

Economic Security and the Social Science Literature on Teenage Pregnancy in South Africa

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Feminists have argued that the association made between teenage childbearing and long-term lower socioeconomic status hides a multitude of socially constructed inequalities. I extend this position by analyzing how the association is linked in the South African literature on teenage pregnancy to economic security. I utilize Foucault's conceptualization of the method of security. Security refers to institutions and practices that defend and maintain a national population as well as secure the economic, demographic, and social processes of that population. I analyze how the traits of the method of security are deployed with regard to teenage pregnancy; how reproductive adolescents are viewed as disrupting the production of the economic self and fracturing population control, thereby threatening economic security; and how the invocation of economic security allows for the legitimation of various regulatory practices.

Teenage pregnancy is predominantly portrayed as a social problem, both in countries like the United States (Geronimus 1991) and South Africa (Macleod 1999c). This is partially because of its association with long-term lower socioeconomic status. This association is mostly attributed to the disruption of schooling that potentially accompanies pregnancy and the resultant limitations placed on the mother's future career prospects (Adams, Adams-Taylor, and Pittman 1989; Boulton and Cunningham 1992). There is a debate in the literature concerning the exact effects of early pregnancy on schooling and socioeconomic status (e.g., Astone and Upchurch 1994; Brindis 1993). In the United States, for example, Scott-Jones and Turner found in their sample of Black adolescents that "the experience of adolescent pregnancy depressed educational attainment and income in early and middle adult years" (1990, 48). Furstenberg, Brooks-Gunn, and Morgan (1987), on the other hand, followed up on mothers first studied by Furstenberg in 1976 and concluded that the women who had become pregnant during adolescence remained at a lower level of education and income than comparable women who had delayed pregnancy but that their education and income levels were far better than would be predicted by a straight deterministic model. In South Africa, authors have concentrated on school disruption, with, for example, Boulton and Cunningham (1992) reporting that only 50 percent of their sample of Black adolescents planned to return to school after pregnancy. Preston-Whyte and Allen (1992) suggested, however, that much of the school disruption may have occurred before conception and hence is related to the structural constraints under which many teenagers live in South Africa rather than to pregnancy.

This latter point draws on what Furstenberg (1991) has called the "revisionist" stance concerning teenage pregnancy. These authors (e.g., Chilman 1985; Geronimus 1991; Phoenix 1994; Ruddick 1993), most of whom use a feminist perspective, argue against pathologizing early reproduction, stating that teenage pregnancy should be viewed within the context of racism, social discrimination, and sexism. For example, Geronimus, noting that teenage childbearing occurs disproportionately in rural, inner-city, and minority populations in the United States, contends that "a major shortcoming in the . . . literature has been the failure to incorporate a comprehensive understanding of the effect a world marked by severely compromised health and shortened life expectancy may have towards moulding population patterns of early fertility" (1991, 465). Macintyre and Cunningham-Burley (1993) argued that the association made between education and future advantage in the United Kingdom hides a multitude of socially constructed inequalities. They contended that the belief that "if only women forbore from having babies while in their teens they would succeed in the educational and occupational markets and therefore not live in poverty" (Macintyre and Cunningham-Burley 1993, 65) rings hollow in societies in which opportunities for emotionally and financially rewarding jobs for women are restricted. Rhode and Lawson (1993) pointed out that parenting at any age often involves significant economic cost, especially in social

circumstances with restricted provision for child care and family leave. Chilman (1985) analyzed the sexism inherent in programs and policies relating to early sexuality and reproduction in the United States, while Meyer (1991) critiqued the absence of the white male in adolescence pregnancy prevention research. In South Africa, Preston-Whyte critiqued the underlying “largely middle class and, in the South African context, white” (1991, 22) norms and values that allow for teenage pregnancy to be labeled a social problem. Instead, she postulated that early reproduction represents a “rational” choice for many adolescents in South Africa, as it holds little stigma and may, indeed, be functional in many ways (e.g., giving access to familial child care and creating a pathway to adulthood where marriage is delayed through the necessity of amassing bridewealth). My project in this article is not to join the debate as to whether early reproduction causes later socioeconomic disadvantage. Rather, I join feminist writers in pointing to the gendering mechanisms that underlie the association that is made between teenage pregnancy, the disruption of schooling, and lower socioeconomic status. I analyze how this association is linked to the governmental tactic of economic security, with a specific focus on South Africa. Broadly, I aim to indicate how the reproductive teenager is positioned in the South African social scientific discourse as threatening economic security by disrupting the production of the economic self and by fracturing population control and how this positioning may be used to regulate adolescents’ lives. To do this, I utilize Foucault’s conceptualization of the method of security, which he introduced in his lectures on governmentality. This analysis extends the feminist positions discussed above by introducing a theoretical framework that affords explanatory power to the workings of gendered power relations in the social science literature on teenage pregnancy and socioeconomic disadvantage.

GOVERNMENTALITY AND ECONOMIC SECURITY

Foucault introduced his lectures on governmentality partially as a result of the criticism that his work concentrated too closely on micro-level power. In this work, Foucault attempted to “cut the Gordian knot of the relation between micro- and macro-levels of power” (Dean 1994, 179). He used the terms government and governmentality in interrelated ways, defining government as the “conduct of conduct” (Gordon 1991, 2) or as an activity that aims to shape, guide, or affect the behavior, actions, or comportment of people. This could concern the relation of the self with the self (i.e., micro-level practices), private interpersonal relations that involve some sort of control or guidance, relations within social institutions, and relations concerned with the exercise of political sovereignty (i.e., macro-level practices). Governmentality is the rationality or art of government, which Foucault explained as a way or system of knowing and thinking about the nature of the practice of government. The notion of governmentality thus extended Foucault’s (1977, 1978) previous analysis of power in which he emphasized that power is not possessed by an individual, class, or group; centralized in the law, economy, or state; coercive; or negative. His theorizing rather turns around what is known as the power/knowledge nexus: These power/knowledge relations are to be analysed, therefore, not on the basis of a subject of knowledge who is or is not free in relation to the power system, but, on the contrary, the subject who knows, the objects to be known and the modalities of the knowledge must be regarded as so many effects of these fundamental implications of power/knowledge and their historical formations. (Foucault 1977, 27-28) Foucault emphasized that discourse links knowledge and power and, as such, power is not merely repressive but actually productive of knowledge and subjectivity. Power, thus, is not exercised from the exterior but rather is immanent to relationships such as economic processes, knowledge relationships, and sexual relations. Power is “exercised from innumerable points, in the interplay of nonegalitarian and mobile relations” (Foucault 1978, 94).

There are strong links between the social sciences and governmentality, as illustrated by Rose (1989, 1990, 1992) concerning psychology. For example, Rose (1990) delineated how psychology (and other social sciences) provides the positive knowledge needed to analyze, evaluate, diagnose, and remedy those who are the object of government. It is

through this collection of information on the conduct of individuals that the apparently public issue of government is linked to the private question of how one should behave, how one conducts one's own conduct. Governmentality has "as its essential means apparatuses of security" (Foucault 1991a, 102). Apparatuses of security are institutions and practices that secure and defend the national population and its economic, demographic, and social processes (Dean 1999). In this article, I discuss how the social science literature deploys relations of power known as the economy to secure and defend not only the general population but also reproductive teenagers from themselves. For economic processes to be the subject of apparatuses of security, these processes must be seen as amenable to management (Miller and Rose 1993). Once a set of processes and relations are isolated and labeled as the national economy, economic security can be invoked as a technology of government. Because this economy affects all people (whether they are engaged in economic activities or not), practices that threaten the well-being of the economy, such as early reproduction, are depicted as a concern for all and thus become a matter of national economic security. Foucault (1991a) described three general traits of the method of security. It (1) deals with series of possible and probable events, (2) evaluates using a calculation of comparative cost, and (3) prescribes an optimal mean within a bandwidth of the acceptable rather than strictly demarcating the permitted from the forbidden (Gordon 1991). In this article, I analyze how each of these traits is deployed in the South African social science discourse on teenage pregnancy. In South Africa, economic security has always intersected race and class politics. Images of die swart gevaar (the Black peril) and fears of a communist takeover were used in the apartheid era (the period during which the research commented on in this article was conducted) to exclude Black people from access to a variety of resources, resulting in the category of poverty being occupied almost exclusively by Blacks. (In this context, "Black" refers to those categorized by the apartheid state as African, colored, Indian, or Asian.) A program of "reform from above" (Stadler 1987, 2), instituted in the 1980s, partially replaced racial criteria with market principles in determining access to resources and opportunities. This allowed for the creation of a small stratum of urban middle-class Black people without fundamentally changing the circumstances of the majority of Blacks.

TABLE 1: Time Period during Which the Analyzed Documents Appeared

<i>Time Period</i>	<i>Number of Documents</i>
1975-1980	2
1981-1985	6
1986-1990	29
1991-1995	27
1996-1997	13

DATA AND METHOD

As part of a larger project (Macleod 1999b), I analyzed published and unpublished South African research and social science literature on teenage pregnancy from 1970 to 1997. This material was collected by conducting searches on international and national bibliographic data archives and sending letters to the relevant departments of all South African universities and health- and education-related nongovernmental organizations. The result was a collection of 77 research reports, 41 of which are published. Methods used in the research records I examined range from anthropological vignettes to quantitative statistical analyses, with data being collected through individual and focus group discussions, standardized and nonstandardized questionnaires, essay writing, psychometric tests, and hospital records.

The published documents appear in local professional journals such as *Nursing RSA*, *Salus*, and *Outlook*; local scientific journals such as the *South African Medical Journal*, *South African Journal of Psychology*, and *South African Journal of Sociology*; and international journals such as *Social Science and Medicine*, *International Journal of Adolescence and Youth*, and *Journal of Social Psychology*. The *South African Medical Journal* attracted more articles (13) than did any other journal. Eleven of the unpublished manuscripts originated from historically white Afrikaans-speaking universities, 11 from historically white English-speaking universities, 7 from historically Black universities, 2 from a bilingual (English and Afrikaans) university, and 3 from research councils. None were policy-related documents.

Table 1 indicates the time periods in which the documents appeared. Most of the research analyzed here was conducted prior to the 1994 elections (given the turnaround time in writing and publication, research appearing in the 1995-1997 period would most likely have occurred before, during, or soon after 1994). This was a time when racial (as well as gender and class) power relations were permeated by apartheid ideology and practice. As expected, race appears as a robust signifier in the literature analyzed (Macleod and Durrheim, in press).

In some respects, the South African literature can be seen as a subsection of the Anglophone scientific discourse on teenage pregnancy and childbearing as “systems of invisible imperialism are . . . played out in academic and intellectual life” (Burman et al. 1997, 6). However, there are also points of divergence between the South African literature and that emanating chiefly from the United States and Britain. Many of the explanations of the causes and consequences of teenage pregnancy in South Africa are reflections of hypotheses generated in the United States and Britain. Some of the taken-for-granted assumptions (e.g., the construction of the perfect mother that underlies criticisms of adolescent parenting) are the same. However, there are also points of divergence. The construction and maintenance of particular racialized boundaries in South Africa (African, Indian, white, and colored) differ from those in the United States and Britain. Fears of demographic disaster appear to be virtually absent from the Northern hemisphere, Anglophone literature. Instead, welfare dependency undergirds concerns about the perpetuation of poverty. In South Africa, however, no formal, government-backed social welfare was available for pregnant or mothering teenagers during the time period in which the literature analyzed here appeared (for a review of the full body of literature, from which extracts are presented in this article, see Macleod 1999a, 1999c). Of the documents analyzed, 12 reported on studies conducted with white participants; 5 had white and Black participants; 53 had Black participants; and 7 were theoretical papers or reviews. Thus, there is a predominant focus on Black participants, but this may be unremarkable as whites form the numerical minority in South Africa. However, the ratio of white to Black authors overall (68 to 39) as well as the ratio of texts published by white as opposed to Black authors (33 to 13) reflects the racialized power relations immanent in the production of knowledge in South Africa. The signifiers “race,” “culture,” and “ethnicity” are utilized within the literature to highlight differences in adolescent sexual and reproductive behavior and as explanatory tools. In another paper, a colleague and I (Macleod and Durrheim in press) explore how, through a process of racialization, the psychomedical literature on teenage pregnancy in South Africa contributes to the entrenchment of race, culture, and ethnicity as fixed, “natural” signifiers. In another paper, I (Macleod 2000) show how marriage is depicted as rendering teenage pregnancy unproblematic. While the focus of this article is not specifically on racial or marital issues, the intersection of racial, conjugal, and socioeconomic issues is evidenced here in that it is not merely the poor but, in particular, poor, unmarried, Black women who are positioned as fracturing economic security.

The data (i.e., all the documents collected) were analyzed using deconstructive discourse analysis. What is analyzed in this method is the discursive “event” (Fairclough 1992), which is simultaneously a piece of text, an instance of discursive practice, and an instance of social practice. The discursive events in this instance are simultaneously the body of text written on

teenage pregnancy, the discursive constructions contained in that text, and the research practices engaged in to collect information and produce text. My aim was to analyze these discursive events by investigating their codifying effects concerning the known (effects of veridiction) and their prescriptive effects regarding action (effects of jurisdiction) (Foucault 1991b). In other words, my purpose was to explore how economic security frames our knowledge of teenage pregnancy and its consequences and how this in turn legitimates particular regulatory practices. Concretely, this translates into (1) reading and rereading the texts, (2) organizing the material according to themes, (3) applying Parker's (1992) seven basic criteria for identifying discourses, and (4) infusing the analysis with theoretical insights that draw on Foucault's conceptualization of governmentality and security. This process, while described linearly above, was, in fact, iterative and circular. The thematic coding and theoretical reading happened simultaneously, with the data and theory offering up a synergy that resulted in the analysis that follows. Thus, for example, the theme of the economic threat posed by early reproduction is tied to the method of security's trait of dealing in possible and probable events. Concerns about population issues correspond with the method of security's trait of calculating the comparative costs and the regulation of adolescents with the bandwidth of possibilities.

In the analysis, the data were treated as one body (i.e., with no distinction between documents). In the thematic coding, hundreds of sections of texts were collected together under each of the themes. The most salient extracts or quotes were selected as illustrative of the argument formulated in the analysis. In this way, some of the differences between texts were lost; however, the formation of patterns across the documents was highlighted. All of the extracts featured here refer to Black, unmarried adolescents. This was not a conscious choice on my part but rather reflects the trend in which concerns about the economic effects of early reproduction are highlighted more frequently in relation to Black, unmarried adolescents rather than white or married adolescents. The analysis begins with my explication of how the elucidation of possible and probable events allows for the positioning of reproductive adolescents as a threat to economic security. This is followed by an exploration of concerns about population growth and security's calculation of comparative costs. Finally, I analyze how teenagers are regulated within a bandwidth of possibilities in terms of their sexual and reproductive behavior.

POSSIBLE AND PROBABLE EVENTS AND THE FRACTURING OF ECONOMIC SECURITY

One of the traits of security is that it explicates series of possible and probable events. This is necessary to mobilize strategies to circumvent or contain events that threaten national security. In the following two quotations, or extracts (both referring to Black adolescents), a listing of the probable consequences of early reproduction allows for the invocation of a language of threat (economic security is fractured) as well as an appeal for intervention:

Extract 1

No country can afford the vicious circle of socio-economic demands that will be generated by this catastrophe [babies born to teenagers]. Worst of all the babies born are often defective at birth, with little chance of holding their own in life because of their subsequent inferior intellectual and somatic development. The demographic consequences are formidable. (De Villiers 1985, 301)

Extract 2

Society cannot stand by and remain indifferent to their and their children's plight. They are all victims of their circumstances and unwitting perpetrators of the cycles of poverty. (Boult 1992, 17)

Teenage pregnancy is depicted here as leading to “defective” children, who will not be able to engage in economic activities (Extract 1), to a perpetuation of poverty (Extract 2), and to unreasonable socioeconomic demands (Extract 1). A language of threat (“vicious circle,” “catastrophe,” “formidable,” “worst of all”) and of victimhood (“plight,” “victims”) accompanies this depiction. Furthermore, these consequences are portrayed as not being borne by the poor themselves (who created the circumstances in the first place) but rather communalized to the country or society. This threat to national economic security together with concern for the victims allows for a call for interventions (“society cannot stand by,” meaning that something must be done).

The language of economic development, in which an unstated idealized endpoint is assumed, underlies an implication of threat to economic security. However, rather than being a natural outcome of economic exchange, the discourse of economic growth is tied to particular historical and intellectual preconditions, which Miller and Rose (1993) traced. Its assumption, as in the above quotes, allows for the creation of the category of economic deviants (the poor, the pregnant teenager) who impede the progression of economic growth, thereby threatening economic security. The reproductive teenager fractures economic security by refusing the production of the economic self and by adding to demographic disaster (see the following section).

In contrast to these economic deviants (such as reproductive adolescents), we have the idealized rational economic man (Edwards and Duncan 1996, 116), or what Foucault referred to as “homo economicus” (Gordon 1991). This person is an autonomous, reasoning agent with skills to develop and market; he makes rational economic decisions based on the drive to maximize economic well-being to himself, his family, and the community; his labors are not regulated but are acts of choice. He is masculinized (hence my use of he rather than she or he), although women are allowed to occupy the position as long as they act in accordance with the premises of the rational economic man.

The rational economic man is not a person who occurs naturally (although he is normalized). Instead, he is positioned as having to labor to attain his status, partially through the process of education and skill development. He is incited to produce the economic self through learning and the achievement of rationality and marketable competence. He is, in a sense, the best possible or probable outcome. The pregnant teenager, on the other hand, fractures this production of the economic self, hence joining the ranks of economic deviant.

Extract 3

Adolescents who give birth may fail to complete their education. They then have limited job opportunities which results in poverty and thus increases the strain on themselves and their families and the community. (Mosidi 1992, 3)

Extract 4

For those who could not continue their education due to poverty it was clear that what employment opportunities were available were limited to boring and unprestigious jobs. (Preston-Whyte 1991, 28)

Extract 3 makes a clear association between education and the attainment of the rational economic man status. Disruption of the production of this economic self leads to “limited job opportunities” and “poverty.” This is depicted as having personal and societal costs (see my later discussion as well). In extract 4, we see how certain activities are accorded interest and prestige (those performed by the rational economic man) while others are relegated to the boring and unprestigious (and hence as lacking worth and performed by economic deviants).

The nature of education is seldom commented on in the teenage pregnancy literature. It is assumed to be an unproblematic process of knowledge transfer and mastery of the skills deemed necessary for the activities of the rational economic man. A full deconstruction of education is beyond the scope of this article, but I shall summarize some of the pertinent points. The first is that schooling is a phenomenon of rather recent origin. Walkerdine commented on the rise of popular and then compulsory schooling in this manner:

The school was an arena for the development of one set of techniques for “disciplining” the population. The emergence of . . . schooling related specifically to the problems of crime and poverty, understood as characteristic of the population: criminality and pauperism. Schooling was seen as one way to ensure the development of “good habits” which would therefore alleviate these twin problems. (1990, 20)

The school, in the teenage pregnancy literature, occupies much the same position. It is depicted as the institution through which teenagers will come to act in a civilized, reasonable, self-regulating fashion, which includes not reproducing while young and not threatening economic security.

The second point relates to the knowledge gained through the process of education. This knowledge is presented as devoid of political or sociomoral content; it is factual, unproblematically reflecting the real world of work and leading to a mastery of reason as well as the skills required to render the world manageable. Walkerdine referred to this as the “omnipotent fantasy of control over the workings of the universe” (1990, 54), which, while a fantasy, has real and powerful effects. There is, furthermore, no acknowledgment of the political choices that are made in deciding what counts as knowledge and what does not. Just as certain activities are vested with economic worth (the public world of work) and others are not (the private domain of housework and child care), so certain kinds of knowledge are given precedence over others.

The third point relates to the way in which inequalities are denied through the invocation of the education discourse (Macintyre and Cunningham-Burley 1993). One gains the impression that given the opportunity to attend school, women— poor women in particular— will be able to reach the heights attained by the rational economic man. All that stands in the way is their recalcitrant attitude toward school attendance. This language of equality masks not only the gendering effects of schooling, which have been documented in South Africa (see, e.g., Macleod 1995) and elsewhere (Walkerdine 1984, 1989, 1990), but also the racial inequities entrenched in the apartheid government’s system of Bantu Education (the effects of which remain today).

CALCULATING COMPARATIVE COSTS AND THE FRACTURING OF POPULATION CONTROL

As a technology of government, security addresses itself distinctively to “the ensemble of a population” (Gordon 1991, 4). Although this clearly refers to processes much wider than population growth and control, it is indicative of why the rhetoric surrounding such issues (population growth and control) is so saturated with concerns of threat and security. For example, note the following:

THE BANDWIDTH OF POSSIBILITIES AND THE REGULATION OF TEENAGERS

The threat to economic security, together with the humanitarian concern for the teenager’s personal well-being, provides the impetus for the regulation of both reproductive teenagers and potentially reproductive teenagers through increased education. The production of the economic self is advocated through education to avoid pregnancy as well as through further education of pregnant and mothering teens.

Extract 12

Most girls have only a primary school education. Girls with a standard 7 or higher education are less likely to fall pregnant. Compulsory education until at least standard 7 or an alternative form of service must become a priority especially with girls from a lower socioeconomic status. (De Villiers and Clift 1979, 199, translated from Afrikaans)

Extract 13

Providing greater schooling and higher educational opportunities for girls and women in the communities studied [is a recommendation]. This in turn would lead to the achievement of self-esteem especially if linked to a loosening up of gender discrimination in respect to employment. (Preston-Whyte 1991, 50)

Extract 14

Of cardinal importance is the necessity for increasing these adolescent mothers' educational levels. Public and private welfare agencies could initiate training schemes that would provide these young women with marketable skills. (Boult 1992, 17)

Extracts 12 and 13 take different political stances. In the former, a sovereign type of power is envisaged where force is used to make adolescent women comply with activities considered good for them, such as education or at least some kind of service that will keep them from reproducing. The latter quote advocates disciplinary technology where the subjectivity of the person, in the form of her self-esteem, is worked on through education to produce the desired effects (creating the economic woman—in the image of the rational man—who does not reproduce early). What is common to both is the assumption of the nature of schooling and the linear association between education and a better, economically productive life.

Security does not operate by defining in absolute terms what is acceptable or not acceptable. Instead, a range of possibilities with an optimal center is invoked. In this case, education that produces the affectively actualized, responsible, rational, economic (wo)man who does not reproduce early is depicted as the optimal. However, failing this, the education of teen mothers is instituted, as evidenced in extract 14.

The incitement to teenage mothers to labor to produce an economic self (develop marketable skills) contradicts the tenets of motherhood, however. The construction of the economy relies on the split between the public and the private, the investment of certain activities with economic value and the relegation of others to the unpaid. The domain within which the rational economic man operates is immanently public—the field of free market exchange in which individuals interact to maximize financial gain. Mothering, on the other hand, is defined as a private, domestic activity.

The encouragement of adolescent mothers to further their education threatens to collapse this public-private split. The dichotomy is rescued, however, by the portrayal of teenage mothers as unable to really benefit from schooling either through the conflict that is created between their private and public roles (extract 15 below) or because of their inherent inadequacies (extract 16 below).

Extract 15

Teenage mothers who have returned to school are finding it difficult to perform a mother and a scholar role simultaneously. This inter-role conflict is likely to pose a threat to the teenagers' education progress. (Mkhize 1995, 87)

Discourses of economic security are invoked in this literature to achieve strategic effects. The deployment of the traits of security allows for the construction of a particular knowledge

concerning teenage reproduction (the effects of truth claims or what Foucault 1991b called "veridiction") and the regulation of adolescent women and their sexual and reproductive behavior (the effects of jurisdiction). The positioning of economic deviants (the poor, Blacks, and pregnant teenagers) as disrupting economic security through, inter alia, their tendency to breed uncontrollably and their refusing the production of the economic self is infused with a language of threat and alarm. Dominant discourses concerning the timing and context of reproduction and proper economic activity are entrenched through the appeal to national security, societal stability, and the welfare of the whole country. Predictions of the probable disastrous economic and demographic consequences of early reproduction and comparison of the cost of population to economic growth engender a knowledge concerning the immature, ignorant, psychologically unstable, or socially deviant nature of reproductive youngwomen. At the same time, regulatory practices to stem the tide of early reproduction, or at least to contain its effects, are legitimated. Tolerance of a range of possibilities allows for these technologies of regulation to be extended to nonpregnant, pregnant, and mothering teenagers. For successful operation, economic security relies on some basic assumptions.

These include (1) a discourse of economic growth, (2) the rational economic man as an agent of economic growth, (3) education as an avenue in creating the rational economic man, and (4) the expert who maintains economic security and is viewed as rational and controlled. It follows, therefore, that the solution to the vexing twin problems of teenage pregnancy and poverty is the creation of the teenager in the image of the rational economic man, chiefly through education. This reflects Becker's economic analysis of crime and crime prevention, in which "homo economicus" is utilized to drive out "homo criminalis" (Gordon 1991). However, various unacknowledged gendered incongruencies disallow the simple proposal of homo economicus's driving out the poor pregnant teenager in the same way as it was proposed that he be used to drive out homo criminalis. First, the rational economic man is masculinized while poverty and domestic or maternal duties are feminized. Therefore, the economic woman is never equivalent to the rational economic man as, to enter his world, she either has to forgo childbearing or perform the dual roles of economic woman and mother (neither of which is required of the rational economic man). Second, the teen mother is defined as dependent (although in a deviant form) and therefore is portrayed as not really being able to benefit from the education designed to produce her as an economic being. Third, the schooling that is promoted as a preventive and remedial strategy in teenage pregnancy has gendering and racializing effects, as documented elsewhere.

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