sleg loop, dan help jou geloof jou om jou sterker te maak.
055   LA2: Ja, maar nie altyd nie. Somtyds voel jy mismoedig. Soms vra jy vir die Here,
056   maar dit kom nie so nie.
057   I: Ek verstaan. Ok, verbeel jou, jou fotos lê hier. Hoe sien jy jouself? As ek sê
058   beskryf LouAnn vir my.
059   LA2: LouAnn is 'n baie positiewe persoon en sy gaan vir dit wat sy wil hê. Soms is
060   sy baie teruggetrokke – amper vandag is sy so en anderdag is sy so – sy is nie elke
061   dag dieselfde nie. Altyd as daar 'n function is, 'n spesiale dag is, moet sy iets anders
062   het. As dit by klere kom – ons almal se idees is nie dieselfde nie. Ek gaan altyd vir
063   iets beters - ek wil altyd iets anders, different, iets beters as my vriende hê.
064   I: So jy sou sê jy is 'n unieke mens.
065   LA2: Ja! Ek hou van different wees van ander mense. My styl alles.
066   I: Om regtig te sê, 'Dis wie ek is!'
067   LA2: Ja!
068   I: Sodat jy kan sê jy is jou eie persoon.
069   LA2: Om nie agter ander mense…
070   I: Sou jy sê jy is 'n leier?
071   LA2: Ek sou nie so sê nie. Ek hou van different wees van ander mense – soos
072   klerestyl en hare en skoene en als. Dan moet daar iemand wees wat sê kyk vir haar
073   sy lyk snaaks! En wat vir my lag en dan voel ek eers goed, want ek is al een. Ek het
074   die moed om so aan te trek. Dis myne – dis my style. Ek weet môre gaan iemand
075   anders ook so doen.
076   I: So dit is amper 'n indirekte leier?
077   LA2: Ja
078   I: Jy sê as mense sê sy lyk anders en as hulle vir jou lag, dan voel jy goed. Hoekom
079   dink jy is dit so?
080   LA2: Want ek het die moed, ek het die moed! Almal soos – almal sal: vandag het sy
081   rooi skoene aan, haar hare is rooi – more gaan ek hier uit so aangetrek dan lag hulle
082   vir my, dan sê hulle, 'Jo! Jy lyk snaaks' en so. Maar dan sien hulle oor die tv of
083   miskien in een van die boeke, 'haai sjoe! Sy lyk smaart! Sy't so iets aan.' Dan dink
084   hulle – maar daai kind het so iets aangehaad! Dan gaan sy nie more die selfde het,
085   dan gan sy met iets anders – um, ek hou van um, different wees. Dan wil ek hê
086   mense moet sien ek is so! Dan wil ek hê – dis amper soos 'n challenge. Ek wil hê
087   die mense moet my challenge. Ek hou van different wees en dit is amper soos 'n
088   challenge.
089   I: Ek kry ook die indruk dit is simbolies van jy is braaf
090   LA2: Ja!
091   I: En jy het baie moed.
092   LA2: Ja
093   I: Ok. Hoe sou jy sê dit is nou nie LouAnn nie?
094   LA2: Soos nou – dit is defnitief nie LouAnn nie (pointing to self)! Rerigwaar! Ek kan
095   dit self voel en ek kan dit sien! Ek voel down en … maar ek dink tog ag, een van die
096   dae is ek klaar en dan is dit weer die ou LouAnn. Dan ek gaan werk – eers vir my
097   ma werk, maar dan het ek geld om vir my te koop die wat ek wil en nie van ou klere
098   weer self te maak nie. Dan kan ek vir my koop.
099   I: Ok, so die feit dat jy op die oomblik bietjie moedeloos is jy kry swaar en jy voel jy
100   kry swaar en al dit wat op die oomblik aangaan is nie hoe jy is nie? En miskien kry
101   die goed jou onder?
102   LA2: Ja
103   I: Bietjie baie onder?
104   LA2: Ja

105 I: Wel, dit is `n baie groot uitdaging waar jy nou in is. Maar jy is gedetermineerd. Ook
106 wat jy nou sê as jy werk het jy geld om klere te koop soos wat jy wil hê. Maar sê jy
107 dan op die oomblik jy is baie kreatief met wat jy het?
108 LA2: Ja
109 I: Ok, so jy is goed om met dit wat jy het, vir jou te laat werk?
110 LA2: Ja
111 I: Ok. Ek het hier gevra watter foto wys die beste wie jy was voor jy swanger geraak
112 het. Sou jy sê jy het baie verander van wie jy was voor jy swanger geraak het en wie
113 jy nou is?
114 LA2: Soos ek het fotos wat ek kan wys dat jy miskien kan sien wie ek was voor die
115 tyd.
116 I: Ok,
117 She fetches the photos
118 I: Hoe is hierdie anders as wat jy nou is?
119 LA2: Dit is baie anders. Rerig waar! Toe ek nog nie swanger was nie, het ek altyd
120 gedink ek gaan nie naweke by die huis sit nie. Elke dag gaan anders wees. Ek wil
121 nie wees soos ander meisies nie. Ek gaan iemand anders wees. Maar soos nou sit
122 ek elke dag by die huis. Ek doen my skoolwerk by die huis. Ek kan nie meer dink ek
123 kan môre iets gaan doen, want ek is alleen. Ek moet nou onthou as ek die baba het,
124 kan ek nie sommer loop soos ek wil nie. Ek moet eers die baba versorg en dan kan
125 ek my ways gaan.
126 I: So dit is amper of jy meer verantwoordelik geraak het, maar ook jy het minder –
127 this is an incredibly individual person and very brave person and very out there!
128 Here I am! En dit is amper of jy bietjie stiller geword het. Bietjie meer teruggetrokke.
129 LA2: Ja!
130 I: Waar hierdie persoon is nie teruggetrokke nie.
131 LA2: Die het ek self gemaak. En die.
132 I: Het jy `n masjien?
133 LA2: Nee, die broek het ek by die skool gedoen en die top by my antie.
134 I: Dink jy miskien neem jy ander mense meer in ag as voorheen?
135 LA2: As ek by die huis sit oor naweke, dan kan ek sien die jong meisies – hoe is
136 hulle aangetrek en dan dink ek kan dit nie maar ek gewees het nie. Ek was mos
137 beter – nie beter nie, maar ek wou altyd iets different gewees het. Ek voel down
138 daaroor, maar ek gaan weer wees wie ek was. So as ek die fotos kyk, dan is ek baie
139 spyt.
140 I: Ok, so die baba kom nou een van die dae. En dit is nou eksamens en so, maar in
141 die toekoms – as gevolg van jou ondervindinge nou, kan jy miskien `n reeks klere
142 ontwerp vir swanger vrouens?
143 LA2: Nee
144 I: Sal jy dit nie wil doen nie. As jy dit sê is dit omdat dit vir jou `n slegte ervaring is?
145 LA2: Ja! Soos op die oomblik het ek ook nie eintlik klere wat ek nou kan dra nie. En
146 ek kan ook nie nou klere koop nie, want as ek klaarmaak, wie gaan dit dan dra?
147 I: So dit sal net vir jou te veel van `n herinnering wees van hierdie tyd.
148 LA2: Ja
149 I: Ok. Die fotos is regtig wow. Want elkeen is so anders. Jy is baie talentvol. En dit
150 klink ook vir my hierdie ervaring kry jou onder, want jy kan nie voluit LouAnn wees
151 nie.
152 LA2: Ja
153 I: Jy voel dit hou jou baie terug?
154 LA2: Ja
155 I: In hierdie situasie waarin jy nou is. Hoe het die ondersteuning van familie en
156 vriende verander van voor jy swanger geraak het?
157 LA2: Van my vriende af het dit beter geword. Dit was soos dit gewees het vantevore
158 maar nou is dit eers 'Nee LouAnn, jy moet dit en jy moet dit doen. En jy moenie so
159 maak nie.' En van my ouers af in die huis is daar baie meer – hulle is nou baie meer

160   oor my. Soos my ouma – ek was die een – ek gaan soos sy wees en ek gaan

161   anders wees as my ouer susters. Ek is die een wat daar bo gaan uit kom. Maar sy

162   het down gevoel toe sy hoor ek is swanger en nou druk sy dit half op my boyfriend

163   af: Hy gaan help vir jou, en hy gaan maak dat jy weer daar uitkom daarbo. My ouma

164   sê ook sy gaan my help om weer daar bo uit te kom. Maar eintlik is dit – sy's baie

165   down oor dit.

166   I: Voel jy sy sit baie druk op jou om weer te kom waar jy was?

167   LA2: Nee nie eintlik nie.

168   I: Maar hoe laat dit jou voel dat sy down is?

169   LA2: Dit is tragies. Regtig!

170   I: So dit is vir jou baie erg. Moedig dit jou meer aan om 'n sukses van alles te maak?

171   LA2: Ja, ek gaan vir haar wys en is nogsteeds LouAnn. Nevermind die baby.

172   I: So jy hou regtigwaar van 'n challenge nê!

173   LA2: Ja!

174   I: Raak jy maklik verveeld?

175   LA2: Ja!

176   I: So ek kan dink hierdie tyd by die huis is baie erg.

177   LA2: Jy kry nie lus vir jouself nie. Daar's nie klere wat jou pas nie. Jy kan nie jou

178   hare vleg soos jy wil nie. Jy weet nie … Jy is net – los alles en sit en doen niks.

179   I: Ja, ek kan indink dit moet baie erg wees. Jy brand seker om weer dinge te kan

180   doen. Sê vir my gaan jy na die matriekafskeid toe?

181   LA2: Eers was ek positief gewees dat ek daar gaan wees, maar nou dink ek weer

182   wat gaan ek aantrek. So ek moet iets anders maak, maar ek wil nie soos my vriende

183   lyk nie! Maar ek sal seker maar daar moet wees. En ek wil daar wees!

184   I: Het jy tekeninge van die rok wat jy wou gemaak het?

185   LA2: In my kop.

186   I: Dit is 'n baie spesiale aand? Is daar 'n goeie rede hoekom jy nie so gan nie?

187   LA2: Omdat daar nou baie uitgawes is en ek kan nou nie meer kry wat ek sou gekry

188   het nie.

189   I: So die enigste rede hoekom jy nie sal wil gaan nie, is jou klere?

190   LA2: Ja

191   I: Ok. Watter rol speel jou familie en vriende in hoe jy jouself sien?

192   LA2: Nie eintlik 'n groot rol nie.

193   I: En jou ma?

194   LA2: My ma ja, maar nie eintlik familie en vriende nie. Ek is na aan my vriende, maar

195   hulle speel nie eintlik 'n groot rol nie.

196   I: Ok, maar jou ma speel 'n groot rol. Dit klink my sy het jou van kleins af baie

197   aangemoedig.

198   LA2: Ja.

199   I: Ok. Net om terug te gaan na hoe ondersteun jou familie en vriende vir jou.

200   Ondersteun hulle vir jou op 'n manier waarvan jy hou?

201   LA2: Somtyds treat hulle vir my asof ek groot is omdat ek nou 'n baby gaan hê.

202   Hulle moet vir my treat soos LouAnn, soos altyd. Ek is nog altyd op skool. Ek voel

203   hulle moet my treat soos die kind LouAnn.

204   I: So dit is amper of hulle nie dieselfde persoon sien nie.

205   LA2: Ja. Soos my niggies dink nou ons moet vir LouAnn groter treat.

206   I: Hoe gaan dit met jou en jou ou?

207   LA2: Alles is ok.

208   I: Jy sê nou mense hanteer jou nie meer soos die ou LouAnn nie. En met hom? Is hy

209   ook so?

210   LA2: As hy hier kom – ek voel ek wil nie vir hom sien nie, want ek voel ek lyk nie reg

211   nie en dan sê hy nee ek moet nie so voel nie. Hy aanvaar my soos ek nou is.

212   I: So hy gee vir jou ondersteuning op 'n manier waarvan jy hou?

213   LA2: Ja. Maar ek kan hom nie verdra nie.

214   I: Regtig? Hoekom nie?

373

215 LA2: Ek wil hom net afkraak en stry. As ek nie kry dit wat ek wil hê nie dan is dit ...
216 oh nee! Ek weet nie!
217 I: Is dit anders as voordat jy swanger geraak het?
218 LA2: Ja
219 I: Ok. So baklei julle baie op die oomblik?
220 LA2: Nie baklei nie – stry.
221 I: Stry hy terug?
222 LA2: Nee, en dit kan ek nie vat nie – hoekom gee jy nie terugvoering nie. Dis nou
223 net ek alleen. Ek is nou die fool – ek praat alleen, ek gaan alleen aan, so ek is mad.
224 I: Dink jy die feit dat jy op die oomblik baie gefrustreerd is – dink jy dit is as gevolg
225 daarvan?
226 LA2: My ma sê so.
227 I: So dink jy dit is omdat jy by hom veilig voel?
228 LA2: Ja, want soms haal ek by die huis dit uit. As ek nie kry dit wat ek wil hê nie –
229 dan is ek kwaad. Ek skree op almal en so.
230 I: En is dit omdat hierdie `n omgewing is waar jy veilig voel.
231 LA2: Ja. Soos, in die vakansie was ek by sy ouers en toe kry ek wat ek wil hê. En
232 soms dan kan ek nie kry nie dan, dink ek nee! Ek kan nie so aangaan soos by die
233 huis nie. So ek moet vir my inhou!
234 I: Ok. En jy sê hy stry nie terug nie. Dit is amper of hy verstaan.
235 LA2: Amper so ja, want vantevore het hy gesê ek kan nie by hom uithaal nie en so.
236 I: Dink jy jy blameer hom vir waar jy nou is?
237 LA2: Somtyds as ek mismoedig is dan blame ek vir hom. Soos my ouma, sy blame
238 vir hom. Maar jy kan nie dit doen nie, want dit is altwee.
239 I: So dink jy partykeer as jy met hom stry, is dit omdat jy kwaad is vir hom – omdat
240 dit sy skuld is?
241 LA2: Ja
242 I: Maar andersins gaan dinge goed tussen julle?
243 LA2: Ja
244 I: En julle het nie trouplanne nie.
245 LA2: Nee!
246 I: Dink jy later sal jy dalk met hom trou?
247 LA2: Nee, nie met hom nie.
248 I: Nie met hom nie? Hoekom nie?
249 LA2: Ek het besef agterna – toe my ma het ook vir my gesê ek is nog jonk – dit is nie
250 `n moet dat ek nou met hom moet trou omdat ek nou `n kind het nie. Want ek het
251 gevoel ek wil trou met die man van wie ek eendag kinders het, want hoe gaan dit
252 voel ek het kinders van `n ander man en dan kry ek weer `n kind van `n ander man.
253 Maar ek sal sien wat die lewe vir my inhou. Daar is `n man vir elke vrou.
254 I: Hoekom sê jy nie hom nie?
255 LA2: My hart sê vir my ek wil met hom, maar as ek weer hoor wat my ma sê, ek sal
256 sien dit gaan nie hy wees nie. Soos dit nou met haar gebeur het.
257 I: So dit is nie dat daar iets verkeerd is met hom nie, maar dit is net dat julle nie
258 regtig bymekaar pas nie.
259 LA2: As ek uitgaan in die wêreld in, is daar seker iemand anders wat belangstel in
260 my. Soos my ma sê altyd daar is altyd iemand anders – 'n ander man wat belang
261 stel. Al het jy nou wel 'n kind, dan los die ou vir jou van wie jy 'n kind van het, dan is
262 daar altyd iemand beter as hy! So daii's wat ek aanvaaLA2:Ok daar is iemand beter
263 as hy wat my eendag sal aanvaar.
264 I: Ok.
265 LA2: Maar dit is nie eintlik 100% wat ek wil hê nie.
266 I: Ok, beplan jy nog om volgende jaar te gaan werk en dan te gaan swot?
267 LA2: Ja – daarna. Soos dit nou is, ek wil werk!
268 I: Sê vir my – hierdie is nou meer algemene vrae. Wat dink jy moes anders gewees
269 het in jou lewe sodat jy nie swanger geraak het nie?

374

270   LA2: Nee

271   I: So dit was regtig net `n ongeluk.

272   LA2: Ja, ek kon nooit van voorbehoedmiddels gepraat het nie. Ons vriende het nooit
273   van seks en so gepraat nie en ook nie by die huis nie.

274   I: Jy het vir my voorheen gesê jou ma is baie gekant teen voorbehoedmiddels. Dink
275   jy as sy nie so aangegaan het nie, sou jy miskien voorsiening gemaak het vir die
276   moontlikheid.

277   LA2: Ja. Soos, toe ek swanger was toe sy en my niggie, toe praat hulle, toe hoor ek
278   vir hulle, toe sê sy … en toe het my ma gesê ek kon met my niggie gaan praat en en
279   my niggie het ook gesê ek kon met haar gaan praat het daaroor en toe dink ek ai,
280   stupid nê?!

281   I: Hoe oud was jou ma toe sy die eerste keer swanger geraak het?

282   LA2: Sy was 18.

283   I: Hoe het haar familie daaroor gereageer?

284   LA2: Sy het vir ons vertel daai tyd was daar nie kondome en so nie. En sy het nie
285   geweet sy is swanger nie – sy het net pyne begin kry en haar maag het groot geraak
286   en toe – die ouers van daai tyd – die mense wat die babas vang, die voedvrouens,
287   en my ouma was een en my oumagrootjie was een en toe sê my ouma vir haar
288   maar daar kom `n baba. Toe sê sy, 'Nee! Dis nie 'n baba nie!'. Sy is swanger. Sy
289   was nog stupid so sê sy. Maar die kinders van nou weet wat aangaan.

290   I: Maar was haar ma ok daarmee?

291   LA2: Ek weet self nie.

292   I: Ok. As jy eendag `n dogter het, hoe sou jou houding wees teenoor haar sekslewe.
293   Wanneer sal dit vir jou ok wees as sy seks het? Waar pas seks in `n mens se lewe?

294   LA2: Ek sal vir haar vertel hoe dit met my was. Sy moet aangaan met die lewe. Sy
295   moenie vriende het wat vir haar gaan sê hulle gaan uittoets wat seks is nie. Sy moet
296   wag! Ek sal vir haar sê as sy die gevoel kry vir seks, moet sy maar gaan, maar ek
297   sal nie dieselfde wil hê wat met my gebeur het, moet met haar gebeur nie.

298   I: Dink jy jy sal miskien meer `n oop verhouding met haar hê.

299   LA2: Ja!

300   I: Meer aanvarend daarvan wees – van voorbehoedmiddels?

301   LA2: Ja

302   I: Maar as jy kon kies, sou jy wou hê sy moet wag tot sy `n sekere ouderdom is en in
303   `n sekere verhouding?

304   LA2: Hum, in 'n sekere verhouding. En die regte ouderdom. Want bv. soos nou – 17
305   jaar oud. Op 17 het jy nog nie die regte ou nie. Soos jy ouer is, raak jou gedagtes
306   bietjie groter. Jy moet eers rondkyk.

307   I: So sy moet beslis ouer wees – amper ouer as 20 - en in `n vaste verhouding.

308   LA2: Ja, sy moet eers die ouens uitkyk. Moenie te vinnig wees nie.

309   I: Ok. Ek dink dit is alles wat ek wou gevra het. Ek wil nou net om af te sluit weet,
310   hoe was dit vir jou om aan die navorsing deel te neem.

311   LA2: Dit was lekker. Ek het gevoel ek wil dit doen en ek gaan gesels daaroor.

312   I: Hoe het dit jou laat voel om oor die goed te gesels?

313   LA2: Ek het nie gedink ek sal dit kan doen nie. Ek is baie skaam om met mense te
314   kommunikeer. Ek kommunikeer nie sommer nie. Maar toe ek eers sien wie die
315   ander kinders is, toe dink ek ag wie is hulle nou! Ek kan!

316   I: So dit was lekker vir jou. Voel jy jy het nou eintlik `n kans gehad om oor die hele
317   ervaring te reflekteer.

318   LA2: Ja

319   I: So het dit jou gehelp in daai opsig?

320   LA2: Ja

321   I: Het jy enige vrae vir my?

322   LA2: Nie eintlik nie.

TEENAGE MOTHERS (21/08/02)
Interview Three
Lucy

001 I: Ek gaan weer vrae vra soos wat ons die vorige keer gedoen het en as ek vir jou
002 `n vraag vra en daar is nie so `n foto nie het ek potlode en papier gebring sodat jy
003 dit vir my kan teken of net kan verduidelik hoe daai foto sou gelyk het. Sê vir my
004 eerstens het jy baie blomme en presente gekry?
005 L2: Ja. In die hospitaal. Van vriende … nie so baie van die familie want hulle was
006 mos by my gewees. So…
007 I: Was dit vir jou lekker?
008 L2: Ja, dit was vir my lekker om my vriende en familie aan my kant te hê.
009 I: Wat dink jou vriende van die baba?
010 L2: Hulle is mal daaroor! Die skoolvriende en almal. Hulle is omtrent elke dag –
011 dan wil hulle na my huis toe kom van die skool af net om hom te sien.
012 I: Hoe laat dit jou voel?
013 L2: Dit laat my baie gelukkig voel dat ek sulke vriende het wat omgee vir my.
014 I: So dit is vir jou `n baie groot bron van ondersteuning.
015 L2: Ja
016 I: As hulle kom kuier, speel hulle net met hom of…
017 L2: Hulle praat met my en speel met hom. En hulle bring vir my vrugte en so en
018 hulle bring vir hom miskien `n dingetjie of iets.
019 I: En help hulle vir jou om sy doeke om te ruil?
020 L2: Ja! Hulle almal het al getry! As hulle elke dag kom dan gee hulle mekaar
021 kanse, 'ek gaan more sy doek omdraai!' en 'ek doen vandag!' Of as hy nog nie
022 gewas is nie, dan wil hulle vir hom was en so hulle kom vroeg daaraan, en so…
023 I: Voel jy dit gee amper vir jou `n break?
024 L2: Ja
025 I: Wie is dit hierdie?
026 L2: Daai is my suster – en hulle is op dieselfde dag gebore.
027 I: En is dit haar baba?
028 L2: Ja
029 I: Wow, en hoe laat dit jou voel?
030 L2: Baie gelukkig! Ek het quarter to 6 klaargemaak en sy net past 1 die middag.
031 I: Is sy ouer of jonger as jy?
032 L2: Sy is ouer as ek.
033 I: Is die twee ook hare?
034 L2: Nee – die ene is haar kind
035 I: Onthou jy jy het voorheen baie goed gesê van jy weet nie hoe dit gaan wees nie
036 as jy `n ma is nie. So al my vrae is nou daarop gemik. Hoe is dit nou dat jy `n ma is
037 en hoe verskil dit - hoe jy dit nou ervaar van hoe jy verwag het. So my eerste vraag
038 is watter van die fotos wys die beste hoe jy moederskap ervaar – hoe dit is om `n
039 ma te wees.
040 L2: Ek kan nie eintlik sê nou nie. Hoe ek dit nou ervaar – ek is gelukkig en dit is nie
041 so swaar soos wat ek gedink het nie. Daar kom tye wat swaar is maar dit is nie so
042 dat ek dit nie kan vat nie.
043 I: So jy het verwag dit gaan swaar wees?
044 L2: Ja.
045 I: Jy het nie verwag dat dit net wonderlike tye gaan wees nie. En so dit is vir jou
046 eintlik `n positiewe ervaring?
047 L2: Ja
048 I: Wat is erg vir jou nou om ma te wees?
049 L2: Om vir hom te was! Hy skree sy kop af. Hy is klein ek kan hom nie eintlik rerig
050 was nie – ek is bang dat ek hom miskien gaan vashou in die bad en dan glip hy. So

051	ek laat my ma hom eerder was.
052	I: So sy gee vir jou baie hulp?
053	L2: Ja
054	I: So dit is vir jou die ergste
055	L2: Ja – om vir hom te was, ek kan nie.
056	I: So dit is nie die opstaan 3uur in die oggend nie?
057	L2: Nee.
058	I: Wat is vir jou die beste nou van ma-wees. Wat is dit in jou interaksie met hom wat
059	jou so laat voel?
060	L2: Dit is net dat ek vir hom by my kan hê en dat hy elke dag by my is.
061	I: So net sy wese.
062	L2: Net dat hy kan wees by my.
063	I: So jy is regtig baie gelukkig met hom?
064	L2: Ja.
065	I: Jy het voorheen gesê dat jy verstaan nie eintlik wat dit is om `n ma te wees nie,
066	want jy is nog nie een nie. 'Maar ek moenie meer vir my ma kyk nie'. Jy wil jou eie
067	twee voete vind. Ek het die gevoel gekry dat jy verwag dat jy baie selfstandig moet
068	wees en independent van jou ma as die kind kom. Is dit nou nog so?
069	L2: Ja dit is eintlik.
070	I: En help sy ooit vir jou?
071	L2: Sy help baie waar sy kan. As ek nou nie kan nie, dan is sy daar. Sonder dat ek
072	haar miskien vra.
073	I: Maar sy verwag dat jy vir hom sal sorg, want dit is jou kind?
074	L2: Ja
075	I: Wat behels daai verantwoordelikhede? Wat moet jy doen om vir hom te sorg?
076	L2: Ek moet reg agter hom kan kyk. As hy siek is en so. Ek moet agter hom kan
077	kyk.
078	I: Maar waar spring jou ma in?
079	L2: Sy staan in vir geld goeters.
080	I: So met geldsake staan sy jou by.
081	L2: Ja, sy en die kind se pa.
082	I: Maar as dit kom by fisiese sorg
083	L2: Ja, dan is sy daar.
084	I: Ok, maar jy moet dit doen?
085	L2: Ja
086	I: Hoe laat dit jou voel?
087	L2: Dit laat my baie gelukkig voel
088	I: So jy is bly dat sy nie te veel inmeng en oorvat nie?
089	L2: Ja
090	I: Hoekom laat dit jou goed voel?
091	L2: Net om te dink dat sy is daar, sy gee om nogsteeds vir my. Ek het gedink as
092	die kind nou kom gaan sy nie worry nie. Want voor dat ek vir hom gehad het, het sy
093	nie eintlik so baie geworry nie. Maar daai verantwoordlikheid dithelp so. Dit laat my
094	baie gelukkig voel, net om te dink sy is nog steeds daar vir my, sy gee nog steeds
095	baie om vir my. En nog steds baie vir die kind. Maar sy help my nou baie.
096	I: En die feit dat sy nie oorvat by die kind nie, maar dat sy jou toelaat om vir die kind
097	te sorg, dit laat jou ook gelukkig voel?
098	L2: Ja
099	I: Hoekom?
100	L2: Net om te dink dat daar is dinge wat sy my geleer het wat sy vir my gesê het ek
101	moet doen en nou doen ek dit. Sy het vir my gesê sy wil dit nie doen nie, ek moet
102	dit doen. Dan voel ek gelukkig. Ek wil nie hê dat as sy vir my gesê het ek moet die
103	klere was en dan doen sy dit en dan voel ek weer uit en so nie.
104	I: Verstaan ek jou reg – dit is amper `n gevoel van sy respekteer jou vermoë om dit
105	te doen?

106	L2: Ja!
107	I: Sê vir my – jy klink anders as voordat jy die baba gehad het. Jy klink baie meer
108	volwasse.
109	L2: Ja dit is so
110	I: Voel jy so?
111	L2: Ja, ek voel baie volwasse, want sy het nou vir my baie dinge gesê wat ek moet
112	doen op my eie en ek het dit nie verwag nie. Nie dat ek groot voel nie – ek voel
113	groot om dinge te doen, maar ek voel nogsteeds dieselfde.
114	I: Ek kan dit sien. Watter van die fotos wys uit hoe jy verwag het moederskap sal
115	wees voordat jy die kind gehad het.
116	L2: Dit is nie eintlik op een van die fotos nie.
117	I: En as daar een was?
118	L2: Dan sal dit gewees het ek en hy gelukkig is. Dit sou swaar gewees het en so.
119	Maar gelukkig.
120	I: So jy was negatief oor wat vir jou voorlê?
121	L2: Ja. Maar nou is ek eintlik meer gelukkig.
122	I: Is daar `n foto wat wys hoe dit is om nou ma te wees?
123	L2: Nee, nie eintlik nie
124	I: Maar jy sê dit is vir jou 'n baie positief ervaring.
125	L2: Ja
126	I: Sê vir my, hoe dink jy gaan dit wees as jy weer terug skool toe gaan?
127	L2: Ek dink dit gaan maklik wees vir my, want daar is nou iemand wat omgee vir
128	die kind – my ma - sy ouma – hy gaan nog bottle drink. Want ek hoef nie te worry
129	nie – hulle sal sorg vir hom. So as ek by die skool is, dan hoef ek nou net aan my
130	skoolwerk te dink. En as ek nou by die huis is dan sal ek mos by die huis probeer
131	om vir hom te sorg Ek dink dit sal wees soos wat dit gewees het, want ek het
132	vriende by die skool wat omgee vir my.
133	I: So jy is nie baie bekommerd daaroor nie?
134	L2: Nee
135	I: Ek kry ook die gevoel jou vriende het nie baie verander teenoor jou nie.
136	L2: Nee
137	I: Voel jy anders teenoor jou vriende nou?
138	L2: Ek voel baie meer lief vir hulle. Ons was nie eintlik so close nie. Ons het eintlik
139	net by die skool gesit en praat, maar nou voel ek baie meer close aan hulle aan.
140	Hulle gee om vir my en hulle wys vir my wat hulle kan doen vir my en ek wys vir
141	hulle wat ek kan doen vir hulle.
142	I: Maak dit `n groot verskil as jy sien ek is nou in nood en jou vriende staan by jou?
143	L2: Ja, dit laat my baie gelukkig voel.
144	I: Ek kry die gevoel dat jy baie meer waarde aan verhoudings heg nou.
145	Verhoudings het baie meer waardevol geraak vir jou.
146	L2: Ja.
147	I: Amper asof daar `n diepte is.
148	L2: Ja
149	I: Hoekom dink jy is dit?
150	L2: Want voordat ek nou swanger geraak het, was dit nou net skoolvriende. Ons
151	het gepraat oor skool en so. Ek het nie eintlik `n relationship gehad met hulle nie,
152	wat ek nou kan gesê het, 'oh, ek maker nou die' en 'help my hiermee' en so
153	niemaar nou toe ek swanger geraak het, staan hulle op vir my en elke dag wys
154	hulle vir my wat hulle vir my kan doen, so. Nou vertrou ek dat ek kan `n relationship
155	met hulle hê.
156	I: Sê vir my hoe was dit om geboorte te gee?
157	L2: Dit was baie swaar gewees. Ek was onder drips gewees. Ek het `n swaar tyd
158	gehad om geboorte te gee.
159	I: En jy het natuurlik geboorte gegee – jy het nie `n kaiser snit gehad nie?
160	L2: Nee, ek het normal geboorte gegee.

378

161 I: Hoe was dit?
162 L2: Hulle het eintlik die meeste pyn weg ge... Ek was die meeste van die tyd net
163 lam gewees
164 I: En hoe het jy gevoel toe alles oor was?
165 L2: Ek was baie moeg gewees. Toe hulle vir hom in my arms gesit het, was ek uit
166 van huil, was ek so bly gewees. En toe het een doktor `n gebed gedoen. Want hy
167 was die eerste jongetjie kind daai aand – in daai week in! Was hy die eerste
168 jongetjie kind gewees. En toe huil ek so baie. En toe dink ek waar is my ma nou. En
169 toe kom my ma-hulle mos nou die middag, want my ma kon mos nou nie by
170 gewees het nie.
171 I: Hoekom nie?
172 L2: Hy het mos bloed op sy skedel gehad en toe moes hy nog daar gebly het vir `n
173 dag. En hulle het gekyk wat hulle kan doen. Maar nou het dit baie gesak en hy is
174 gesond.
175 I: Dit is wonderlik.
176 L2: Ek het gedink toe hulle vir my gesê het ek kan hom nie nou sien nie. Toe vra
177 ek hoekom en toe sê hulle want daar is bloed op sy skedel en toe dink ek ek kan
178 tog nie nou my kind verloor nie, want ek het nou so baie opgegee. Toe sê hulle
179 maar ek hoef nie te worry nie. Toe stuur hulle ons oor Tygerberg toe, waar hulle
180 toetse gedoen het en so. En die derde dag toe sê hulle ek hoef nie nou te worry
181 nie. En toe ek my ma sien, toe huil ek eers. Toe was ek so bly.
182 I: Wat het jou ma gesê?
183 L2: Hulle het gehuil en gesê hy is pragtig. My ma is baie trots op my dan ek kan
184 geboorte gegee het. Toe laat dit my so anderster voel. So ... Ek kry nou meer liefde
185 en so – nie dat ek kry nie liefde nie maar toe voel ek nou so warm en vol blytskap
186 en so!
187 I: Dit is net een van daai ekstra spesiale oomblikke.
188 L2: Ja
189 I: En wat sê die pa van die kind?
190 L2: O, hy was baie bly en het heeltyd by die kind gesit en toe my ma hulle huis toe
191 gaan, toe wil hy nie huis toe gaan nie – hy wou daar geslaap het. Toe sê die nurse
192 daar is nie `n kamer vir hom nie. To e wil hy nie huistoe gegaan het nie – maar hy
193 het huistoe gegaan.
194 I: Wie was saam met jou toe jy geboorte gegee het?
195 L2: Ek het quarter past ten die aand ingegaan en toe stuur hulle my ma huis toe,
196 want my ma kon nou nie die hele aand daar gesit het nie, want hulle het nie geweet
197 hoe lank dit gaan neem nie. EN toe het ek quarter to six geboorte gegee en toe
198 stuur hulle ons oor Tygerberg toe. En toe het hulle my ma laat weet. Maar my ma-
199 hulle kon nou mos nie gekom het nie.
200 I: So jy was alleen?
201 L2: Ja
202 I: Was dit vir jou erg?
203 L2: Ek was baie bang gewees. Ek het gedink my ma is nou nie hier nie. Wat as
204 iets gebeur en ek is alleen. Ek het nie `n fone by my nie – die doctor het 'n fone! -
205 en ek het nie geld om my ma te fone nie – hulle het die geld. Maar ek het deur dit
206 gekom.
207 I: En hoe was die dokter met jou?
208 L2: Hulle het omgegee vir my. Hulle het gepraat met my toe ek miskien pyn gehad
209 het. En nadat ek die kind gehad het, toe praat hulle weer met my en sê ek moet
210 nou weer terug skool toe gaan want ek is nog jonk en ek moet nie my lewe opmors
211 nie. En die kind se pa moet teruggaan skool toe gaan. As ons nou groter raak, en
212 enige probleme hê – dan moet ek met my ma praat, of as ek nou nie met my ma wil
213 praat nie – met enige iemand praat. Hulle het baie omgegee vir my.
214 I: So hulle was ook baie ondersteunend?
215 L2: Ja

216	I: Sê vir my hoe oud was jou ma toe sy haar eerste kind gehad het?
217	L2: Ek weet nie eintlik nie
218	I: Hoe oud is jou ma nou?
219	L2: 46 en my oudste suster is 26.
220	I: So sy was omtrent 20 gewees.
221	L2: Ja
222	I: En jou susters, hoe oud was hulle toe hulle hulle eerste kinders gehad het?
223	L2: My suster is - was ook 20, sy's mos nou die oudste - en haar kind is nou 5.
224	I: En hoe oud is sy?
225	L2: [2Lucy8 and 2Lucy9] Sy is 25.
226	I: En is hy haar eerste kind?
227	L2: Nee, dit is haar derde
228	I: Ok, hoe oud was sy toe sy haar eerste kind gehad het?
229	L2: Sy was ook 20 gewees. En haar meisiekind is nou 6.
230	I: Wat dink jou susters van jou baba?
231	L2: Hulle is opgemaak oor hom. Baie.
232	I: So jy beplan defnitief om volgende jaar terug skool toe te gaan?
233	L2: Ja
234	I: Ek is nuuskierig. Die feit dat jy nou so jonk is en jy het `n baba en so – ons
235	vergeet daarvan vir 'n oomblik. Wat is jou opinie oor seks? Waar behoort dit in `n
236	mens se lewe? Wanneer is die regte tyd vir seks?
237	L2: Ek dink mens moet wag tot `n groter stadium toe – tot jy volwasse is en 'n
238	regte persoon is. Want dit is nie eintlik reg dat ons nou…
239	I: Hoekom sê jy dit is nie reg nie?
240	L2: In sommige kinders – ek sal nie sê met my nie – met sommige: soos ek nou
241	kan sien, mense mors hulle lewens op. Sommige mans los hulle net so. Hulle vat
242	ander meisies en dan kraam jy en dan los hulle jou net so. En die meisies – hulle
243	verniel hullself. Hulle drink en rook. Hulle het `n kind en dan kyk hulle nie na die
244	kind nie want hulle is nie meer baie tyd by die kind nie – hulle is meer op die pad en
245	so. Dit is nie eintlik vir jong kinders bedoel nie. Hulle maak self dat hulle lewens
246	verniel.
247	I: So dit kan eintlik deel word van `n soort van `n afbreek patroon in plaas daarvan
248	dat dit iets mooi in jou lewe is?
249	L2: Ja
250	I: Maar vir jou is dit anders, want jy het baie ondersteuning?
251	L2: Ja
252	I: As jy eendag `n dogtertjie het, wat sal jy vir haar vertel van seks?
253	L2: Ek sal vir haar als vertel wat ek nou deurgegaan het. Hoe ek nou voel daaroor.
254	EK sal vir haar alles vertel. Ek vir haar sê sy moet nie dieselfde fout begaan as ek
255	nie.
256	I: Sou jy dit vir haar sê as amper in `n vriendelike, liefdevolle manier, of dit is soos
257	wat dit is en jy gaan nie?
258	L2: Dit is hoe dit is, ja!
259	I: So jy sou meer streng wees?
260	L2: Ja! Want ek wil nie hê dit moet met haar ook gebeur nie.
261	I: En ons het laaskeer gepraat oor voorbehoedmiddels. Wat sal jy vir haar sê oor
262	voorbehoedmiddels?
263	L2: Ek sal vir haar als vertel daarvan. Dat daar iets is wat vir haar kan help.
264	I: Hoe was dit vir jou om deel te neem hieraan?
265	L2: Dit was lekker gewees. En, ek het meer, my gedagtes wat ek het … Ek het tyd
266	gekry om oor dit te praat. Ek het nie eintlik my hart uitgepraat met my ma-hulle nie.
267	So, ek het nou my mind uitgepraat oor alles.
268	I: Is daar enigiets wat jy vir my wil vra?
269	L2: Nie eintlik nie.

380

TEENAGE MOTHERS (21/08/02)
Interview Three
Nici

001   I: Daar is `n paar fotos waaroor ek wil gesels en uitvind hoekom jy hulle geneem
002   het. Kom ons werk hulle deur. Hierdie is jou ou se ma.
003   N2: Nee, dit is daar waar hy altyd gaan saam met sy vriende.
004   I: So dit is.
005   N2: Hy rook altyd daar by hulle
006   I: En wie is dit?
007   N2: Dit is haar kind, haar kinders
008   I: Hoekom het jy hierdie foto geneem?
009   N2: Nie ek nie – hy het die foto geneem.
010   I: Hoe laat hierdie foto jou voel as jy daarna kyk. Wat dink jy? Hou jy van die
011   mense?
012   N2: Ja
013   I: En dit is ok vir jou as jy soontoe gaan?
014   N2: Ja, dit is ok. Hy rook mos daar. Dit is sy vriende. Maar, ek is nie daar omdat ek
015   van hulle hou nie. Hoe kan ek sê, sy is nie `n moeilike mens nie.
016   I: So jy het nie eintlik probleme nie, dit is ok. Wie se kind is dit die?
017   N2: Dit is ook haar kind
018   I: So jy het ook gesê laaskeer dit is vir jou ok as sy dagga rook?
019   N2: Ja, hy's meer rustiger.
020   I: Ok, en die foto is by sy huis?
021   N2: Ja, daai foto is van sy ma – hy het dit geneem.
022   I: Hoe laat hierdie foto jou voel as jy daarna kyk?
023   N2: Dit lyk so snaaks nou – van haar rug. Sy was eintlik besig om kos te maak en
024   toe het sy opgestaan en toe vat hy die foto.
025   I: Hoe het dit jou laat voel dat hy fotos geneem het?
026   N2: Dit het my nie snaaks laat voel nie. Ek het maar laat jy vat, want hy wil mos nou
027   dit gedoen het. So ek het hom maar laat vat.
028   I: Ok, so dit was vir jou ok. Jy het hierdie foto geneem nê?
029   N2: Ja
030   I: En dit is van sy ma?
031   N2: Ja
032   I: Hoekom het jy die foto geneem?
033   N2: Sy ma was op die fone gewees en toe vat ek die foto van sy ma. Sy wou nie
034   eintlik op die fotos gevat het daai dag nie. Maar toe vat ek die foto van sy ma –
035   waar sy ma daar sit en bel.
036   I: Ok, hoekom wou jy `n foto van haar hê?
037   N2: Omdat ons nou in een huis bly en so. Nou gaan dit snaaks lyk ek neem van
038   almal fotos en nie van haar nie.
039   I: Ok, hou jy nie baie van haar nie?
040   N2: Nee ek hou van haar
041   I: Kom julle goed oor die weg?
042   N2: Nie eintlik nie. Ons kom goed oor die weg, maar as sy dronk is, is sy baie
043   ombeskof. Maar as sy nugter is, kom ons goed oor die weg.
044   I: Drink sy baie?
045   N2: Sy drink nie nou meer so baie nie.
046   I: Ok, so dit het bietjie afgeneem. Gaan dit deur fases? Is daar tye wat sy baie drink
047   en dan weer tye wat sy nie so baie drink nie?
048   N2: Ja
049   I: Hoe is dit vir jou by die huis as sy baie drink?
050   N2: Nee, dit is nie lekker nie, want dan skel sy en so. Dit is nie lekker dan nie.

381

051   I: Jy het vir my gesê as sy ouers by die huis is, dan slaan hy nie vir jou nie. Maar
052   hulle kan mos sien as hy vir jou geslaan het. Kan hulle nie? Sê hulle ooit iets vir
053   hom?
054   N2: Ja! Hulle skel hom uit, sy ma-hulle.
055   I: Is dit. Maar hy luister nie vir hulle nie.
056   N2: Nee
057   I: Staan hulle vir jou by as hy vir jou geslaan het?
058   N2: Ja
059   I: Hierdie is jou broertjie nê.
060   N2: Ja.
061   I: En jy het hierdie foto geneem.
062   N2: Ja, ek het gevoel ek wil graag 'n foto van my broer neem. Waar my broer staan
063   met die kinders – wil ek graag hê.
064   I: Hoe oud was jou ma toe sy haar eerste kind gehad het. Is jy die oudste?
065   N2: Ja, 20, toe sy vir my kry.
066   I: Ok, so sy was 20 en jy was die eerste kind?
067   N2: Ja
068   I: Waar is jou ma nou. Is sy ook hier rond?
069   N2: My ma doen charwerk.
070   I: So sy is nie meer hier in Uitsig nie?
071   N2: (unclear)
072   I: En hoe gaan dit nou met jou suster?
073   N2: Ok
074   I: Praat julle met mekaar?
075   N2: Ja
076   I: Wat moes anders gewees het sodat jy nie swanger geraak het nie?
077   N2: Ek dink as my ma vir my miskien gesê het – my ma het miskien nou geweet ek
078   het 'n boyfriend – dan kon sy gesê het onthou as 'n mens seks het dan kan 'n
079   mens swanger word. En kom laat ek vir jou kliniek toe neem, en gebruik 'n
080   inspuiting of so.
081   I: So as jy meer inligting gehad het oor voorbehoedmiddels sou jy nie swanger
082   geraak het nie.
083   N2: Dan sou ek dit gebruik het, ja.
084   I: Het jy enige idee gehad van voorbehoedmiddels toe jy seks begin het?
085   N2: Ja ek het.
086   I: Wat het jy geweet?
087   N2: My ma het altyd inspuitings gebruik, maar ek het nie geweet dit is sodat jy nie
088   kan swanger word nie.
089   I: Ok, so jy het nie regtig geweet wat voorbehoedmiddels is en so nie?
090   N2: Nee.
091   I: Ok. Sê vir my hoekom het jy seks met jou ou gehad?
092   N2: Ons was 'n jaar bymekaar en toe het ons mos nou lief geraak vir mekaar en
093   toe het ons begin seks hê.
094   I: Ok, wie se idee was dit?
095   N2: Hy het vir my gevra en ek het ingestem. Ja.
096   I: So jy was gewillig om dit te doen.
097   N2: Ja.
098   I: Hy het nie vir jou gesê as jy lief is vir my sal jy dit doen nie.
099   N2: Ja
100   I: Het hy dit vir jou gesê?
101   N2: Nee.
102   I: Het jy gevoel jy het iets by hom gekry wat jy nie op 'n ander plek gekry het nie.
103   Het hy vir jou aandag en liefde gegee?
104   N2: Ja, voorheen, toe is ek nou pregnant met Thembo en toe het hy vir my baie
105   aandag gegee – maar net vir 6 maande – baie gedoen vir my. Maar agterna toe vat

106   hy mos `n ander meisie. Toe gaan bly ek weer by my ma. En toe wat ek vir Thembo
107   gekry het, toe het ek weer by hulle gebly.
108   I: Voordat jy swanger geraak het, het jy gevoel dat jy iets uit julle verhouding gekry
109   het?
110   N2: Ek is baie lief vir hom gewees en dan het ek altyd gedink die ander jongetjies is
111   ek nie so oor soos ek wat oor hom gewees het nie. So, ek was baie oor hom
112   gewees. Maar agterna toe wys hy sy true colours.
113   I: Jy is baie teleurgesteld in hom, nê?
114   N2: Ja!
115   I: Die feit dat jy nou twee kinders het opsy, wat dink jy oor seks. Waar behoort dit in
116   `n mens se lewe en wanneer moet mens eintlik seks hê en in watter
117   omstandighede. Wat is jou opinie daaroor.
118   N2: As sy nou `n jong meisie is en so sal ek met haar praat en hoe ek nou – nie wat
119   ek oorgekom het nie, maar dat sy moet versigtig wees en as sy sulke dinge doen,
120   dan moet sy vir my sê en met wie sy dit doen. En sy moet op die inspuiting gaan of
121   kondoom gebruik, want hier is aids in die lug en so. En so sal ek vir haar sê.
122   I: Ok, so jy sal nie omgee as sy baie jonk is en sy het seks nie.
123   N2: Nee, sy moet nie baie jonk wees nie.
124   I: Wat is baie jonk vir jou?
125   N2: Soos ek nou. Sy moenie.
126   I: Hoe oud moet sy wees voordat jy ok sal wees daarmee.
127   N2: Soos ek nou kan nou praat – ek is nou 'n ma. Vandag kan `n mens nie meer –
128   jy dink jou kind doen nie sulke dinge nie, 'mammie ek doen dit nie' - of. Maar dan
129   doen hulle dit, want `n kind praat mos nie met jou sulke dinge nie. Of eerlik met jou
130   wees nie. Jy vind agterna uit! Die kind doen dit! Al is die kind nou in die huis. Maar
131   as jy gaan werk, of eerens heen gaan, jy weet nie wat doen die kind nie, buitekant
132   … of hulle bring somer die outjies in die huis in! Of hulle gaan saam met die outjies
133   en daai. Jy kom skrik net agterna: sy's nou pregnant en, dan dink jy nou waneer het
134   die kind dan? Sy was in die huis en so…
135   I: As jy nou een wens kon hê, wat sal jy mee gemaklik wees – met watter
136   ouderdom.
137   N2: Sê 18 sal dit ok wees.
138   I: Ok, so jy voel mens moet ouer wees.
139   N2: Ja
140   I: Hoekom?
141   N2: Want ek was baie jonk toe ek my eerste baba gekry het – van 12 jaar oud al
142   het ek al begin te seks en toe het ek vir Thembo gekry. Dit is hoekom ek nie wil hê
143   sy moet my pad stap nie. Ek wil hê sy moet `n beter lewe maak.
144   I: So dit maak die lewe vir jou baie moeilik dat jy kinders het?
145   N2: Ja
146   I: Ek kry die gevoel dit is nie net jy wat dit sê nie, maar oor die algemeen, dat die
147   lewe baie swaar is vir jou.
148   N2: Ja
148   I: As jy nie jou kinders gehad het nie, waar sou jy nou gewees het?
150   N2: Ek weet nie.
151   I: Voel jy ooit dat die feit dat jy kinders het, help vir jou om deur die swaar tye te
152   kom? Of maak dit vir jou meer moeilik?
153   N2: Nou dat ek kinders het – dit maak my eintlik meer rustig. Thembo – toe Thembo
154   gebore is - het by sy ouma grootgeword by sy ouma gebly. Het ek baie agteryard
155   geloop en so, en moeilikheid gemaak. En nou wat ek vir Veronica het, moet ek vir
156   haar grootmaak. Nou is ek heel rustiger. Ek kan nie meer jaarte toe gaan nie - loop
157   waar ek wil nie, want ek moet vir haar saamvat. Ooral waar ek gaan.
158   I: So dit is die gevoel wat ek kry – as jy nie kinders gehad het nie, sou jy dalk meer
159   onverantwoordelike dinge gedoen het.
160   N2: Ja, en miskien nie geworry het oor my lewe nie.

161   I: Kan ek vir jou nog `n vraag vra – ek het opgetel dat jou lewe regtig baie swaar is.
162   Dink jy jy sou dalk iets gedoen het – miskien betrokke geraak het by kriminele
163   dinge, dalk selfmoord gepleeg het en so?
164   R; Ja.
165   I: Gee jou kinders vir jou meer `n rede om te lewe?
166   N2: Ja!
167   I: Ek het laaskeer die gevoel gekry dat hulle vir jou baie waardevol is. Hulle is
168   amper vir jou 'n lifeline.
169   N2: Ja
170   I: Die fotos wat ek wou gehad het jy moes neem, kom ons verbeel jy het die fotos
171   geneem en hulle lê nou hier. Ek gaan vir jou vrae vra en dan verduidelik jy vir my
172   hoe die foto sou gelyk het. Ek wou meer verstaan het oor die goed waaroor jy baie
173   praat. Jy praat baie oor die feit dat jy wil hê Thembo moet meer respek hê vir jou.
174   Ek kry ook die gevoel dat dit baie belangrik is vir jou hoe jou kinders hulle gedra.
175   Hulle moet goeie maniere hê. Jy wil hê hulle moet goeie mense word. En ek kry
176   ook die gevoel dat hulle pa `n groot faktor is in hierdie ding. Hy is `n deel daarvan
177   omdat hy jou so swak behandel. Is dit waar?
178   N2: Ja
179   I: Ek dink die pa is `n baie groot invloed op hoe jy jou kinders wil grootmaak, maar
180   ook `n invloed op hoe hulle groot gaan word. Dit is amper `n contradiction. So ek
181   wou gehad het jy moes fotos neem. Ek wou weet wat beteken respek vir jou. As jy
182   sê Thembo moet grootword om vir jou met respek te bahandel. Hoe is dit?
183   N2: Gehoorsaam wees met my en as ek met hom praat, moet hy na my luister en
184   as hy miskien iets verkeerd doen, moet hy sorry sê. En dat ek vir hom met respek
185   moet behandel – ek moet ook nie baklei of skel of so. Ek moet ook sag praat met
186   hom en mooi praat met hom, en sê, 'Thembo dis verkeerd wat jy doen' en 'moenie
187   dit weer doen' en daai.
188   I: So vir jou is respek `n wedersydse ding?
189   N2: Ja.
190   I: En respek behels kommunikasie. Dat mens met mekaar praat. Dit is nie `n
191   geskree nie. Voel jy asof mense jou nie hoor nie en jou nie verstaan nie?
192   N2: Ja
193   I: Dit mag dalk klink soos dieselfde vraag, maar hoe lyk goeie maniere vir kinders?
194   N2: Hulle moet nie ombeskof wees nie as hulle by iemand anders se plek kom –
195   respek hê: sit still en daai. En moenie met lelike maniere... Hulle moet respek hê vir
196   ander ook.
197   I: So hulle moet bedagsaam wees teenoor ander mense ook. Ok. Sê vir my hoe wil
198   jy hê moet Thembo eendag sy meisie behandel?
199   N2: Met respek en nie baklei nie as hulle miskien `n probleem het, moet hy praat
200   met haar. Of as hy miskien nou fout maak – net nie baklei of so. Nie soos sy pa nou
201   vir my behandel nie.
202   I: En watter tipe verhouding wil jy hê moet sy eendag in wees? Dieselfde tipe?
203   N2: Ja, nie `n man wat haar slaan nie.
204   I: Iemand wat haar respekteer en goed behandel?
205   N2: Ja.
206   I: Ok. Watter rol dink jy speel hulle pa in hoe hulle eendag gaan grootword?
207   N2: Ek weet nie of hy al daaroor gedink het of so nie. Ek weet regtig nie.
208   I: Wat dink jy gaan sy invloed op hulle wees?
209   N2: Dit is verkeerd, en die kinders hoor die dinge en nou praat hulle oor die goed.
210   En nou raak hy kwaad en dan kom hy nie agter dit is hy self wat voor die kinders
211   die goed doen nie.
212   I: So dink jy hulle leer by hom?
213   N2: Thembo ja!
214   I: Kan jy dit al sien aan sy gedrag?
215   N2: Ja, ek hou nie daarvan nie. Thembo het ook nou al daai manier in hom – hy

216	gee sommer `n lelike antwoord terug en ek hou nie daarvan nie.
217	I: Voel jy amper weerloos in al hierdie goed?
218	N2: Ja
219	I: En hoe laat dit jou voel?
220	N2: Dit laat my nie lekker voel nie - dit voel asof ek wil wegloop van al die dinge af
221	en net rustig lewe met my kinders. So laat dit my voel.
222	I: Jy en jou suster was op `n stadium in `n ander huis. Onthou jy dit? Jy was in `n
223	weeshuis.
224	N2: Ja
225	I: En toe het jy weggeloop daarvanaf.
226	N2: Ja
227	I: Hoekom het jy weggeloop?
228	N2: Ons was nog mos met die April vakansie, was ons weer hier by die huis. En
229	toe, toe het ons weer terug gegaan. Ons het nie daai dag skool gegaan nie want
230	hulle het vir ons kom haal die dag toe die skool al klaar begin het. En toe het ons
231	en die meisies - die meisies het toe gestry en ons het baklei en ek was baie
232	hartseer en so. En toe het ek en my suster weggeloop en nie weer teruggegaan
233	nie.
234	I: So dit was oor daai bakleiery.
235	N2: Ja. Al die meisies en so. Dit was amper soos jaloesie gewees wat daar
236	aangaan. As jy nou met die eene is, is dit skinder stories en so. En dit was baie
237	lekker gewees en ek het dit geniet om daar te wees, maar net die meisies was nie
238	lekker nie. Hulle was baie jaloers en leilik.
239	I: Was dit nie dalk beter daar as waar jy nou is nie? En as iemand vir jou daai kans
240	weer aanbied, sal jy dit vat?
241	N2: Nie sonder Veronica nie.
242	I: En Thembo?
243	N2: Hy kan maar by sy ouma bly, maar nie sonder haar nie.
244	I: Ok. So as iemand vir jou weer daai geleentheid aanbied sal jy. En ook met die
245	toelae vir die kinders?
246	N2: Ek was mos daar bo gewees (i.e. Bellville Department of Internal Affairs) en toe
247	sê hulle haar ouma moet `n brief skrywe en haar pa moet ook 'n brief skrywe en ek
248	moet die werkloos papier kry en dan moet ek dit weer inbring, maar ek het nog nie
249	so vêr gekom nie.
250	I: Hoe was dit vir jou gewees om aan hierdie navorsing deel te neem?
251	N2: Dit was lekker gewees.
252	I: Hoekom was dit vir jou lekker?
253	N2: Ek het openlik met Linda gepraat en so en dit laat my bietjie dink oor die saak.
254	I: So die navorsing het vir jou gehelp. Het dit vir jou enigsins anders na jou lewe
255	laat kyk?
256	N2: Nee
257	I: Nie regtig nie. So dit was net lekker om kans te kry om te sit en gesels.
258	N2: Ja
259	I: En om die fotos te neem, hoe was dit vir jou?
260	N2: Dit was ook lekker gewees!
261	I: Hoekom was dit lekker?
262	N2: Ek het tyd gekry om van my kinders fotos te neem. Die kans was daar, want ek
263	het nie geld nie om ander mense te vra om dit te neem nie.
264	I: Het dit jou anders laat voel omdat ek vir jou gesê het neem die kamera en gaan
265	neem fotos op jou eie.
266	N2: Ja! Jo! Ek het gedink iemand anders sal nie sommer net vir my `n kamera gee
267	en sê ag gaan neem fotos nie. En dan nog om die fotos te laat – weer terug te
268	bring. En dat ek die fotos vir myself kan hou nie.
269	I: So het dit jou bietjie waardevol laat voel?
270	N2: Ja

Appendix I

Photograph sets

LouAnn: First Set

LA 1

LA 2

LA 3

LA 4

LA 5

LA 6

LA 7
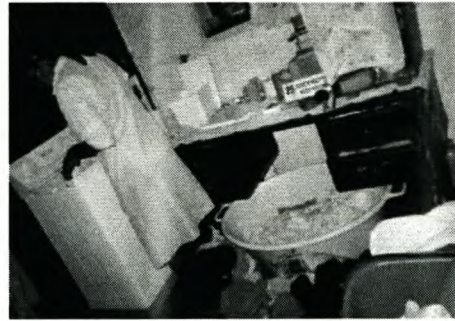

LA 8

LA 9

Lucy, First Set
Lucy 1
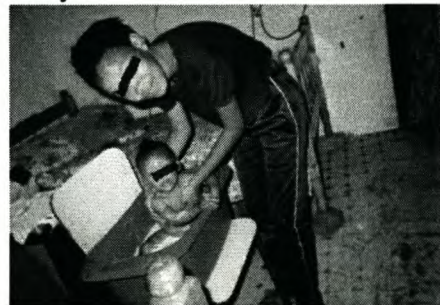

Lucy 2

Lucy 3

Lucy 4

Lucy 5

Lucy 6

Lucy 7

Lucy 8

Lucy 9

Lucy 10

Lucy 11

Lucy 12

Lucy 13

Lucy 14

Lucy 15

Lucy 16

Lucy 17

Lucy 18

Lucy 19

Lucy 20

Lucy: Second Set

2 Lucy 1

2 Lucy 2

2 Lucy 3

2 Lucy 4

2 Lucy 5

2 Lucy 6

2 Lucy 7

2 Lucy 8

2 Lucy 9

2 Lucy 10

2 Lucy 11

2 Lucy 12

2 Lucy 13

2 Lucy 14

2 Lucy 15

2 Lucy 16

2 Lucy 17

2 Lucy 18

2 Lucy 19

2 Lucy 20

2 Lucy 21

2 Lucy 22

2 Lucy 23

Brenda: First Set
Bren 1

Bren 2

Bren 3

Bren 4

Bren 5

Bren 6

Bren 7

Bren 8

Bren 9

Bren 10

Bren 11

Bren 12

Bren 13

Bren 14

Bren 15

Bren 16

Bren 17

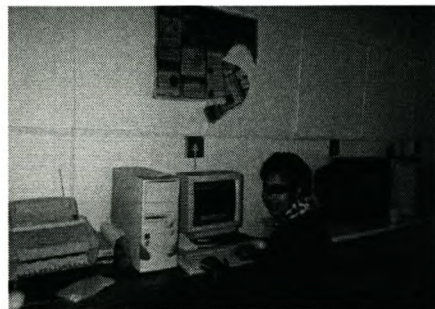Bren 18

Bren 19

Bren 20

Bren 21

Bren 22

Bren 23

Bren 24

Bren 25

Brenda: Second Set

2 Bren 1
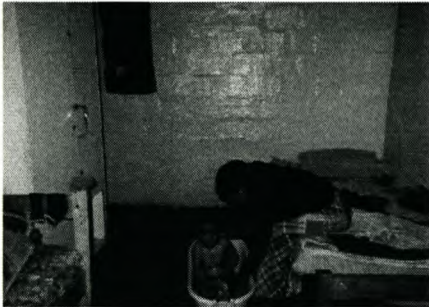
2 Bren 2

2 Bren 3

2 Bren 4

2 Bren 5

2 Bren 6

2 Bren 7

2 Bren 8

2 Bren 9

2 Bren 10
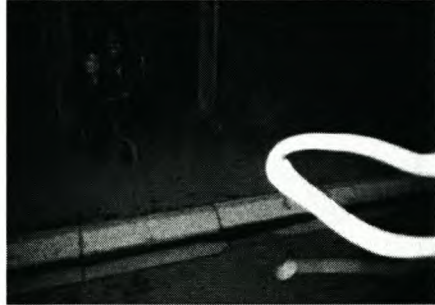
2 Bren 11

2 Bren 12

2 Bren 13

2 Bren 14

2 Bren 15

2 Bren 16

2 Bren 17

2 Bren 18

2 Bren 19

2 Bren 20

2 Bren 21

2 Bren 22

2 Bren 23

2 Bren 24

2 Bren 25
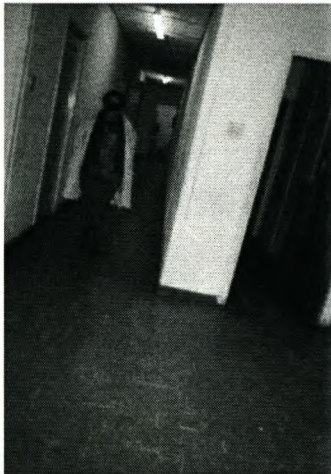
2 Bren 26

2 Bren 27

Carol, First Set

Car1

Car2

Car3

Car4

Car5

Car6

Car7

Car8

Car9

Carol: Second Set

2 Car 1

2 Car 2

2 Car 3

2 Car 4

2 Car 5

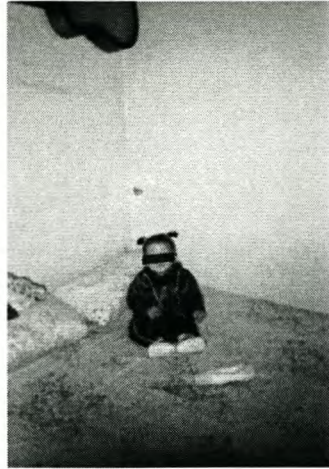2 Car 6

2 Car 7

2 Car 8

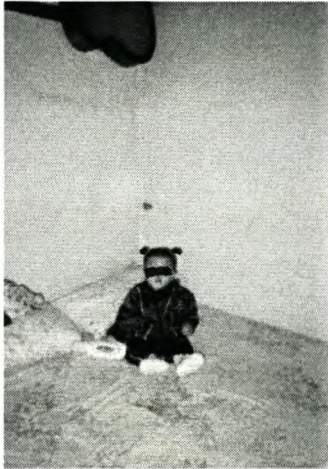2 Car 9

2 Car 10

2 Car 11

2 Car 12

2 Car 13

2 Car 14

2 Car 15

2 Car 16

2 Car 17

2 Car 18

2 Car 19

2 Car 20

2 Car 21

2 Car 22

Nici: First Set

Nici 1

Nici 2

Nici 3

Nici 4

Nici 5

Nici 6

Nici 7

Nici 8

Nici 9

Nici 10
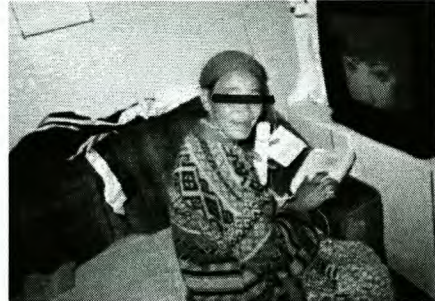

Nici 11

Nici 12

Nici 13

Nici 14

Nici 15

Nici 16

Nici 17

Nici 18

Nici 19

Nici 20

Nici 21

Nici 22

Nici 23

Nici 24

Nici 25