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NOT YET A WOMAN, NOT YET A MOM: THE LEISURE EXPERIENCES OF PREGNANT ADOLESCENTS

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NOT YET A WOMAN, NOT YET A MOM: THE LEISURE EXPERIENCES
OF PREGNANT ADOLESCENTS

A Dissertation
Presented to
the Graduate School of
Clemson University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

by
Brianna Soule Clark
August 2011

Accepted by:
Dr. Denise M. Anderson, Committee Chair
Dr. Robert Barcelona
Dr. Catherine Mobley
Dr. Dorothy Schmalz

ABSTRACT

Pregnant adolescents are a unique group; they are not yet women, and not yet mothers. Adolescent pregnancy continues to be a social issue that has been given much attention; however, little research exists concerning the leisure of pregnant adolescents. Therefore, the purpose of the study was to examine pregnant adolescents' leisure experiences from their own standpoints. Standpoint theory, leisure constraints theory and ecological systems theory were used to frame the study. This phenomenological study gained an in-depth understanding of the leisure of nine pregnant teens enrolled in a school for pregnant and parenting teens located in a small city in the northwest of South Carolina. Participants engaged in an initial semi-structured interview after which they were asked to document their leisure through self-directed photos and corresponding reflection sheets. Once the photo elicitation process was complete, participants shared their documented leisure in a follow-up unstructured interview. Data was analyzed using qualitative content analysis.

Findings suggest that adolescent pregnancy is not an easy adjustment for adolescents and greatly affects their leisure. The participants in this study described a lack of leisure during pregnancy and an unwillingness and inability to negotiate constraints to their leisure. The study also showed how the girls' interactions with their boyfriends influenced their leisure and described the differences in leisure during pregnancy for the participants and their boyfriends. Although the girls failed to negotiate constraints to their leisure, they acquired new types of leisure which came in the form of preparing for their unborn child's arrival. Most of the participants portrayed an

optimistic outlook towards leisure once they became mothers and felt some of their pre-pregnancy leisure would return during motherhood. Although exploratory, this study has laid the groundwork for understanding and describing pregnant adolescents' leisure and offers suggestions and implications for recreation programming.

DEDICATION

To my mother, Janet, and grandmother, Virginia. You both are responsible for shaping me into the strong, independent, and compassionate woman I am today. You represent and model the best of motherhood, for which I will always be thankful.

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I came to Clemson University alone, yet my journey here has left me with lifelong family, mentors and friends who have supported me through this process. First and foremost, I want to thank my husband, Andy, for all the love, support and the occasional “kick in the butt” he provided while I pursued my academic aspirations. I know having a professional student as a wife was not always easy, but you could not have been a greater husband through it all. I love you and will always be thankful we Yankees found each other in the South. I look forward to the crazy life we have ahead of us.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Motherhood is an event that is most often associated with early and mid adulthood; however, some women become a mother during adolescence. It is an event that will forever change the course of a young woman's life. Unlike selecting adoption or abortion, a girl who chooses to become a mother is responsible for raising another life. For most, adolescence is challenging enough as it is, adding pregnancy into the mix of development presents even more challenges, surprises and emotions. Pregnant adolescents are a unique group, in that they are not yet women (in the eyes of society), and not yet mothers. Pregnancy also alters a pregnant adolescent's life physically, socially and mentally. These changes affect all aspects of a pregnant adolescent's life, such as her relationships with family and friends, physical comfort, self-esteem and her leisure.

In 2005, the adolescent pregnancy rate in the United States for the previous 30 years had reached an all time low (with a rate of 69.5 per 1,000); down 41% since its peak in 1990 (116.9 per 1,000) (Kost, Henshaw, & Carlin, 2010). Unfortunately, after more than a decade of decline the rate increased for the first time in 2006, rising 3% (Kost et al., p. 2). A further examination of the pregnancy rates, birth rates and abortion rates in 2006 revealed that 7% of women between the ages of 15-19 had become pregnant, and the birthrate among women in this age group had risen 4% and the abortion rate 1% since 2005 (Kost et al., p. 2). These findings reveal that adolescent pregnancy in the United States is an ongoing social problem which we have yet to fully understand.

Although more recent preliminary statistics (2007-2008) are encouraging as they indicate the teen birthrate has decreased 2% since 2006, the United States continues to have one of the highest teen pregnancy rates compared to other industrialized nations (The National Campaign to Prevent Teen and Unplanned Pregnancy, n.d.).

Certainly an examination of adolescent pregnancy at the state level is necessary as the context of adolescent pregnancy varies by state. The prevalence of adolescent pregnancy within South Carolina is of concern. As of 2005, South Carolina ranked 10th nationally for pregnancy rate, 9th for birth rate and 19th for abortion rate (Kost et al., 2010, p. 13). With one of the highest pregnancy and birth rates in the country, the State's prevention programs have recently gained a great deal of national attention (Sullivan, 2009), yet little is known about the lives, in particular the leisure, of those who have become pregnant.

Pregnancy during adolescence impacts all aspects of a girl's life (e.g. relationships with friends and family, academics, and social lives) and quite possibly her leisure. Leisure plays a significant role in the development of adolescents, yet pregnancy may interrupt the traditional way in which adolescents experience leisure. It is unclear if pregnant teens experience leisure in different ways than non-pregnant teens, if their leisure diminishes or increases during pregnancy or if the leisure needs of pregnant teens are met. Arriving at a fuller understanding of pregnant adolescents' leisure experiences from their own perspectives may aid in the development and improvement of policies and programs regarding pregnant teens. Programs and policies that meet the leisure needs of

pregnant teens may contribute to the positive development of mother and child as well as teen pregnancy prevention.

The remainder of this chapter outlines the statement of problem, the study rationale, the statement of the study's purpose, the study's theoretical framework, delimitations and the organization of this dissertation.

Statement of the Problem

Leisure plays a significant role throughout the life span; adolescents in particular need leisure, as leisure is a major part of their lives and is often an ideal context for adolescent development (Hansen, Larson & Dworkin, 2003; Larson, 2000; Witt & Caldwell, 2005). Research has found that leisure offers opportunities for youth to have choice and voice, to be challenged, to develop an identity, to develop meaningful relationships with adults and peers, and to build self-esteem (Caldwell & Darling, 1999; Caldwell, 2005; Witt & Caldwell). The benefits of leisure are invaluable to a developing adolescent; unfortunately, adolescent pregnancy can interfere with the positive possibilities leisure has to offer. Researchers have found that adolescent pregnancy can negatively affect the self-esteem of pregnant teens (Blinn-Pike, Stenberg & Thompson, 1994; Hockaday, Jasper, Shelley, & Stockdale, 2000) and diminish opportunities to build relationships with peers (Whitehead, 2001). It is unclear how the negative effects of adolescent pregnancy influence the leisure of pregnant teens. In addition, if the quality of pregnant teens' leisure diminishes or their leisure is lost completely during the event of pregnancy, the potential benefits of leisure during the vital developmental stage of adolescence will be not be gained nor experienced. Also, leisure may help in overcoming

the challenges of teen pregnancy but if their leisure experiences are negative or lacking, they may lack the ability to develop into competent mothers.

In addition, pregnant adolescents feel marginalized by the stigma of teen pregnancy (Wiemann, Rickert, Berenson, & Volk, 2005). The stigma pregnant teen's face, their age and often their socioeconomic status contribute to their marginalization. The marginalization of pregnant teens has led them to live in the shadows, rather than the spotlight. While researchers have argued that qualitative examinations of the experiences of pregnant adolescents have the potential to generate useful knowledge in regard to teen pregnancy, few qualitative examinations of adolescent pregnancy exist (Spear & Lock, 2003). Bringing pregnant adolescents from margin to center may provide valuable information in regard to understanding their lives and in particular their leisure. Moving pregnant adolescents from margin to center may also provide professionals and researchers with valuable information on their leisure. Leisure professionals and researchers may be able to use this information to provide programs that meet their leisure needs. In addition, the information gained from the perspectives of pregnant teens may aid in the production of better prevention programs. .

The sudden increase in adolescent pregnancy rates in 2006, after a decade of decline, generated attention for adolescent pregnancy prevention (Franklin & Corcoran, 2000; Harris & Allgood, 2009; Jindal, 2001; Kirby & Laris, 2009). Unfortunately, as more adolescents become pregnant, the research has tended to focus on prevention, rather than examining the lived experiences of pregnant teens and how to improve outcomes for this subpopulation. Without a comprehensive understanding of the girls' lives and in

particular their leisure, little is known concerning the support that this group needs beyond physical and medical attention. Leisure and recreation programmers have little to no information regarding the needs and wants of pregnant teens, yet their programming services could offer opportunities to improve the physical, emotional and psychological health of pregnant teens. Healthier pregnant teens will also translate into healthier babies and ultimately healthier mothers.

A general understanding of leisure beyond physical activity during pregnancy is nearly nonexistent. The only form of leisure examined extensively with pregnant women has been physical activity during leisure time (Cramp & Bray, 2009; Evenson, Savitz & Huston, 2004; Hegaard et al., 2008). Although physical activity is an important form of leisure for pregnant women because it benefits both mother and baby, it is not the only form of leisure pregnant women may engage in. Also, physical activity may not be as prevalent in pregnant women's lives compared to other forms of leisure. However, beyond physical activity, little is known about pregnant women's leisure and how they find meaning through their leisure.

Most importantly, an examination of leisure during adolescent pregnancy may also help in determining the important role leisure has in adolescents' lives while pregnant. Yet, despite myriad benefits of leisure and the importance of leisure to adolescent development, no research to date explores the lived leisure experience of pregnant adolescents who are going through a unique circumstance of adolescent development.

Study Rationale

The United States continues to have one of the highest pregnancy rates for an industrialized nation; therefore, teen pregnancy prevention has gained a great amount of attention (Franklin & Corcoran, 2000; Harris & Allgood, 2009; Jindal, 2001; Kirby & Laris, 2009; The National Campaign to Prevent Teen and Unplanned Pregnancy, n.d.). Unfortunately, little is known about adolescents who are pregnant and how their lives are affected by the event of pregnancy and the realization of becoming a mother. Leisure plays a significant role in adolescent development (Witt & Caldwell, 2005). In fact, voluntary structured leisure activities have shown to have a great effect on positive developmental outcomes. Interestingly, research has also found that adolescents themselves define their leisure by activities that are unstructured and highly social (Larson & Seepersad, 2003; Larson, & Verma, 1999; McMeeking & Purkayastha, 1995). Although adolescents need leisure in their lives and prefer social activities, research has shown that pregnant adolescents suffer a “social death” while pregnant (Whitehead, 2001). This finding raises questions about how pregnant adolescents make meaning of their leisure if they are lacking social experiences.

It is important to understand the leisure of pregnant adolescents because of the essential role leisure can play in adolescent development. Also, understanding how leisure may contribute to happier and healthier adolescents during and after pregnancy will allow for the creation and/or improvement of leisure programs for pregnant adolescents. Lastly, an understanding of pregnant adolescents’ leisure from the perspective of those who are pregnant may lead to the development of more

comprehensive and effective prevention programs. Pregnant teens have the ability to share insights regarding adolescent pregnancy that outsiders may not have recognized nor considered. Their expertise on the subject of teen pregnancy may allow for a greater understanding of their leisure experiences, potentially resulting in better prevention programs. Their insights on teen pregnancy may also lead to new and improved leisure programming for pregnant adolescents, in hopes of positive developmental outcomes for mother and baby.

The Statement of the Purpose

Leisure plays a significant developmental role in the lives of adolescents yet the event of pregnancy may impact the ways in which pregnant adolescents experience leisure. Therefore, the purpose of this phenomenological study was to gain an in-depth understanding of pregnant adolescents' leisure. Most importantly, this study aimed to gain a greater understanding of the leisure experiences of pregnant adolescents by including the participants in the research process via interviews and the use of photo elicitation.

This document is comprised of three research manuscripts, each focusing on a different angle of the overarching research question: How do pregnant adolescents experience leisure? While each manuscript addressed this question, each explores the variety of themes that emerged from the data in a unique way. By answering this research question the study can contribute to a greater understanding of pregnant adolescents' leisure. An understanding of the leisure of pregnant adolescents from their

perspective will not only fill a much needed gap in the literature but the findings may help in the creation and/or improvement of leisure opportunities for pregnant adolescents.

Theoretical Framework for Understanding Pregnant Adolescent Leisure

The study used three main theoretical perspectives to gain a greater understanding of pregnant adolescents' lives and their leisure in particular: (1) standpoint theory, (2) leisure constraints framework, and (3) ecological systems theory. Standpoint theory, a feminist theory, emphasizes that the everyday lives of women, particularly those who have been marginalized, should be placed at the center of the research (Campbell & Wasco, 2000; Harding, 1991; Harding, 2004; Klitzing, 2004). Most importantly, by placing the participants at the center, their perspectives or standpoints generate knowledge. A greater understanding of the lived experience of pregnant adolescents' leisure was possible by allowing them the opportunity to share their leisure experiences from their particular standpoint.

The leisure constraints framework may aid in an understanding the leisure behavior of pregnant adolescents. Although leisure constraints were once thought of as barriers that led to nonparticipation, further understandings of leisure constraints classified them into three distinct categories: intrapersonal, interpersonal and structural (Crawford & Godbey, 1987). Also, the belief that constraints lead to nonparticipation has been rejected, placing a greater focus on constraint negotiation (Jackson, Crawford & Godbey, 1993). Research has shown that people who want to participate often find ways of negotiating constraints. In fact, some individuals may actually be constrained *into* their leisure (Frederick & Shaw, 1995; Liechty, Freeman & Zabriskie, 2006).

Researchers have also suggested that constraints may be positives in peoples' leisure as they force them to become more specialized and skilled at particular leisure activities (Kleiber, McGuire, Aybar-Damali, & Norman, 2008; McGuire & Norman, 2005). In addition, researchers have argued that the burden of negotiation of leisure constraints should not be placed solely on the participant; rather, understanding the social and gendered forces of constraints is important for understanding women's leisure (Samdahl, 2005; Shaw & Henderson, 2005). Understanding the constraints (and affordances) that contribute to pregnant adolescents' leisure experiences and how pregnant adolescents deal with constraints will aid in gaining a greater understanding of their leisure.

A holistic understanding of the leisure experiences of pregnant adolescents is not possible through the sole use of the leisure constraints framework. Researchers have argued that leisure constraints research must also consider the social context in which people are developing (Samdahl, 2005; Shaw & Henderson, 2005); therefore, an understanding of the development of adolescents is not possible without a development-in-context perspective (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Bronfenbrenner, 1989). Therefore, the use of ecological systems theory will aid in understanding how the environment in which pregnant adolescents live influences their lives, in particular their leisure.

Delimitations

The goal of qualitative research is not generalizability but an in-depth examination of a phenomenon. Therefore, the scope of the study is delimited by the deliberate decision to include only a small sample of pregnant adolescents from one area of one state. This narrow scope should allow for an in-depth understanding of the lived leisure

experiences of these pregnant adolescents. Although the study is not generalizable, the knowledge generated from this study may still be useful and transferable to similar populations of pregnant teens.

Organization of Dissertation

This dissertation combines the format of a traditional dissertation and article format. Chapter one, the introduction chapter, provides an abbreviated literature review and overview of this study. Chapter two, manuscript #1, serves as a proposed article to be submitted to a peer-reviewed journal focused on bridging the gap between research and practice for recreation administrators and researchers. The purpose of manuscript #1 is to provide an in-depth understanding of the leisure status of pregnant adolescents, from their point of view, in order to inform recreation professionals of the level of need for pregnant teen recreation programming.

Chapter three, manuscript #2, is also a proposed article for publication in a peer-reviewed journal devoted to contributing new knowledge and understanding to the leisure field. The purpose of manuscript #2 is to describe the leisure of pregnant adolescents from their particular standpoint. Unlike manuscript #1, manuscript #2 focuses on the *leisure* of the participants rather than their *recreation* and the implications for recreation professionals. To clarify, this study defined recreation as voluntary activities that are enjoyed briefly or throughout life. These activities occur during one's free time, are socially redeeming, and have the potential for many desirable outcomes (Kraus, 1990, 2000). Unlike recreation, "leisure has no value orientation...the leisure experience is neither good nor bad; the only value it holds is that which the individual places on it."

(Edginton, DeGraff, Dieser, & Edginton, 2006, p. 56). This rudimentary difference between leisure and recreation and the essential elements of leisure: *leisure as time*, *leisure as an activity*, and *leisure as a state of mind* (Edginton et al.), defined the term leisure for this study.

The third manuscript, chapter four, is an abbreviated manuscript presenting original empirical data that is not adequate or sufficient for the development of a regular article but appropriate for a short note. The purpose of manuscript #3 is the same as that of manuscript #2; however, the findings do not fit within the context of manuscript #2 but are worth making note of in an abbreviated paper. The findings focus on pregnant adolescents' perceptions of their leisure and their romantic partner's leisure during pregnancy.

The final chapter, chapter five, serves as a conclusion chapter and discusses as well as integrates the findings and implications within each of the articles to provide a holistic understanding of pregnant adolescents' leisure. Lastly, Appendix A is the interview guide for the first interview conducted with participants, Appendix B is the photo elicitation reflection sheet and Appendix C provides the IRB consent forms given to both the participants and their corresponding guardians.

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CHAPTER TWO

“IT’S BORING BEING PREGNANT”: ADOLESCENT PREGNANCY AND IMPLICATIONS FOR RECREATION PROGRAMMING

Introduction

Adolescence is a time during which leisure plays a critical role in the development of an individual. Leisure plays a significant role in an adolescent’s life as a context in which they are able to develop competence, friendships, and an identity. The teenage years are seen as a time when a person can be unencumbered, carefree of responsibility and engaged in exploration. Adolescence is not a time in which girls typically contemplate what their lives would be like if they had a baby. While leisure is a necessary element in the lives of adolescents, its role is apt to change with a life altering event such as pregnancy.

In 2005, the adolescent pregnancy rate in the United States for the past 30 years had reached an all-time low (69.5 per 1,000) (Kost, Henshaw, & Carlin, 2010). Unfortunately, after more than a decade of decline, the rate increased 3% in 2006 (Kost et al). These data reveal that adolescent pregnancy is an ongoing social problem within the United States. Although a slight (2%) decrease in the pregnancy rate since 2006 is encouraging, the United States continues to have one of the highest teen pregnancy rates among all industrialized nations (The National Campaign to Prevent Teen and Unplanned Pregnancy, n.d.).

With one of the highest pregnancy and birth rates in the country, in 2005 South Carolina ranked 10th nationally for pregnancy rate, 9th for birth rate and 19th for abortion

rate (Kost et al., 2010). South Carolina's pregnancy statistics have led to strong national attention regarding the State's pregnancy prevention programs (Sullivan, 2009), yet little is known about the lives of those who have "slipped through the cracks" and become pregnant. While researchers have argued that qualitative examinations of the experiences of pregnant adolescents have the potential to generate useful knowledge regarding the phenomenon of adolescent pregnancy, few exist (Spear & Lock, 2003).

No research to date has examined the leisure of pregnant adolescents; therefore, this study was exploratory. Qualitative methods were employed to gain a greater understanding of the lived leisure experiences of pregnant teens. The use of qualitative methods has the potential to provide recreation professionals with important information regarding pregnant adolescents' lives, in particularly their leisure. Adolescents need leisure, as leisure is a major part of their lives and is a premier context for adolescent development (Hansen, Larson & Dworkin, 2003; Larson, 2000; Witt & Caldwell, 2005a). Research has found that leisure offers opportunities for youth to have choice and voice, to be challenged, to develop an identity, to develop meaningful relationships with adults and peers, and to build self-esteem (Caldwell & Darling, 1999; Caldwell, 2005; Witt & Caldwell). Yet, despite myriad benefits of leisure and the importance of leisure to adolescent development, no research to date has explored the lived leisure experiences of pregnant adolescents.

Although prevention programs are crucial to reducing unwanted teen pregnancies, the lives, particularly the leisure of pregnant adolescents continues without much attention or thought in regard to research and recreation programming. Therefore,

understanding the lives and leisure of pregnant adolescents has the potential to inform proper and likely much needed recreation programming. Recreation programs have the ability to provide healthy and positive developmental leisure opportunities for pregnant adolescents who plan to be mothers. Therefore, the purpose of this study was to gain an in-depth understanding of the leisure status of pregnant adolescents, from their point of view, in order to inform recreation professionals of the level of need for pregnant teen recreation programming.

Literature Review

Characteristics of Adolescent Leisure

For proper recreation programming to occur, it is necessary for recreation practitioners to understand how adolescents define their leisure and what types of leisure they enjoy. American adolescents have a greater amount of free time during the school year compared to adolescents living in other industrialized countries primarily because they have less school work (Larson & Seepersad, 2003). Free-time, defined as “time spent in discretionary leisure activities (excluding work and excluding maintenance activities such as sleeping, eating, and personal care)” (Larson & Seepersad, p. 54) comprises 40-50% of a U.S. adolescent’s day. Adolescents often spend their free time participating in unstructured activities such as hanging out with friends. Although adolescents, particularly adolescent females, enjoy activities that are unstructured, research has found that voluntary structured leisure activities often provide the greatest context for positive youth development. In fact, research has found that participation in unstructured activities relates to unfavorable developmental outcomes (Larson, 2001).

Watts and Caldwell (2008) found that for a group of 9th graders, unstructured activity participation negatively predicted initiative, particularly in females. Unlike unstructured activities, voluntary structured activities, activities offered through a program that an adolescent voluntarily chooses to engage in, provide adolescents with an opportunity to combine intrinsic motivation and concentration allowing for positive outcomes such as decreased delinquency and an increase in achievement, self-control and self-efficacy (Larson, 2000).

Although voluntary structured activities may provide the greatest opportunity for positive developmental outcomes, adolescents tend to prefer unstructured activities that are highly social. Research has found socialization plays a significant role in adolescence as adolescents spend 2-3 hours per day socializing (Larson & Verma, 1999). Adolescents generally prefer activities that are social in nature, dislike solitary time and define leisure as spending time and “hanging out” with friends (de Bruyn & Gillessen, 2008; McMeeking & Purkayastha, 1995). Similarly, Larson (1983) found that older adolescents spent less time with their family and more time with friends and those who spent more time with friends reported less alienation among their peers and had greater affect. Social activities are of great importance to female adolescents in particular; findings suggest friends are the most important domain in a girl’s culture (Hurtes, 2002).

Spending time with friends also reduces boredom. Shaw, Caldwell and Kleiber’s (1996) study found that teens experience reduced feelings of boredom when they were able to hang out with their peers outside of the home. In addition, McMeeking and Purkayastha (1995) found that a lack of organized activities was not the source of

boredom for adolescent participants; rather, the lack of a place for socialization with friends led to greater feelings of boredom.

Socializing with friends plays an important role in female adolescents' leisure; unfortunately adolescents' socialization with others suffers tremendously when they become pregnant (Whitehead, 2001). Whitehead found that pregnant teens suffer a "social death" (p. 12) during pregnancy. When pregnancy was ill received by others around them, teens felt especially socially excluded from their peers (Whitehead).

Adolescent girls' leisure.

Because of the health implications of physically active leisure, there has been a focus on the role of physical activity in the leisure of adolescent girls. Brooks and Magnusson (2007) examined how nonathlete (i.e., did not participate in organized athletics) but physically active female adolescents relate to and experience physical activity as a leisure pursuit. They found that although the majority of the participants did not prefer or disliked traditionally organized and competitive sports, they welcomed being physically challenged. Overall, the participants valued physical activity because it offered an opportunity for private recreational space and a venue for social leisure time. Additionally, Schmitz et al. (2002) found that girls who engaged in higher levels of physical activity "placed a higher value on health, appearance, and achievement" (p. 27). Shaw, Kleiber, and Caldwell (1995) found that although girls were less likely than their male counterparts to identify themselves as physically active, their participation in sports and physical activity was positively associated with identity development. Similarly, Stein, Fisher, Berkey and Colditz (2007) found that the self perception of girls decreased

when their physical activity also decreased. Although leisure provides many benefits for females, research has found that females face a multitude of social and personal constraints such as stereotypes and body image that infringe on their leisure participation (Henderson & King, 1998; O’Dea, 2003; Shaw & Henderson, 2005).

Recreation practitioners must consider the constraints girls face and the activities they enjoy in order to provide programs that will meet their needs. Research has found that girls enjoy and desire recreation programs that allow them to feel a sense of accomplishment and provide an opportunity for self expression. In terms of structure, recreation programs for girls should provide a wide variety of activities to choose from that are hands on and fun, and include unstructured time for hanging out with friends (Culp, 1998; Henderson & King, 1998).

Pregnant Women’s Leisure.

For all females, the event of pregnancy has certainly been found to influence women’s’ leisure. Longhurst’s (1997) study of women experiencing their first pregnancy found that women did not go out to night clubs, bars, pubs, restaurants and cafes as much since becoming pregnant. Additionally, the women reported that they withdrew from other activities including sport and leisure and paid employment. Research has also shown pregnancy greatly influences women’s physical activity (Cramp & Bray, 2009; Evenson, Moos, Carrier, & Siega-Riz’s, 2009).

Although physical activity is not the only leisure pursuit pregnant women engage in, it is the only form of leisure that has been widely researched with pregnant women. In 2002, the American Congress of Obstetricians and Gynecologists (ACOG) presented

physical activity guidelines of 30 minutes or more of exercise per day for pregnant women. Although some pregnant women are wary of participating in physical activity during pregnancy, researchers have argued that the benefits of participating in physical activity while pregnant far outweigh any potential risks (Brown, 2002; Kieffer, Willis, Arellano, & Guzman, 2002).

Although studies have shown that physical activity during pregnancy offers benefits to mother and baby, research has also shown pregnant women face many barriers to participating in physical activity. Research has found fatigue, time constraints, physical limitations, injury, lack of motivation, lack of enjoyment, lack of social support, and concern of pregnancy complications due to being active, to be among the greatest contributors to lack of physical activity during pregnancy (Cramp & Bray, 2009; Evenson, Moos, Carrier, & Siega-Riz's, 2009). In addition, women in Kieffer et al.'s (2002) study believed their pregnancy was socially isolating which lead to a lack of physical activity.

Due to the barriers pregnant women face during pregnancy it is no surprise that Evenson, Savitz, and Huston (2004) found that 65.6% of pregnant compared to 73.1% of non-pregnant participants had met physical activity recommendations in the past month. In addition, pregnant women on average had 2 hours per week for leisure-time physical activity compared to the 2.7 hours per week of non-pregnant women. The study found that participation in any leisure activity and recommended activity was greater among pregnant women with more education compared to pregnant women with less than a high school education.

Although pregnant women face a host of barriers to physical activity, research has also found factors that facilitate physical activity for pregnant women include social support from husbands or partners, family, friends, as well as community safety, access to resources, information, proper diet, scheduling and weather (Kieffer et al., 2002; Marquez et al., 2009). Research has shown that the most popular forms of physical activity for those who do participate in leisure time physical activity during pregnancy are walking, swimming, aerobics, weight lifting, home exercises, gardening, and jogging (Evenson et al., 2004, Ning et al., 2003, Zhang & Savitz, 1996).

Conceptual Framework

This phenomenological study was guided by the constraints framework. Although the constraints framework has evolved over time, the first examination of leisure constraints centered on leisure barriers and focused on nonparticipation rather than the outcomes of participation (Boothby, Tungatt & Townsend, 1981; Romsa & Hoffman, 1980; Witt & Goodale, 1981). Therefore, research during this time suggested participants were viewed as completely unconstrained if no barriers were present while nonparticipants were viewed as completely constrained; the possibility of negotiating constraints to facilitate participation was not considered.

By 1987 Crawford and Godbey had categorized leisure constraints into a classification schema of intrapersonal, interpersonal, and structural which Crawford, Jackson and Godbey (1991) later placed into a hierarchical model that outlined the relationship among the three types of constraints with intrapersonal identified as the most challenging to overcome. The hierarchical model was a foundational piece of the leisure

constraints framework; however, there have been modifications made over the years as our understanding of constraints has grown, particularly with respect to women's leisure. For example, research has found body-image and self-esteem to be contributors to lack of enjoyment and participation in leisure for women (Frederick & Shaw, 1995; Henderson & King, 1998; James, 2000; Shaw, 1992). More recently, Samdahl (2005) has argued along with others that constraints for women should be viewed less as an individualized matter; rather, a more socialized issue related to gender stereotypes and a patriarchal society (Shaw & Henderson, 2005; Samdahl).

The application of the theory of selective optimization with compensation has added to and improved our understanding of leisure constraint research (Lerner, Freund, De Stefanis, & Habermas, 2001; McGuire & Norman, 2005). The theory is well suited for understanding how people, adolescents included, negotiate leisure life changes (Caldwell & Baldwin, 2005). According to the theory of selective optimization with compensation, people aim to maximize gains and minimize losses. Individuals, therefore, may choose to focus their efforts towards fewer leisure activities rather than try to negotiate constraints tied to a large number of activities, a task that might seem overwhelming. Fewer activities may help in skill development as participants devote more time to one activity (McGuire & Norman).

A more recent notion of constraints is that they may be considered as positive factors rather than negative factors in one's leisure (Klieber, McGuire, Aybar-Damali, & Norman, 2008; Shogan, 2002). Klieber et al. have encouraged researchers to examine constraints from a positive perspective and argue that removing constraints may reduce

the quality of a leisure experience. For example, the possibility of “flow” (a positive leisure experience) (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990) may be more likely when constraints infringe on the number of activities one is able to participate in. Samdahl (2005) stated that researchers should use the word “navigate” rather than negotiate when referring to leisure behavior when faced with constraints. Shaw and Henderson (2005) have argued that within feminist research the term resistance should replace the term negotiation because “for feminists, resistance means not only finding ways to overcome constraints, but also challenging dominant ideologies or dominant power relations” (Shaw & Henderson, p. 29). These more recent developments have contributed to the necessary modification and refinement of the framework which Jackson (1997) argued must continue.

Methods

The purpose of the study was to gain an in-depth understanding of the lived experiences of pregnant adolescents’ leisure in order to better inform recreation programming for this population. The study employed qualitative phenomenological methods and photo elicitation in order to better understand the girls’ experiences through their own words.

Study Paradigm

The goal of phenomenological research is to gain an in-depth understanding of the lived experience of the phenomenon of interest (Creswell, 2007). The researcher typically gains this understanding through in-depth interviews and interpretations of the meanings participants give to represent the commonalities of experiences among

participants (Creswell; Moustakas, 1994). Phenomenology is particularly useful in understanding phenomena that have previously been ignored (Henderson, 2006).

Setting

The primary researcher recruited participants from a public school for pregnant and parenting teens in a small city in a northwest county of South Carolina. The school serves pregnant and parenting youth in middle and high school and is a voluntary option for pregnant students within the county; those enrolled during the time of study were more often than not of color and of low socioeconomic status. Due to school policy and the nature of pregnancy, there is a continual turnover of students. On average 10-15 students are enrolled at a time; however, due to a high absentee rate there were often only 5-8 students present at the school each day when the primary researcher visited.

The school offers an opportunity for pregnant and parenting teens to continue their education at an institution equipped to fit the educational needs of girls going through pregnancy and early motherhood. The school offers students unique opportunities explicitly for pregnant and parenting teens, such as parenting classes. However, the school does not provide traditional student enrichment opportunities for their students such as art and music classes, physical education, or any after school extracurricular activities such as sports or clubs.

Participants

Participants eligible for participation in the study were adolescents attending the school, experiencing their first pregnancy, and anticipating being a parent. These criteria were chosen because adolescent females who have experienced pregnancy and/or

motherhood previously may not have similar leisure experiences as first time pregnant adolescents. Guided by the principles of phenomenology, the study recruited a convenience sample of participants from one particular school for pregnant and parenting adolescents. This method was chosen to ensure that it would be possible to uncover the universal essence of their experiences. The goal of the study was to recruit participants representing different races and socioeconomic statuses; however, those who were willing to participate were mostly of color and low socioeconomic status.

All of the students who were enrolled at the school between the months of November 2010 and March 2011 were invited to participate in the study. Of those approached to participate, nine agreed. Due to the individualistic nature of pregnancy, each participant was in a different stage of pregnancy while participating in the study (See Table 2.1 for descriptions of participants). Each pregnant adolescent granted her consent to participate in the study and each of the respondent's corresponding guardians voluntarily granted their consent to allow her to be part of the study. To protect confidentiality each participant chose her own pseudonym.

Table 2.1

Descriptions of Participants

Name	Age	Race/Ethnicity	Gestational Week at First Interview	Gestational Week at Second Interview
Ashley	15	African American	29 Weeks	No interview
Nayla	16	African American	26 Weeks	38 Weeks
Sannia	16	African American	17 Weeks	29 Weeks
Asia	13	African American	20 Weeks	32 Weeks
Aubrey	16	White	32 Weeks	No interview
Anahi	16	Hispanic	28 Weeks	34 Weeks
Dereona	15	African American	35 Weeks	37 Weeks
Cherish	16	African American	37 Weeks	Baby was born
Hailey	18	White	23 Weeks	No interview

Data Collection

Gaining rapport with participants is an important condition of qualitative research. The primary researcher attended lunch period at the school 2-3 times per week for four months. The lunch period was not a time for data collection, but rather was a period during which the students were able to become familiar with the researcher and her intentions. The primary researcher kept a detailed journal of the experience of visiting the school as a way of negotiating her biases and researcher role. While at lunch each student was given a description of the study and asked if she would be interested in participating. If she indicated she was, she was provided with IRB consent forms for herself and her guardian to sign. Once signed consent forms were returned to the primary researcher, a semi-structured interview was scheduled. Participants had the choice of conducting the interview in a school classroom at the end of the school day or at their home. A semi-structured, digitally recorded interview which lasted between 30 and 60 minutes was the initial step of data collection (See Appendix A for the interview guide

for the first interview). In addition, the interview questions reflected a traditional definition of leisure, *leisure as time*, *leisure as an activity*, and *leisure as a state of mind* ((Edginton, DeGraff, Dieser, & Edginton, 2006), and the terms leisure and recreation were used synonymously, particularly when referring to activity participation, throughout the study.

Photo Elicitation.

It is not only important to allow participants to have a voice in the research process, but it is also important to provide them the opportunity to document their lives and share this experience. Both processes allow for a greater exploration of the phenomenon of interest. To that end, a second form of data collection, photo elicitation, was used to learn more about the teenagers' leisure. Photo elicitation involves the use of a photo or multiple photos during a research interview, allowing the participant's world to be symbolically represented in a manner other than simply words (Harper, 2002). The study followed similar methods to those of Klitzing (2004) and Blinn and Harrist (1991) in terms of how photo elicitation was employed. The participants in this study took their own photos which were then used as conversational pieces. The photos were used to elicit information concerning their leisure experiences by focusing on the meanings and experiences of the participants.

At the end of the first interview participants were given a disposable camera with 27 exposures and guidance on what types of pictures to take (Klitzing, 2004; Rose, 2007). Some questions used to elicit possible picture opportunities were: (1) what do you do during your free time? (2) what do you do with your friends? (3) what types of

leisure activities do you and your family participate in? and (4) where do you participate in leisure? Participants were also given a reflection sheet to fill out after they took each photo. They were asked to record the following information for each photo: (1) title of the photo (2) description of the photo and (3) describe your thoughts and feelings when taking the photo. Between interviews (this time frame varied between participants due to the nature of pregnancy) the primary researcher collected the cameras and had the pictures developed.

The second unstructured digitally recorded interview took place at the convenience of the participant and after the photos had been developed. The photos were central to the second interview and were used as conversational pieces to gain a greater understanding of what the participants alluded to in their first interviews. The purpose of the second interview was to give participants an opportunity to describe, clarify and explain what each of their photos meant to them (Rose, 2007). Each participant was asked to describe the pictures she took in terms of who was in the picture, what was being displayed in the picture and where the picture took place. Also, the participants were asked to describe experiences they were unable to take pictures of, or pictures that were unsuccessfully developed to ensure that equal attention was given to experiences that may not have been visually represented. Photos were returned to participants as a keepsake; however, the primary researcher kept their reflection sheets to be used as data.

Data Analysis

Each of the digital recordings of the in-depth interviews was transcribed verbatim. The transcripts and the data on the reflection sheets were uploaded into NVIVO 8,

qualitative data analysis software for coding. Coding of the data consisted of grouping significant statements together that were “necessary and sufficient” (Moustakas, 1994, p. 121) in understanding the experience and were able to be “abstract[ed] and label[ed]” (Moustakas, p. 121). Moustakas defines this process as horizontalization. The second step, creating meaning units, was used to develop “core themes of the experience” (Moustakas, p. 121). Next, the primary researcher used the significant themes she discovered to develop textural and structural descriptions. Textural descriptions are descriptions of “what the participants experienced” (Creswell, 2007, p. 60) and structural descriptions are descriptions of how the context or setting influenced the participants’ experiences of the phenomenon (Creswell; Moustakas). Moustakas’ method recommends that researchers then use their textural and structural descriptions to “develop a composite description of the meanings and essences of the experience, representing the group as a whole” (p. 121).

Trustworthiness

Two interviews with each participant, the research journal, the photos and the reflection sheets were used to triangulate the study’s data. Lastly, peer debriefing and member checks were used to establish the credibility of the research findings. A researcher unrelated to this particular study who had conducted research with pregnant teens served as the peer debriefer for the study by conducting an external check of the research process.

Findings

Becoming pregnant is a life altering event than can weigh deeply on a girl, particularly with an unplanned pregnancy. The choice to continue a pregnancy and become a parenting adolescent brings about reflection, reaction and expectations. Based on extensive coding of the interview transcripts, three themes were developed representing these processes: *Reflecting on Being a Teen* which represented their reflections of what their leisure used to be, *Pregnancy Pause* describes their leisure reaction to pregnancy, and *It's Only a Pause* captures the participants' expectations for leisure in the future.

Reflecting on Being a Teen

All of the participants were clearly able to give examples of what they did for fun and enjoyment before they became pregnant and in many ways they described typical teen behavior and activities. Every participant described "hanging out" with friends as her main form of leisure. Ashley stated that when she participated in fun activities such as hip hop dancing it made her "feel like a teenager." However, as a way of describing what they did for leisure before pregnancy they compared it to what they are no longer able to do as pregnant teens. For example, when asked what she liked to do for fun, Cherish responded, "Well for fun...before I got pregnant, I liked to go downtown, to the movies, just hang out with my friends." Asia also expressed that what she really enjoyed before pregnancy was no longer possible as a pregnant teen. When Asia was asked what type of activities she enjoyed, she replied, "Football games...I like board games, I like sleepovers and stuff like that...Really just dance stuff. I don't do that now." Aubrey

echoed Asia when she said, “The physical stuff I can’t do, is like, I can’t ride on four-wheelers or dirt bikes, that was my favorite thing to do.”

Losing their favorite activities seemed to be a major talking point as well as something some of the girls chose to capture with their photos. Nayla took a picture of a football and wrote that she “felt a little sad that I missed the games this year.” When asked about the photo she stated, “I used to go to all the football games last year” and that this year “I only went to one my brother was playing in.” Similarly, Sannia took a picture of a basketball hoop as a symbol of her love for playing basketball and wrote “I miss it so much.” When asked how it made her feel that she no longer could be as active as she once was she said, “I hate it...I want to be doing it but it’s for a good cause so I learn to enjoy it.” Sannia learned to enjoy not being as active anymore because she felt she had no choice but to decrease the activities she participated in.

Three of the nine participants, Hailey, Cherish and Sannia, were involved in structured leisure activities at the time that they became pregnant. Hailey stated she was part of chorus and that she “stuck with that all through high school, until I came here.” Cherish also was part of the chorus at her high school and was unable to continue this activity at the school for pregnant and parenting teens. In addition, Cherish was part of the ROTC for two years at her former high school but was no longer involved with ROTC because “I was supposed to take it this year but when I moved to teen parent I wasn’t able, because they didn’t have that elective, so I wasn’t able to take that.” Both Hailey and Cherish gave up participating in activities they enjoyed due to transferring to a school more equipped to meet their educational needs. Also, when Sannia joined the

school for pregnant and parenting teens, she, too, was unable to be a part of the basketball or track team as she was at her former school. Asia had tried out for what would have been her first organized activity, cheerleading, but once she learned of her pregnancy she was no longer able to participate. Similarly, Anahi looked forward to trying out for the soccer team for her high school for the first time, but upon learning of her pregnancy she realized it would not be possible. When asked why she had not previously been on an organized team she responded, "...I just never got to that point. Uh, it was either because I didn't have a ride to get there to practice or because...both of my parents worked in the afternoons, so I had to take care of my brothers so I couldn't."

Some of the girls were involved in structured activities at earlier points in their lives. Aubrey had been on cheerleading and softball teams, Ashley was on a step team when she was younger, Nayla was also on a cheerleading team before high school and a member of ROTC at her high school during 9th and 10th grade. When asked why they no longer participated in these structured activities they were unable to communicate why, which was best demonstrated by Aubrey when talking about cheerleading, "I was gonna try out for high school but I didn't make it to the tryouts. Like, I went to the practices but I didn't go to the tryouts. I don't know why." Similarly, when asked why she had quit ROTC Nayla said, "I was just like, I don't want to do this anymore, so I just stopped doing it." Only one participant, Dereona, had little interest in ever joining a structured activity and when asked why, she said, "I just didn't want to do nothing." Although Dereona was not interested in joining structured activities she very much had leisure in her life before pregnancy in the form of partying.

Regardless of their participation in structured or unstructured leisure, all of the respondents were able to define their leisure in the form of the activities they participated in before becoming a pregnant teen. Interestingly, many of the girls enjoyed being part of the research process and a few commented on how the project made them “go back into the past and think about some things that have happened for me to get to where I am now” (Cherish) and “Actually seeing things that I can do and that I can’t do” (Anahi). The project enabled them to reflect upon their leisure before and during pregnancy.

Pregnancy Pause

The term “pregnant pause” has been used in relation to women discontinuing physical activity during pregnancy (Dempsey, Butler, & Williams, 2005); however findings from this study suggest that more than physical activity is put on hold during pregnancy. All of the participants in the study discussed a huge decrease in their leisure once becoming pregnant, ranging from loss of physical activity to loss of friendships, creating a sense of “leisure nothingness and boredom.” For example, when Aubrey was asked what she did for fun now, she responded, “I don’t do nothing.” Following up on this response:

Researcher: ...when you have free time, what do you do?

Aubrey: Nothing

Researcher: Nothing? So you have all this time but you don’t have much to do?

Aubrey: Yeah

Similarly, Sannia described how pregnancy was simply boring because she was tired so often, “Being pregnant make you really tired and they say only for the first couple

months, but now I'm bored." Asia echoed this feeling, "It's boring. To me it's boring being pregnant." When she was asked in the second interview why she was so bored she stated, "It's boring. It's not boring, I just I don't know. I don't do nothing because I'm stressed all day. So I don't do anything." Asia's continued to state that her stress was due to her deteriorating relationship with her boyfriend. When Dereona was asked what her typical day looked like her response was also "boring" and spurred the following:

Researcher: So what type of activities do you really enjoy?

Dereona: Nothing (soft laugh)

Researcher: Nothing right now? You don't like reading, you don't like doing make up? You don't like pampering yourself? Nothing?

Dereona: (soft laugh) Nothing. No.

The statement that "I don't really do anything anymore" (Nayla) was mentioned in one way or another by every participant.

The rationale for not being able to do anything anymore included loss of friendships and the belief that pregnancy is an all encompassing constraint. All of the girls alluded to a loss of friendships; however Nayla, Hailey, Aubrey, Cherish, and Dereona best demonstrated this. For example, when Nayla was asked about how her friendships had changed since becoming pregnant she responded:

Nayla: I think they are not as close as we were, because we don't do a lot of things together anymore.

Researcher: So do they still do the things, you just don't do it with them. Does that bum you out? Or is it just what it is?

Nayla: Kinda, you know. I was always the first person they called.

Researcher: Do they call anymore?

Nayla: Yeah, my best friend, she calls all the time. We just don't hang out as we used to.

Researcher: So do you feel like you've lost some friends?

Nayla: Yeah, a lot of people stopped talking to me when they found out I was pregnant.

Researcher: Really. Do you have any new friends?

Nayla: Not really.

This loss of friendship limited Nayla's leisure as she did not have as many opportunities to hang out with her friends. Similarly, when Hailey was asked what it was like transferring into the school for pregnant and parenting teens she said:

Hailey: They have showed that we weren't really real friends, because they kind of quit talking to me. They don't call or when I call, they don't answer. It doesn't bother me. It did at first, but I just quit caring about it

Researcher: What bothered you about it?

Hailey: One of the people I thought was my really best friend, like my sister, and then she just stopped talking.

Researcher: It hurt your feelings?

Hailey: Yeah

Hailey felt betrayed by her friends, particularly her best friend. Aubrey felt equally betrayed by her friends and her reasoning for losing friendships was because "they don't

want to be friends with the pregnant girl.” Cherish also spoke about no longer talking to friends at her former high school, “I would have friends. I would chill every now and then but wouldn't really talk as much cuz I didn't go to school [with them anymore]...And I really didn't keep in touch ever since I been pregnant.” Similarly, Dereona expressed that her loss of friendships was due to having less in common with her peers once becoming pregnant, “friends I used to hang with, we're not friends no more...Basically, they didn't understand what I was going through at that time; you know what I'm saying?” Per the literature, the girls mainly defined their leisure as “hanging out with friends”; therefore, their lost friendships created a loss in their leisure.

Loss of friendships, compounded by the belief that withdrawing from leisure is expected during pregnancy, created a leisure pregnancy pause for all of the participants. This was best demonstrated by Asia who stated, “I still do board games but I don't dance no more. I don't go to clubs no more... ‘Cause I'm pregnant! I can't do nothing!” When Sannia was asked what prevented her from doing things she stated, “I don't want to bump him.” Similarly, Anahi's fears of hurting her baby also prevented her from participating in physical activity. When asked what activities she enjoyed before becoming pregnant, she replied “soccer, volleyball, I used to do softball too...and a little bit of tennis...I don't really do anything [now].” She went on to explain that she no longer participated in sports at all because, “I can't, I can't run for it [the ball].”

Hailey, along with almost all of the other participants, stated that the physical ramifications of pregnancy created little opportunity for leisure. When asked what stops her from being able to participate in the things she enjoys she said, “Breathing problems

and getting huge and throwing up and stuff like that. And just being pregnant.” Anahi echoed Hailey by stating, “I don’t have a lot of energy no more, and I guess my body feels heavier than it is. I feel so much heavier. So I’m just lazy to do anything no more.” Although there were other smaller contributors to their loss of leisure (i.e. fatigue, money, transportation, parental restraint etc.), their belief that pregnancy was an all encompassing constraint and their lack of friendships contributed the most to their leisure pregnancy pause.

It’s Only a Pause

The unique aspect of pregnancy is that it is not a permanent state. The temporary nature of pregnancy created little urgency to negotiate the barriers the girls faced in their leisure. All had the belief that their lack of leisure was not permanent and expected some or most of their leisure to return once they had their children. Rather than trying to find ways to negotiate the constraints they faced, the girls felt their leisure would return after their pregnancy, creating no need for negotiation during pregnancy. This was demonstrated by Aubrey:

Researcher: ...Do you see yourself being able to go back and do some of those things, or do you think they’re gone forever?

Aubrey: I don’t think they’re gone forever.

Researcher: Okay.

Aubrey: I mean, I know I have three babysitters in this house.

Researcher: Yeah.

Aubrey: And a boyfriend with a motorcycle, so I'm sure my weekends are gonna be out with him.

Ashley also believed that once she had her baby her leisure would return to a form similar to what her leisure was before she had her baby:

Ashley: I don't go anywhere anymore. I just sit in the house and go to the doctor's office to get my ultrasounds and that's fun.

Researcher: How does that make you feel?

Ashley: It makes me feel left out. And then again I don't worry about it. Because I know after I have him, I can still go if I wanted to.

Ashley felt confident that once she had her baby she would be able to partake in the activities she used to participate in if she chose to do so. Similarly, Sannia, when describing the photo she took titled, "This is what I do in my spare time," felt TV had replaced basketball in her life:

[I'm] a TV zombie whatever you want to call it. 'Cause I could sit there and watch TV all day and just be lazy. I don't know. I think I would play basketball over TV. So when the baby come I think I won't be watching as much TV.

Sannia missed playing basketball but felt that her TV watching was temporary and she would resume playing basketball after she had her child. Asia, the participant who was unable to join the cheerleading squad, felt she too would be able to be part of the squad after having her baby, as long as her mom would be able to afford it. Asia stated, "I was supposed to [do cheerleading] but I found out I was pregnant. It was my high school dream. Come 9th grade and you be a cheerleader and everything and yeah..." She further

noted, "...this summer like I have 4 months to lose weight and I'm going to try [to go out for the team]..." Cherish also "figured after I had a baby, I'd try to get back into shape a little." The motivation to return to their previous leisure activities was present during pregnancy, but motivation to change their leisure while pregnant was absent. Being pregnant was temporary and withdrawing from leisure was something they felt forced to deal with for the good of their baby.

Discussion

A lack of understanding regarding the lives of pregnant adolescents has led to little information on how to program for these individuals. Although a preliminary study, the results demonstrate that pregnancy diminishes leisure opportunities and enjoyment for pregnant adolescents attending a school for pregnant and parenting teens in a northwest city of South Carolina. Despite the participants' ability to reflect on their leisure pre-pregnancy, their past leisure experiences were not motivation enough to overcome their diminished leisure during pregnancy thus creating a pregnancy pause. Rather, participants saw pregnancy as a temporary constraint, a constraint that was merely a barrier for nine months and thus negotiation was not a priority.

Limitations

The results of this idiographic study are limited by several factors. First, the goal of qualitative research is not generalizability, but rather to obtain an in-depth examination of a phenomenon. Therefore, the scope of the study was delimited by the conscious decision to include only a small number of pregnant adolescents from one particular school for pregnant and parenting teens in the northwest of South Carolina.

Therefore, this small population of pregnant teens may not provide an accurate account of the leisure of all pregnant adolescents. In addition, to combat the difficulty of interviewing those whose lives and mindset are continuously evolving, photo elicitation allowed for a greater constant and in-depth picture into their lives. Unfortunately, a static photo can not reflect the entire experience of what was captured (Harper, 2000).

Although participants took more than one static photo, the number of photos the participants took may not have been an accurate depiction of their daily/weekly/monthly leisure. The participants chose the pictures they took, which may not have been an accurate description of their leisure. For example, the participants may have highlighted either highly positive and/or negative experiences (Stewart & Floyd, 2004). Finally, there was an unequal representation of photos among participants as some participants chose only to take five or six pictures compared to others who took close to 27. Also, some chose to participate in a follow up interview to discuss the pictures they took; however, others denied the opportunity.

Implications for Practice

The purpose of this study was to examine the leisure status of pregnant adolescents, in order to inform recreation professionals of the need for pregnant teen recreation programming. Three themes were identified from the data: *Reflecting on Being a Teen*, *Pregnancy Pause*, and *It's Only a Pause*.

The premise of a positive youth development framework is that it focuses on the positive dimensions of youth, such as the internal and external assets youth possess rather than focusing strictly on their deficits. Although pregnant teens have demonstrated they

are an “at risk” group, recreation professionals have the unique opportunity to focus on their internal (i.e. support, empowerment, boundaries and expectations, constructive use of time) and external (i.e. commitment to learning, positive values, social competencies, positive identity) assets (Search Institute, 2003) as a way of recognizing that pregnant adolescents have positive factors in their lives and are “not problems just to be fixed” (Witt & Caldwell, 2005b, p. 4). Rather than addressing pregnant adolescents’ problem behaviors, recreation professionals have the ability to develop programming that focuses on their assets rather than their deficits. Also, recreation professionals can “design youth development supports, opportunities, and programs deliberately” (Witt & Caldwell, p. 5) for pregnant adolescents. Providing programming that meets pregnant teens’ needs and takes a “problem free” and “fully prepared” (Pittman, Irby, & Ferber, 2000) approach may aid in the creation of healthier mothers and babies.

Participants in this study were able to make meaning of their leisure by describing their lives before pregnancy. They described a life of leisure similar to what has been documented for adolescents, such as “hanging out” with friends and participating in unstructured social activities. Although unstructured activities occupied a greater amount of their time and enjoyment before pregnancy, some reflected upon their experiences in structured activities such as ROTC and school chorus. Unfortunately, their pre-pregnancy leisure was nearly non-existent during pregnancy, due to a lack of social interaction with peers. This finding strongly related to that of Whitehead’s (2001); their pregnancy created what Whitehead termed a “social death” which led to a lack of leisure. Loss of friendships and having less in common with their peers who did not want to be

“friends with the pregnant girl” (Aubrey), led to diminished leisure opportunities. In addition, the school environment limited their ability to continue in structured activities. Although the school was able to meet their educational and parenting needs, it did not support their extracurricular and related developmental needs. Also, due to the transient nature of the school, building friendships with new classmates was difficult.

Not only did the girls experience a lack of social opportunities with peers, the physical activities they once enjoyed were absent from their lives. Their almost total lack of physical activity did not appear to meet the recommended guidelines set by the ACOG. Similar to the findings of Cramp and Bray (2009) and Keiffer et al. (2002), the girls’ lack of physical activity was often due to not having a clear understanding of what they were capable of participating in while pregnant, and concern for the safety of their unborn child. Also, as was the case in Keiffer et al.’s study, their social isolation created few opportunities for them to be physically active with their peers.

A surprising finding was the girls’ lack of motivation to negotiate the constraints they faced because of the temporary nature of pregnancy. Although constraint research suggests intrapersonal (loss of friendships) and structural constraints (bodily changes due to pregnancy) limit participation, later research has supported the notion that people try to negotiate the constraints they encounter in order to participate in their desired leisure. Surprisingly, this was not the case in this study. To date, little to no research has explored how a temporary constraint influences negotiation (Shrier, Charland, Mohtadi, Meeuwisse, & Matheson, 2010); the temporary nature of pregnancy creates a lack of motivation to negotiate due to the belief participation will be possible in the near future.

Unlike other instances in which a constraint may be perceived as temporary, yet in reality may become permanent, the state of pregnancy is in fact temporary. One knows that she will no longer be pregnant within a given time frame. The participants in this study accepted a pregnancy pause in their leisure because of the temporary state of pregnancy, and saw little need to negotiate the constraints they faced. Unfortunately, research on teen mothers suggests that their lives get harder with birth, not easier (Hanna, 2001; Herrman, 2006). The ability of the participants returning to the leisure they once had may be extremely difficult or impossible due to the demands of motherhood.

Recommendations for practitioners.

Leisure professionals and educators can use these findings to develop programs that help pregnant adolescents continue some form of their pre-pregnancy leisure during and post pregnancy. Programming for these individuals will help to combat the boredom they face during pregnancy and may also increase the chances of them returning to some form of adolescent leisure as mothers. Shaw et al. (1996) found that adolescents are bored because they do not have a place to be with friends outside of their homes; however, this was not the case for the girls in this study. The girls' inability to sustain friendships during pregnancy contributed to their boredom. Recreation professionals may provide programs specifically for pregnant teens so they are able to socialize and recreate with girls going through similar circumstances, creating an opportunity to forge new friendships.

Recreation professionals have the ability and skill to provide programs that will create opportunities for pregnant youth to socialize with friends and peers outside of

school and their home. The girls had great difficulty describing what an ideal recreation program would be for a pregnant teen. For example, when asked “what recreation programs do you wish were available for pregnant teens like yourself” a common answer was “I don’t know” or “huh?” However, they indicated that they enjoyed activities that were social, physically active, and made them feel like a teenager. Professionals can use this information to provide pregnant teens with opportunities to engage in social leisure with their peers that is safe for pregnant women and provides them an opportunity to feel like a teenager. Also, participants in the study disengaged and failed to negotiate constraints to the leisure they were involved in prior to their pregnancy. The girls fully intended on returning to their previous forms of leisure once no longer pregnant, creating a “leisure pregnancy pause.” A “leisure pregnancy pause” may have negative effects and it is unknown if it will in fact only be a “pause.” By incorporating the desires of pregnant adolescents into recreation programming such as leisure that is social, safe for their baby and that makes them feel like a teenager, not an adult, it may be more reasonable to expect them to return to some of their pre-pregnancy leisure and engage in healthy, fun leisure as a mother.

Recreation professionals may also offer after school programming at schools for pregnant and parenting teens. In this particular case, the school has the facility for an after school program; however, there were neither on-site programming options nor the option for the girls to return to their previous school to continue in extracurricular activities. If the option to return to their original school for afterschool extracurricular activities was available, this choice was not communicated to the participants in this

study. Educators and leisure professionals must realize that although pregnant and parenting schools may help their students educationally, they may be hindering their social and physical development and may be contributing to a lack of adolescent leisure.

Leisure professionals can also play a significant role in educating pregnant women on the importance of physical activity during pregnancy by providing opportunities to engage in physical activity that is appropriate. For example, offering leisure education or physically active after school programs at a school for pregnant and parenting teens or at a local community center would allow participants to engage in leisure with their peers. The girls had the desire to be physically active yet felt uncomfortable continuing in any form of physical activity beyond walking because they feared harming their baby. Creating opportunities for physical activity and engagement with peers could help eliminate the pregnancy pause these participants experienced. Leisure professionals' ability to help pregnant teens negotiate the constraints they face by providing opportunities for leisure can contribute to healthier moms and babies in the future. Additionally, providing programs that are social and offer healthy physical activity for pregnant teens will provide an opportunity to negotiate the constraints they face.

Future research.

Recommendations for future research include replicating this study with other populations of pregnant teens, such as those who do not attend a school for pregnant and parenting teens and who are from other races and socioeconomic classes. In addition, researchers should expand this topic using a larger sample to enhance the diversity and

depth of the issues explored in this study. Quantitative methods will be especially useful once more is known about the lives of pregnant adolescents and their leisure. Most importantly, this study as well as other studies examining the lives of pregnant adolescents should be longitudinal. Pregnancy is only one stage in the development of motherhood; determining what the leisure of teen mothers looks like and how teen mothers experience leisure will be imperative to the development of comprehensive and necessary recreation programming for this group.

Recreation programming for pregnant teens would also benefit from evaluating the perceptions adults in their lives such as teachers, administrators and parents have regarding the leisure needs of pregnant teens. The girls in this study were unable to communicate what an ideal recreation program would look like for pregnant teens; however, those who work closely with pregnant teens or live with a pregnant teen may be able to provide valuable insight regarding this matter.

Further research should also explore the concept of “temporary constraints.” Examining the role temporary constraints have on one’s leisure will greatly enhance our understanding of negotiation and participation in leisure. In addition, research should further explore the barriers pregnant adolescents face in their leisure and their expectations for leisure as a mother.

In conclusion, pregnant adolescents are an under researched population that requires more attention, particularly with regard to their leisure. This study found that pregnant teens’ lack of leisure during pregnancy creates a leisure pregnancy pause. Although they are able to reflect upon their leisure experiences before pregnancy, and

have a desire to engage in leisure during pregnancy, the temporary state of pregnancy created the belief that negotiation was unnecessary as their leisure would return after pregnancy. The lives of pregnant teens should be further explored to provide greater leisure opportunities for this population.

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CHAPTER THREE

NOT YET A WOMAN, NOT YET A MOM: THE LEISURE EXPERIENCES OF PREGNANT ADOLESCENTS

Introduction

“I don't want to be big. I want to be a cheerleader. I don't want to be pregnant.” These words reflect the challenges pregnancy presents and the impact pregnancy has on a developing adolescent's leisure. For most, adolescent pregnancy is not desirable and when it does occur it is often the female adolescent who assumes the greatest amount of responsibility. The teen years are a period in which adolescents are creating their own identity, building a moral compass, and exploring the world around them (Erikson, 1963; Kohlberg, 1976). For most, being a teenager does not include contemplation of becoming a mother.

As undesirable as teen pregnancy may be, it is a social problem that has yet to be understood. In 2006, after a decade of decline the adolescent pregnancy rate in the United States rose 3% (Kost, Henshaw, & Carlin, 2010). As expected, pregnancy rates vary from state to state. For instance, Kost et al. found that in 2005 South Carolina had one of the highest pregnancy rates in the nation, ranked 10th nationally for pregnancy rate, 9th for birth rate and 19th for abortion. Although more recent findings (2007-2008) have revealed a decline in the national teen pregnancy rate, the United States continues to have one of the highest adolescent pregnancy rates among industrialized nations (The National Campaign to Prevent Teen and Unplanned Pregnancy, n.d.).

The sudden increase in the pregnancy rate after such positive declines has created a great deal of attention at the national and state level, particularly in terms of prevention (Harris & Allgood, 2009; Kirby & Laris, 2009, Sullivan, 2009) However, little attention has been given to the lived experiences of pregnant teens, thus making a qualitative point of view an important perspective (Spear & Lock, 2003). Research has found the stigma teen pregnancy presents creates marginalization among pregnant adolescents (Wiemann, Rickert, Berenson, & Volk, 2005). Although marginalized, pregnant adolescents' lives, in particular their leisure, may be best understood by bringing them from margin to center via the use of qualitative methods (Harding, 1991).

Leisure plays a significant role in the lives of developing adolescents. Adolescents need leisure, as it is often an ideal context for adolescent development (Hansen, Larson & Dworkin, 2003; Larson, 2000; Witt & Caldwell, 2005). Leisure offers opportunities for youth to have choice and voice, to be challenged, to develop an identity, to develop meaningful relationships with adults and peers, and to build self-esteem (Caldwell & Darling, 1999; Caldwell, 2005; Witt & Caldwell). Although no research to date has examined the leisure of pregnant adolescents, there is a link between the negative consequences of adolescent pregnancy and the benefits of leisure. For example, the negative consequences of adolescent pregnancy such as diminished self-esteem (Blinn-Pike, Stenberg & Thompson, 1994; Hockaday, Jasper, Shelley & Stockdale, 2000), lack of social interaction with peers (Boyce, Schaefer, & Uitti, 1985; Whitehead, 2001) and a lack of involvement in extracurricular activities (Boyce et al.),

are characteristics leisure has proven to positively impact in adolescents (Caldwell, 2005).

Although a lack of research exists on the leisure of pregnant adolescents, the main type of leisure that has been widely examined with pregnant women is physical activity during leisure time (Cramp & Bray, 2009; Evenson, Savitz & Huston, 2004; Hegaard, Pendersen, Neilsen, & Damm, 2008). Studies on the physical activity of pregnant women have shown pregnant women face a multitude of constraints in their participation and their physical activity diminishes during pregnancy (Cramp & Bray; Evenson, Moos, Carrier, & Siega-Riz's, 2009). In addition, research has shown girls also face a multitude of constraints to their leisure including self-esteem, body image, and stereotypes (James, 2000; Shaw & Henderson, 2005). The consequences of adolescent pregnancy compounded by the constraints girls and pregnant women face regarding leisure is upsetting. However, a greater understanding of how pregnant adolescents experience leisure may illuminate the benefits of leisure for pregnant adolescents and the unique constraints pregnant adolescents face regarding their leisure. Therefore, the purpose of this study was to describe the leisure of pregnant adolescents from their own standpoints.

Literature Review

Adolescent Leisure

American adolescents have more free time during the school year when compared to adolescents living in other industrialized countries primarily because they have less school work. Most American teens spend their time socializing (Larson & Verma, 1999), with older adolescents specifically partying (Larson & Seepersad, 2003). de Bruyn and

Gillessen's (2008) examination of leisure activity preferences among adolescents found that the participants preferred activities that were social in nature and tended to dislike activities that were solitary. Similarly, McMeeking and Purkayastha's (1995) study of suburban and urban adolescents found that the majority of the adolescents identified their leisure as spending time socializing with friends.

Social activities are of great importance to female adolescents in particular. Hurtes' (2002) study of 15 year old girls in a voluntary leadership training program, found that friends were the most important domain in the girls' culture. The girls felt that relatedness, or social acceptance, was of utmost importance to a leisure experience. Research has also found that females participate in activities to please others such as friends and boyfriends rather than themselves (Shaw, Caldwell & Kleiber, 1996). However, for both males and females, the greatest amount of time spent participating in non-obligatory activities was spent in social activities with friends (Shaw, Klieber & Caldwell, 1995). Shaw et al.'s (1996) study of 10th graders found that the students were often bored because they lacked options and found themselves in adult-structured activities. Students who experienced less boredom accomplished this by spending time with others, outside of their homes. Although socializing outside of the house has been shown to help decrease boredom, this is not always an easy task for adolescents. McMeeking and Purkayastha (1995) found that although the adolescents in their study reported they had nowhere to go or nothing to do despite the availability of activities, what they truly wanted was a place to socialize with their peers. All of the participants

wanted to find a place to “hang out” with friends; however, this proved to be difficult due to barriers such as lack of transportation as public curfews.

Although female adolescents’ leisure is often defined by social activities, adolescents’ socialization with others suffers tremendously when they become pregnant, creating a “social death” (Whitehead, 2001). When pregnancy was ill received by others around them, Whitehead found the teens felt socially excluded from their peers. Similar results were found by Zeck, Bjelic-Radusic, Hass, Tech and Greimel (2007) who studied women who had given birth under the age of 17. They found those who were newer mothers reported their leisure and hobbies to be more important to them than those who had been mothers for at least two years. However, newer mothers were less satisfied with their leisure and hobbies and friendships than women who had given birth over 2.5 years prior. All of the women were less satisfied as a whole with their leisure and hobbies when compared to women their own age who were not mothers (Zeck et al.).

While research has found that adolescents enjoy social activities they also enjoy spending time alone. Larson’s (1997) study of 5th through 9th graders found that those in grades 7 through 9 reported that being alone/solitude had a positive effect on their emotional state. Also, those in this older group who spent an intermediate amount of time alone “were better adjusted than those who spent little or a great deal of time alone” (p. 80). In fact, spending time alone was often used constructively and complemented their social activities. Similarly, James (2001) explored the bedroom as a leisure site for adolescent girls. She found that the participants believed their bedrooms were a “special place” (p. 77) and provided a space in which they could spend time alone without worry

of what others thought of them. Some of the participants described participating in solitary recreation activities in their bedroom such as exercising; however, the majority of the participants used their bedroom for more relaxing activities such as writing, reading, and listening to music.

Although adolescents, particularly adolescent females, enjoy activities that are unstructured such as hanging out with friends and spending time alone, research has found that voluntary structured leisure activities often provide the greatest context for positive youth development. In fact, research has found that participation in unstructured activities relates to unfavorable developmental outcomes such as lack of initiative (Larson, 2001; Watts & Caldwell, 2008). Structured voluntary activities have been shown to cultivate intrinsic motivation and concentration and provide opportunities to develop positive qualities leading to less delinquent behavior, increased achievement, and greater self-control and self-efficacy (Larson, 2000).

Female adolescent leisure constraints.

Adolescent girls face a multitude of barriers to participation in leisure. While research has found that both male and female adolescents face barriers related to preferences for indoor activities, low energy levels, time constraints, social factors and lack of motivation when participating in physical activity (O’Dea, 2003), girls also face gender-related leisure constraints. Constraints girls face when participating in leisure are often due to negative body image and low self-esteem. Research has shown that girls report more negative body image compared to boys which likely impacts self-esteem (Davison & McCabe, 2006).

Raymore, Godbey, and Crawford's (1994) study of leisure constraints encountered by adolescents found that "female adolescents were more likely to have lower self-esteem than males... more likely to perceive intrapersonal constraints... and to perceive more total constraints" (p. 110). Females were significantly more constrained than males in terms of shyness, keeping with religious beliefs, self-consciousness, concern with skill, convenient facilities, knowing what is available, and keeping other commitments. Although research has shown girls to be self-conscious, experience teasing, and have feelings of embarrassment when participating in leisure (Raymore et al.; James, 2000; Slater & Tiggemann, in press) contributing to a lack of enjoyment, girls have been shown to develop strategies to negotiate the constraints they face. For example, James' examination of 15 and 16 year old girls swimming in public pools found that participants attempted to make themselves less visible by covering up their bodies, staying in groups, swimming at less crowded pools, and avoiding pools all together.

Leisure of marginalized adolescents.

Although there are many benefits of leisure, not all are able to experience them. Marginalized groups, those of "less power, less privilege, lower status, often stigmatized, and mostly excluded from dominant groups in society either socio-economically, culturally, and/or politically" (Iwasaki, Mackay, Mactavish, Ristock, & Bartlett, 2006, p. 164) often face greater challenges to their leisure participation compared to dominant groups. According to Wearing (1998), inequalities in leisure experiences and leisure access occur due to gender and class oppression thus leading to marginalization.

Although those who are marginalized face more constraints and differ in their leisure

experiences and preferences compared to non-marginalized individuals, Shaw (2001) noted that “leisure can be a context for resistance” (p. 190). Resistance refers to “acts that challenge the structured power relations of class, race, disability, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, or other forms of societal stratifications” (Shaw, p. 188). Individuals who use leisure as resistance are able to break through barriers to become participants (Shinew & Floyd, 2005) and overcome racism (Shaw). Resistance may come in many forms; marginalized people may choose to participate in leisure that is exclusively comprised of people like themselves or may choose to abstain from participating completely (Shinew & Floyd).

Research has shown that groups who have historically been marginalized (e.g., people of color and women) encounter more leisure constraints. For example, research has illustrated that concern for safety, finding time and space to be physically active, job demands, physical tiredness, physical illness and ailments, poor education, discrimination, low income, transportation problems, residential segregation, and family and community needs constrain leisure participation for people of color and ethnic minorities (Henderson & Ainsworth, 2001; Johnson, Bowker, & Cordell, 2001; Stodolska, 2005). Socioeconomic class may also contribute to marginalization. Low income people often do not have the power or resources to change their position in society. For instance, in an examination of the role of leisure in the lives of homeless women, Klitzing (2004) found that women living in a homeless shelter experienced constant stress, negative life events, and daily hassles, but used leisure activities as a coping strategy.

Adolescent girls who find themselves pregnant can also experience marginalization related to the stigma they may experience. Wiemann et al.'s (2005) study of pregnant adolescents found that a significant proportion of pregnant teens felt stigmatized. Those who had experienced social isolation reported feelings of stigma. Feelings of being stigmatized were attributed to being white and not being married or engaged to their baby's father. Interestingly, some girls found dropping out of school served as a protective factor against stigma; upon leaving school they were less visible and felt less stigmatized.

Although the leisure of marginalized groups has been explored, little research exists concerning the leisure of marginalized adolescents. Research on the leisure of marginalized adolescents has mainly focused on homosexual and bisexual adolescents and adolescents with disabilities. An examination of the leisure experiences of lesbian, gay male and bisexual adolescents found these youth experienced leisure negatively. Gay males reported their leisure to be more boring, and gay and bisexual males reported being lonelier compared to their non-gay peers. In addition, the participants in the study were more likely than their non-gay counterparts to participate in unhealthy leisure behaviors such as binge drinking (Caldwell, Kivel, Smith, & Hayes, 1998).

Leisure research with people with disabilities has found that a disability can also greatly affect a participant's leisure experiences (Bedini 2000). In terms of adolescents, Bedini and Anderson's (2005) study of girls with physical disabilities found they faced double stigma; as a female and as a person with a disability. However, participation in recreation provided them with a sense of empowerment. Participating in leisure allowed

them to feel less like an outsider and more like their peers because leisure provided them the freedom from the constraints of their disability.

Theoretical Framework

Standpoint theory.

Feminist theory allows for a greater understanding of women's everyday lives. A lack of scholarship on women and for women led to research focused solely on the lives of women (Campbell & Wasco, 2000; Harding, 1991). With a paucity of scholarly research on women's lives, researchers began to place women at the center of the research which "at an epistemological level...legitimizes women's lived experiences as sources of knowledge" (Campbell & Wasco, p. 775).

Standpoint theory, a feminist critical theory developed between the 1970's and 1980's, focuses on the "production of knowledge and practices of power" (Harding, 2004, p.1) and on how different people experience situations. Understanding the experiences and perceptions of those in positions of power and those who are oppressed requires examination from different standpoints (Harding, 1991; Harding, 2004).

Feminist standpoint theory "emphasizes that the everyday lives and experiences of women, especially women who have been oppressed or marginalized should be the starting place for research" (Klitzing, 2004, p. 490). Also, the theory acknowledges that individuals from marginalized groups experience the world differently than individuals from mainstream society. Giving marginalized groups a platform to be heard allows them to be important sources of expertise and thus decrease feelings of marginalization.

However, standpoint theory also acknowledges that members of marginalized groups are not homogeneous and can have an “outsider – within” status (Collins, 1986).

Standpoint theory emphasizes that those who are oppressed can turn their oppression into empowerment by disclosing their perceptions of how “the dominant society thinks and is structured” with regard to their standing (Harding, 2004, p. 7). Additionally, feminist standpoint theory questions the notion of objectivity; therefore, advocates for a multitude of perspectives to be heard. Most importantly, the theory acknowledges that by placing marginalized groups at the center of the research, what was previously invisible becomes visible. Providing a platform for pregnant teens, particularly those who are facing multiple levels of marginalization due to their age, low socioeconomic status, race, and being pregnant, allows for their voices to be heard and their unique experiences to be shared. A greater understanding of their leisure is possible when they are given an opportunity to personally share how they experience the world, in particular their leisure.

Leisure constraints.

The constraints framework also is an important way of understanding people’s leisure behavior. The purpose of constraints research is to understand why and how people make the leisure choices they do. It is important to not only research people’s motivations for and benefits gained by participating in leisure, it is also important to understand how leisure constraints influence their leisure choices.

Constraint research stemmed from the premise that barriers to leisure created nonparticipation and lack of constraints generated participation. Therefore, constraints to

leisure were viewed as insurmountable and the possibility of negotiating constraints to facilitate participation was not considered. Crawford and Godbey (1987) categorized leisure constraints into a classification schema of intrapersonal (psychological qualities of a person), interpersonal (social factors and interactions between people that influence participation), and structural constraints (the intervening factors between leisure preferences and participation).

These three types of constraints were later organized into a hierarchical model which suggested the negotiation of leisure constraints was possible (Crawford, Jackson & Godbey, 1991). The model was sequentially ordered by the type of constraints experienced. Although only one type of constraint may be present, a participant would have to successfully negotiate her way through the hierarchy of constraints with intrapersonal constraints identified as the most difficult to overcome; if a person could not negotiate first level constraints (intrapersonal), an attempt to negotiate the others (interpersonal and structural) was irrelevant.

An understanding of the role of intervening constraints contributed to the development of a revised model (Jackson, Crawford, & Godbey, 1993). The main purpose of the revised model was to demonstrate that although people experience constraints, people find ways to participate by negotiating the constraints with which they are confronted (Jackson et al.; Jackson, 2005). Research has illustrated that people make concerted efforts to maintain some form of participation in leisure and that constraints do not always prevent or even reduce participation (Scott, 1991; Shaw, Bonen, & McCabe, 1991). However, Shaw et al. found that while leisure constraints may not always result in

reduced participation they may lead to reduced enjoyment in particular activities. Based on these findings, the researchers argued for a better conceptualization of leisure constraints.

More recently, researchers have argued that leisure constraints research must also consider the social context in which people are developing (Samdahl, 2005; Shaw & Henderson, 2005). Shaw and Henderson as well as Samdahl argued that leisure constraints cannot be the only way for understanding leisure. They called for the constraints framework to further consider social structural factors as impacting leisure, rather than placing the ownership for negotiation solely on the nonparticipant. For example, Samdahl argued that research would become more applicable if it addressed how societal norms and institutions create constraints that encroach on people's lives. This is particularly relevant to women's leisure participation in light of societal pressures they face related to gender specific concerns such as body image and expectations associated with mothering.

Methods

The purpose of this study was to describe the leisure of pregnant adolescents from their own standpoints. The use of phenomenological methods and photo elicitation created an opportunity for the participants to share their experiences through their own words and visual representations.

Study Paradigm

The goal of phenomenological research is to gain an in-depth understanding of the lived experience of the phenomenon of interest (Creswell, 2007). The researcher

typically gains this understanding through in-depth interviews and interpretations of the meanings participants give to represent the commonalities of experiences among participants (Creswell; Moustakas, 1994). Phenomenology is particularly useful in understanding phenomena that have previously been ignored (Henderson, 2006). Phenomenology increases insight and awareness as it provides thick descriptions of lived experiences that were once overlooked, in this case the leisure of pregnant adolescents (Spear & Lock, 2003).

Methods for empowerment.

Pregnant adolescents are a marginalized group that is rarely given voice in research. Spear and Lock (2003) argued that “gaining insight and understanding about adolescent pregnancy, particularly from the perspectives of young pregnant women, can facilitate the development of knowledge that may be useful” (p. 397). Gaining insight from the perspectives of pregnant adolescents via a phenomenological approach not only captures their point(s) of view but also empowers them. For groups who have been rarely researched, or researched in ways in which they are not given voice, allowing them the opportunity to tell their story can be empowering. Creswell (2007) stated that “we conduct qualitative research when we want to empower individuals to share their stories, hear their voices, and minimize the power relationships that often exist between researcher and the participants in the study” (p. 40). Allowing participants’ voices to be heard forces the researcher to listen, which often creates less of a power dichotomy between researcher and participant. Giving participants an active role in the research

process allows them ownership of the research process; research is done *with* them rather than *to* them.

Photo elicitation is the use of a photo or multiple photos during a research interview that allows the participant's world to be symbolically represented in a manner other than simply words (Harper, 2002). Incorporating photo elicitation into a study may also lessen the power relationship between researcher and those being researched, providing a form of empowerment beyond just an interview (Robinson, 2002). A visual component in research can also lead to a greater understanding of the topic of interest, in this case, leisure. According to Stewart and Floyd (2004) "visual leisure is a distinct way of knowing. It is about the authority of researchers in relation to the people we study, and the conceptual process in which we come to understand leisure" (p. 449).

Participants are more empowered when allowed to create an image and decide the places, people and things they choose to photograph, rather than the researcher determining what is important to display and use as a communication piece (Stewart & Floyd). Allowing participants to be collaborators rather than objects to study creates a greater opportunity to represent their lived experiences (Stewart & Floyd).

Setting

The primary researcher recruited participants from a public school for pregnant and parenting teens in a small city in the northwest of South Carolina. The school serves pregnant and parenting youth in middle and high school and is a voluntary option for pregnant students within the county; those enrolled during the time of study were more often than not of color and of low socioeconomic status. Due to school policy and the

nature of pregnancy, there is a continual turnover of students. On average 10-15 students are enrolled at a time; however, due to a high absentee rate there were often only 5-8 students present at the school each day when the primary researcher visited.

The school offers an opportunity for pregnant and parenting teens to continue their education at an institution equipped to fit the educational needs of girls going through pregnancy and early motherhood. The school offers students unique opportunities explicitly for pregnant and parenting teens, such as parenting classes. However, the school does not provide traditional student enrichment opportunities for their students such as art and music classes, physical education, or any after school extracurricular activities such as sports or clubs.

Participants

Participants eligible for participation in the study were adolescents attending the school, experiencing their first pregnancy, and anticipating being a parent. These criteria were chosen because adolescent females who have experienced pregnancy and/or motherhood previously may not have similar leisure experiences as first time pregnant adolescents. Guided by the principles of phenomenology, the study recruited a convenience sample of participants from one particular school for pregnant and parenting adolescents. This method was chosen to ensure that it would be possible to uncover the universal essence of their experiences. The goal of the study was to recruit participants representing different races and socioeconomic statuses; however, those who were willing to participate were mostly of color and low socioeconomic status.

All of the students who were enrolled at the school between the months of November 2010 and March 2011 were invited to participate in the study. Of those approached to participate, nine agreed. Due to the individualistic nature of pregnancy, each participant was in a different stage of pregnancy while participating in the study (See Table 3.1 for descriptions of participants). Each pregnant adolescent granted her consent to participate in the study and each of the respondent's corresponding guardians voluntarily granted their consent to allow her to be part of the study. To protect confidentiality each participant chose her own pseudonym.

Table 3.1

Descriptions of Participants

Name	Age	Race/Ethnicity	Gestational Week at First Interview	Gestational Week at Second Interview
Ashley	15	African American	29 Weeks	No interview
Nayla	16	African American	26 Weeks	38 Weeks
Sannia	16	African American	17 Weeks	29 Weeks
Asia	13	African American	20 Weeks	32 Weeks
Aubrey	16	White	32 Weeks	No interview
Anahi	16	Hispanic	28 Weeks	34 Weeks
Dereona	15	African American	35 Weeks	37 Weeks
Cherish	16	African American	37 Weeks	Baby was born
Hailey	18	White	23 Weeks	No interview

Data Collection

Gaining rapport with participants is an important condition of qualitative research. The primary researcher attended lunch period at the school 2-3 times per week for four months. The lunch period was not a time for data collection, but rather was a period during which the students were able to become familiar with the researcher and her intentions. The primary researcher kept a detailed journal of the experience of visiting

the school as a way of negotiating her biases and researcher role. While at lunch each student was given a description of the study and asked if she would be interested in participating. If she indicated she was, she was provided with IRB consent forms for herself and her guardian to sign. Once signed consent forms were returned to the primary researcher, a semi-structured interview was scheduled. Participants had the choice of conducting the interview in a school classroom at the end of the school day or at their home. The study followed similar methods to those of Klitzing (2004) and Blinn and Harrist (1991). A semi-structured, digitally recorded interview which lasted between 30 and 60 minutes was the initial part of data collection (See Appendix A for the interview guide for the first interview).

Photo Elicitation.

Photo elicitation occurred after the initial semi-structured interview. Not only is allowing participants to have a voice in the research process important, but giving them the opportunity to document their lives and share this experience allows for a greater exploration of the phenomenon. Photo elicitation involves the use of a photo or multiple photos during a research interview, allowing the participant's world to be symbolically represented in a manner other than simply words (Harper, 2002). The participants in this study took their own photos which were then used as conversational pieces. The photos were used to elicit information concerning their leisure experiences by focusing on the meanings and experiences of the participants which were expressed by the photos they took.

At the end of the first interview participants were given a disposable camera with 27 exposures and guidance on what types of pictures to take (Klitzing, 2004; Rose, 2007). Some questions used to elicit possible picture opportunities were: (1) what do you do during your free time? (2) what do you do with your friends? (3) what types of leisure activities do you and your family participate in? and (4) where do you participate in leisure? Participants were also given a reflection sheet to fill out after they took each photo. They were asked to record the following information for each photo: (1) title of the photo (2) description of the photo and (3) describe your thoughts and feelings when taking the photo. Between interviews (this time frame varied between participants due to the nature of pregnancy) the primary researcher collected the cameras and had the pictures developed.

The second unstructured digitally recorded interview took place at the convenience of the participant and after the photos had been developed. The photos were central to the second interview and were used as conversational pieces to gain a greater understanding of what the participants alluded to in their first interviews. The purpose of the second interview was to give participants an opportunity to describe, clarify and explain what each of their photos meant to them (Rose, 2007). Each participant was asked to describe the pictures she took in terms of who was in the picture, what was being displayed in the picture and where the picture took place. Also, the participants were asked to describe experiences they were unable to take pictures of or pictures that were unsuccessfully developed to ensure that equal attention was given to experiences that

may not have been visually represented. Photos were returned to participants as a keepsake; however, the primary researcher kept their reflection sheets to be used as data.

Data Analysis

Each of the digital recordings of the in-depth interviews was transcribed verbatim. Then the transcripts and the data on the reflection sheets were loaded into NVIVO 8, qualitative data analysis software for coding. Coding of the data consisted of grouping significant statements together that were “necessary and sufficient” (Moustakas, 1994, p. 121) in understanding the experience and were able to be “abstract[ed] and label[ed]” (Moustakas, p. 121). Moustakas defines this process as horizontalization. The second step, creating meaning units, was used to develop “core themes of the experience” (Moustakas, p. 121). Next, the primary researcher used the significant themes she discovered to develop textural and structural descriptions. Textural descriptions are descriptions of “what the participants experienced” (Creswell, 2007, p. 60) and structural descriptions are descriptions of how the context or setting influenced the participants’ experiences of the phenomenon (Creswell; Moustakas). Moustakas’ method recommends that researchers then use their textural and structural descriptions to “develop a composite description of the meanings and essences of the experience, representing the group as a whole” (p. 121).

Trustworthiness

Two participant interviews, the research journal, the photos the participants took and the reflection sheets were used to triangulate the study’s data. Lastly, peer debriefing and member checks were used to establish the credibility of the research findings. A

researcher unrelated to this particular study who has conducted research with pregnant teens served as the peer debriefer for the study by conducting an external check of the research process.

Findings

The purpose of this study was to describe the leisure of pregnant adolescents from their own standpoints. An analysis of the data revealed three major themes, *Intentional Leisure Sacrifice for Child Well Being*, *Preparation for Baby as Leisure*, and *Leisure and the Role of Motherhood*. Two sub-themes of intentional leisure sacrifice for child well being, *Goodbye partying*, and *Hello responsibility*, demonstrate intentional actions related to their leisure behavior that participants took to ensure a healthy baby and be a responsible mother.

Intentional Leisure Sacrifice for Child Well Being

All nine of the respondents indicated in some way how their leisure behaviors had changed as a result of being pregnant. Analysis indicated that the participants acknowledged particular leisure sacrifices necessary to ensure a healthy baby and that the increased responsibility of pregnancy impacted their leisure. Overall, two sub-themes emerged during this analysis: *Goodbye partying*, and *Hello responsibility*.

Goodbye partying.

Caring for a child *in utero* requires great responsibility. The desire to give birth to a healthy child often forces a mother to make intentional changes to her leisure lifestyle for the well being of her child. These choices may infringe on her previous leisure choices as was certainly the case for the girls in this study. All of the girls were able to

describe in some way the conscious changes they made to their leisure as a way of properly caring for the child growing inside of them. Due to their developmental stage, partying, smoking and drinking played a significant role in their leisure. For example, Aubrey stated that before she was pregnant “I kinda partied a lot” and added that once she found out she was pregnant:

I stopped drinking immediately. Like I’d gotten drunk the night before. Which is bad. And um, but I smoked [marijuana] ‘til I was like 10 weeks pregnant. I only smoked twice in that. I found out when I was three weeks, or something. Four Weeks. I don’t know. And I smoked twice in a month. Then I quit.

When asked why she chose to quit her partying and substance use (drinking and marijuana) she stated “...I can’t do the stuff that I did now just because I’m pregnant, ‘cause it will hurt the baby.” Aubrey felt strongly that her previous leisure behavior had to change for the well being of her child. Similarly, Dereona stated she enjoyed partying which included drinking and smoking marijuana before she was pregnant. When asked why she quit partaking in these activities it spurred the following comment, “...I know what I gotta do to make my baby healthy. I know what’s right and what’s wrong, so that’s what I do to change my life and her’s, you know?” Dereona recognized what it meant to be a “good mother” and that her previous leisure activities were not compatible with a healthy pregnancy. Sannia also mentioned self constraint with regard to participating in activities she once enjoyed with her sister:

...I disclude myself from stuff. Like...my sister be like ‘oh, come do this and this and that with us’ and I be like... ‘no, you know, really don’t feel like doing

that.’...some of the stuff that I’m just like, I shouldn’t be doing ‘cause, um, I’m about to be a mom, and I just need to learn how to stay home sometimes, ya know?

Sannia felt learning how to stay home and saying no to the temptations of her previous leisure choices was in her and her child’s best interest. The girls felt their choice to stop participating in substance use and partying was an easy one, one that required little thought, which was evident in the interview with Hailey. Hailey expressed that she used to smoke cigarettes but stopped “When I found out I was pregnant.” When asked if it was hard for her to quit she replied, “No, not really...it wasn’t for me...[quitting was for] the baby.” Although the act of quitting smoking was easy for Hailey, the motivation to do so was her baby. Unlike the other girls, Asia (age 13), was not involved in partying that involved substance use; however, she did state that her partying at a local club for teens was no longer safe for her baby, “it [dancing] shakes the baby and I get nervous and I don't want to [hurt the baby] ...” Ensuring their baby was safe and healthy was a motivator for all the girls to change their leisure choices.

Hello responsibility.

It was evident the increased responsibility pregnancy and impending motherhood placed on the teens impacted their leisure. Hailey felt pregnancy overall was hard on the life of a teen because “Having to think more about a baby inside of you, that you haven’t really seen yet, except for an ultrasound, or except for when we feel him move. You have to think more of that, than you do yourself.” This new sense of responsibility was a constraint to their leisure as it forced them to grow up sooner than they were anticipating,

which was demonstrated by Anahi's comment, "I have more responsibility now than I did just being a regular teen." Anahi as well as others felt they could no longer act like regular teens because, "You can't be childish. You gotta be, think like an adult. Can't think like a teen no more." Anahi further noted that it was hard to act like an adult "because you're not ready to be an adult yet. Cuz, especially when you're young, and you're just not ready yet." Anahi and the others felt that the responsibility of pregnancy and impending motherhood did not allow them to act like normal teens and do the things teens do; rather, they were expected to act an age and to perform at a developmental stage they were not yet prepared for. Nayla echoed this sentiment by stating, "I'm no longer making decisions for one person, I'm making them for two and just responsibilities that I have to take care of for the baby." The responsibility of caring for their unborn child forced them to make decisions regarding their leisure not based on what they wanted to do but based on what was in the best interest of their child.

The girls felt their leisure was restricted because they had to be responsible for another life which was exemplified by Sannia, "They [non-pregnant teens] can go out, and they can do whatever they want while, you know, I have to take care of my baby." The responsibility of caring for their unborn child which limited their leisure compared to non-pregnant teens was also mentioned by Ashley, "They can go out and do what they want to do. I can too, but it's limited. They're not limited. And they can go out and buy things for themselves, and not be concerned about anyone else." The responsibility of caring for a child included financially being able to provide for the child. Cherish stated that having a baby "kind of stops me from being able to go shopping whenever I want."

Cherish also stated that due to the financial responsibilities of motherhood she was not able to spend money on herself as she had in the past. For example, she mentioned going to the movies, "...In the beginning of my pregnancy, we went to the movies a lot, but now I don't really go that much...it's because I'm trying to save our money...and I really feel like, we shouldn't be using it on the movies." Lack of money was not as constraining as the literature might lead us to believe; however, this was likely due to the fact that most teens do not have much money to begin with, and this was particularly the case with the participants in this study. Regardless, all of the participants realized that a responsibility of motherhood was financially being able to provide for their child. Their lack of financial resources and their desire to save money to spend on their unborn child at times constrained what they were able to do in terms of leisure.

Preparation for Baby as Leisure

Although the girls experienced a loss of the leisure they once had, the girls gained a new form of leisure, preparing for their baby. While preparing for the arrival of their baby may not be a primary form of leisure for all pregnant women, it may have been a more pronounced form of leisure for participants in this study due to their lack of other types of leisure. Preparing for their baby seemed to replace their previous leisure. The primary researcher for the study quickly noticed that the conversations during lunch most days revolved around how they were preparing for the arrival of their unborn child. Preparations included organizing their baby shower and shopping for their child. In their eyes providing material goods for their baby as well as love were what made a "good mother."

The baby shower was an event all of the girls, with the exception of Asia, looked forward to and shared their excitement about. In fact, Aubrey and Sannia invited the primary researcher to her shower during one of the lunch hours (the researcher declined the invitation). Although Aubrey did not mention preparations for her baby shower in the interview, her excitement was evident when she spoke of it during lunch. It was going to be held at her great grandmother's house, she had invited all her closest friends and family, and she had helped make the favors. The pictures the girls took led to a number of discussions about baby showers in the second interview. When Anahi was asked what she enjoyed doing while pregnant she stated, "Like now for the baby shower that's coming up we have to get everything situated and stuff. So that's what I mainly do right now." She further commented on the help she was receiving with the shower, "my mom, my boyfriend's mom, my boyfriend [are helping], well my boyfriend's kind of lost. He says 'I don't even know nothing, so don't even tell me nothing'." Anahi enjoyed having family involved in the planning of the shower. Preparing for the shower was also something she symbolized through her pictures of shower favors, plastic rattles and pacifiers, which she planned to use in a game at the shower:

...for my baby shower, it's like there's this game that they are going to do. And the rattles are going to be in it... only moms are going to do it...They get a rattle and supposedly they cross their legs or whatever, they take it off. You go and steal the rattle.

Anahi enjoyed being involved in all aspects of the shower which included not only the favors and games but also planning the menu and making the invitations.

In addition, Nayla took a photo of her baby shower cake and she wrote, “I thought it was so cute,” she further noted that her shower was something she considered leisure because she enjoyed taking part in the planning. Related to the anticipation for the shower was excitement over seeing friends. Sannia stated that she did not see her friends as much once becoming pregnant but, “they are coming to my baby shower.” The shower was something she really looked forward to because it would be an event that would bring together her closest friends. Unlike the other participants, Asia was not excited about being pregnant, nor did she enjoy the preparations of motherhood, including preparing for a baby shower:

Like we'll be at a store and Momma ask me, ‘Don't you think this is cute?’ Like yesterday we were at Party City and she ask me about, ‘Do you think this is cute for a baby shower?’ Sometimes I says ‘Yes, that's really pretty. I really like it.’ And sometimes I'd be like, ‘I don't really care. It's your baby. I don't care.’

The main difference between Asia and the others was that Asia was not convinced she even wanted to have her baby. Becoming a mother was not a choice she made, rather a choice that was made for her by her mother and grandmother. The differences between Asia and the others in terms of seeing preparations for motherhood as leisure is best demonstrated by Hailey’s comment:

Researcher: Would you say preparing for this baby has been leisure for you?

Hailey: Yes. It relaxes me, and makes me really happy.

Researcher: What else makes preparing for a baby leisure?

Hailey: Because I have the choice whether to keep him or not, and I chose to keep him. I might as well enjoy it.

Hailey and the others made the decision to be mothers and enjoyed the process of preparing for their baby to enter the world, Asia on the other hand felt pregnancy “kinda ruined” her life and there was little to enjoy about being pregnant and preparing for a baby.

Not only was the baby shower a form of leisure for the girls, shopping and preparing the room for their unborn child was as well, and often was documented in the pictures they took. Sannia took a picture and titled it “Baby Mania” and wrote “Wow, can’t wait til he gets here.” She was asked to describe the photo in more detail and she stated, “All his bottles and he has a box of clothes and everything like that. I just love seeing that. Especially my room. I go to my room and I’m like ‘ooooh.’ ‘Cause...we have his...pack and play set up.” When asked if a lot of her time is spent preparing for her baby she said “Yeah. I like going shopping and stuff like that.” Hailey revealed, “I have been getting hand me downs from my aunt who had a lot of boys, so that helps with the baby furniture and stuff like that.” Shopping and gathering together baby supplies were activities the girls enjoyed doing with family members. Anahi took a photo of her closet which had a shelf with all the clothes she had bought for her baby. When asked if shopping was something she liked to do for fun, she replied, “Sometimes, yes. Now that it’s for the baby, I love shopping for the baby.” When asked who she shopped with she mentioned her mother and boyfriend’s mom.

Dereona also documented her love for shopping in the photo she titled “Shopping Day” which was a picture of a mall. When asked who she shopped with she said with “my sister and sometimes me and my momma. We all go.” In another photo she titled “My Little Angel Clothes and Accessories” she wrote “I love shopping for my baby. The clothes we got were so cute.” When asked if preparing for her baby was leisure she replied “Yes” and further described why she enjoyed shopping for her baby with her siblings and mother, “Every time we’re like, ‘oh my God! We gotta get that, we gotta get this! We gotta, oh my God, look at it,’ you know? It’s so cute. And then we even let my little sister pick out an outfit.” Over half of the pictures Dereona took were those that showed the items that she and her family had bought the baby. It was a big deal for her and the other participants to show how much they enjoyed preparing their baby’s arrival. Nayla learned how to crochet from one of the teachers at the school and took a photo of the blanket she made her baby girl and titled it “Me Make Baby a Blanket.” She further wrote, “I felt good doing this because it’s something for my baby.” Nayla enjoyed having a new leisure activity that involved making things for her unborn child.

Leisure and the Role of Motherhood

The leisure of the participants seemed to revolve around the baby they were carrying; however, discussions with the girls led us to wonder if this trend would continue during motherhood. Therefore, the girls were asked to foreshadow what they believed their leisure would look like as a teen mother. Although all of the girls believed that they would continue some of their pre-pregnancy leisure (once they were no longer pregnant), they all expressed that their baby would be their main source of leisure after

the birth of their child. For example, Aubrey believed, “my free time’s probably gonna be spent with my daughter.” However, she further continued, “Except for Friday and Saturday night because I think that the weekend, you should have time...with your man.” Dereona also stated that she would get back to partying; however, she also said, “It won’t be all about me...I won’t take her to somewhere that’s dangerous. That I used to go. I won’t do that...Just somewhere clean, safe, something that’s not gonna hurt her, or affect her in any kind of way.” The belief that their leisure needs were no longer going to be important was also described by Cherish, “I know it’s gonna be way different. Like, it’s not gonna be about what I wanna do and where I wanna go. It’s gonna be about what he needs and where he needs to go...” Most of the girls were content knowing their leisure would no longer revolve around them. Sannia felt that although her freedom would be restricted as a teen mom, she would “rather be home with my baby than out doing something that I’m not supposed to be doing.” Cherish felt she would “just like being around him” and she would not “care about going out.”

Nayla also felt that although she would hopefully start to see her friends more often once she had her baby, she expected her leisure as a mom to be “stuff that babies can do I guess.” Sannia also believed her leisure would be “just playing together” once her baby was old enough. Hailey echoed Sannia’s statement by declaring “spending time with the baby, and playing with the baby” would be her main forms of leisure.

The idea of their baby becoming a main source of leisure was not entertained by Ashley or Asia. When Ashley was asked how she envisioned her leisure as a teen mom she responded, “Just play with him and hopefully he’ll be quiet.” Asia was more

expressive about her low expectations for leisure as a mom by stating, “Not fun. Like not all fun. Like pushin’ a stroller down to the park might be fun. But I don’t know. I don’t really have mother instincts right now so I don’t know.” Asia’s overall distaste for being pregnant and the idea of being a mother, limited her ability to see any leisure she may enjoy as a mom.

Discussion

The present study was guided and designed based on feminist standpoint theory which suggests that women, particularly those who are have marginalized such as pregnant adolescents, should be brought from the margins to the center. Placing the marginalized at the center allows for their voices to be heard (Harding, 1991; Creswell, 2007). Thus, the study sought to listen to the voices of pregnant adolescents attending a school for pregnant and parenting teens to gain an in-depth perspective of their leisure. In addition, photo elicitation created an opportunity for participants to be part of the research process. Their visual representations of leisure while experiencing pregnancy as a teenager not only created a more in-depth examination of their lives, it provided an insider’s perspective.

The examination of the findings indicated that participants’ concerns for their baby’s well being were a major constraint to their leisure. Concern for their unborn child’s health and the new sense of responsibility of caring for a new life were intrapersonal constraints that infringed on their leisure. Concern for a child’s well being has also been shown to be a constraint to physical activity during pregnancy (Evenson et al., 2009). As a way of caring for their unborn child and ensuring the birth of a healthy

baby, the girls' previous forms of leisure such as partying and the use of substances diminished from their lives. This finding was similar to others who have found that substance abuse significantly decreases during adolescent pregnancy (Cornelius, Geva, Day, Cornelius and Taylor, 1994; Spears, Stein, & Koniak-Griffin, 2010). In addition, Albrecht and Caruthers' (2002) study of pregnant adolescent substance users found that the desire and interest to stop smoking was not for their own health, rather for the health of their unborn child, which was supported by some of the findings presented here.

Interestingly, the girls did not continue to party while pregnant yet abstain from using substances, they simply avoided both, as partying did not exist without substance use. This finding suggests that the constraints these participants faced were barriers to their leisure as the negotiation was too difficult due to the limitations pregnancy presented. Negotiation was not an option for them because participation in partying in any form was viewed as inappropriate and unsafe for their child. Interestingly, this made the researcher question if the barriers they faced were perhaps positive. More recent examinations of the constraints framework have argued that constraints should start to be viewed as positive in the lives of participants rather than negatives (Kleiber, McGuire, Aybar-Damali, & Norman, 2008). The girls abstained from participating in leisure activities that had adverse health and developmental effects for not only themselves but for their baby as well, for which they should be commended. Although it is unclear who instilled in them the belief that partying and substance use were not appropriate while pregnant, their enrollment at a school that teaches parenting classes including maternal

and child health may have linked their desire to give birth to a healthy child which in turn created a barrier to their leisure.

Participants also expressed a lack of leisure due to the responsibility of impending motherhood. All of the participants felt they were no longer able to act like a normal teen because of the responsibilities pregnancy created. For example, Anahi commented that she no longer could think and act like a teen; rather, she had to be an adult even though she was not ready. All of the participants were able to distinguish how their pregnancy impacted their leisure by describing how they were different from non-pregnant teens. They were very aware that their leisure was “limited” (Ashley) compared to non-pregnant teens because they were no longer able to do the things they wanted and buy things for themselves. Rather, they had to constantly be thinking and making decisions based on their unborn child’s needs.

Although the girls were unable to negotiate the constraints their pregnancy presented regarding the leisure they once had, they were able to find new forms of leisure to fill the void. One may argue that they became experts at the leisure of preparing for their baby’s arrival. Preparing for their baby shower and shopping for their baby were activities they greatly enjoyed and considered leisure. Often, the pictures they took reflected their baby shower in some way or the objects they had bought for their baby. This finding suggests that they were not constrained into preparing for their baby as leisure; rather, they created a new form of leisure into which they focused their efforts. Rather than trying to negotiate constraints tied to a large number of activities, a task that might seem overwhelming to the girls, they chose to make preparing for the baby their

main form of leisure, suggesting application of the theory of selective optimization with compensation (Baltes & Carstensen, 1996; Freund & Baltes, 1998, 2002). McGuire and Norman (2005) suggested that fewer activities may help in skill development as participants devote more time to one activity; therefore, by limiting their leisure by focusing on preparing for their baby it was a way of reaching the goals of being a “good mother” (McGuire & Norman)

When asked why they considered preparing for the baby as leisure, the participants said that it “makes me really happy” and that they had the choice to be a mother and “I might as well enjoy it” (Hailey). Choice and positive affect are two key processes related to leisure and how people define leisure (Edginton, DeGraaf, Dieser, & Edginton, 2006); therefore, it is not surprising that preparing for their baby was a type of leisure in their lives. Interestingly, Asia (age 13), did not define her leisure as preparing for her baby’s arrival. Unlike the other participants, Asia was unsure of her desire to be a parent; however, her mother and grandmother made the choice for her, resulting in her keeping her baby. Research has indicated dissatisfaction with the pregnancy outcome choice among pregnant adolescents is due to having a pregnancy outcome choice different from their parents (Zabin, Hirsch & Raymond, 1992). Asia and her mother differed significantly on the pregnancy outcome choice which contributed to Asia’s distaste with becoming a mother. Her lack of excitement about being pregnant and the arrival of their child was a psychological barrier for her her to enjoy the process of preparing for her baby’s arrival.

Attitudes toward pregnancy and becoming a mother tended to be positive among most of the participants, similar to the findings of Spear and Lock's (2003) review of qualitative studies on adolescent pregnancy. The authors found that "most adolescent females perceive pregnancy as a right of passing and a challenging yet positive life event" (p. 397). Almost all of the participants believed their leisure as a mother would revolve around their child and were excited to make their baby their leisure. Spear's (2001) study of pregnant adolescents found the teens were optimistic about their pregnancy and plans for the future and expressed a desire to nurture their child by meeting their physical and emotional needs. Similar to those in Spear's study, the participants in this study believed their leisure would revolve around meeting the needs of their child. Unfortunately, Asia and Ashley had low expectations for their leisure as mothers which were well demonstrated by Asia's comment that her leisure as a mother would be "not fun." Asia's and Ashley's feelings are not uncommon among pregnant adolescents. Lesser, Adnerson, and Koniak-Griffin (1998) found that some pregnant teens are simply overwhelmed by the idea of becoming a mother.

Limitations

As with all research, there were limitations to this study. The scope of the study was delimited by the small number of participants who attended one particular school for pregnant and parenting teens in the northwest of South Carolina. To combat the difficulty of interviewing those whose lives and mindset are continuously evolving, photo elicitation allowed for a greater constant and in-depth look into their lives.

Unfortunately, a static photo can not reflect the entire experience of what was captured

(Harper, 2000). Although participants took more than one static photo, the number of photos the participants took may not been an accurate depiction of their daily/weekly/monthly leisure. The participants chose the pictures they took, which may not have been an accurate description of their leisure. The participants may have highlighted either highly positive and/or negative experiences (Stewart & Floyd, 2004). Finally, there was an unequal representation of photos among participants as some participants chose only to take five or six pictures compared to others who took close to 27. Also, some chose to participate in a follow up interview to discuss the pictures they took; however, others denied the opportunity.

Future Research

Recommendations for research include replicating this study with different populations of pregnant adolescents such as those from different areas of the United States, races and socioeconomic classes and those who do not attend a school for pregnant and parenting teens. Studies on pregnant adolescents should also be longitudinal as the lives of pregnant teens are constantly evolving and an understanding of their leisure as they transition into motherhood is needed. Researchers should also expand this topic using a larger sample to enhance the diversity and depth of the issues explored in this study. In addition, continuing qualitative empowerment methodologies such as the use of photo elicitation will greatly enhance our understanding of the lives of pregnant adolescents as it encourages them to be part of the process of understanding such a complex social issue. Lastly, once more is understood concerning the leisure of

pregnant and parenting teens, quantitative methodologies would aid in providing generalizable findings regarding pregnant teen leisure.

Implications/Recommendations

Although the participants were able to find new forms of leisure during pregnancy that expressed their excitement concerning the arrival of their baby, it is concerning that they did not feel comfortable nor felt it was appropriate to negotiate the constraints they faced in order to maintain some form of their previous leisure. Leisure service professionals could play a key role in helping pregnant adolescents to negotiate the constraints they face by offering opportunities for them to be social with their peers and able to feel like a teen and not an adult. However, leisure professionals and those in the health fields should recognize the strides pregnant adolescents make to ensure the health of their child. Leisure service professionals may also be able to provide pregnant adolescents with valuable information regarding healthy leisure activities for pregnant women and teens so negotiation is possible. It is the responsibility of leisure service professionals to encourage pregnant adolescents to participate in leisure; however, if programs that meet their needs are not developed or available, their options for leisure during pregnancy may be limited to those that revolve around preparing for their baby's arrival. In addition, leisure service professionals should design programs that would enhance teen mothers' likelihood of experiencing success with parenting. Although it is important and encouraging to see the participants in this study strive to meet the expectations and responsibility of motherhood, we must remember they are still

adolescents who have the same developmental needs as non-pregnant teens and the potential impact of leisure in influencing those needs.

In conclusion, it appears that providing pregnant adolescents with an opportunity to discuss and document their lives broadens perceptions of their leisure and the constraints they face. Unfortunately, the constraints they are faced with during pregnancy inhibit them from participating in the leisure they once enjoyed as non-pregnant teens. Their unwillingness and inability to negotiate the leisure they had prior to becoming pregnant created opportunities for them to gain new forms of leisure revolving around preparing for their baby's arrival. In terms of their expectations for leisure as mothers, almost all of them believed their leisure would revolve around their child's wants and needs.

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CHAPTER FOUR

“HE CAN DO WHATEVER HE WANTS”: THE LEISURE INEQUALITY OF PREGNANT ADOLESCENT COUPLES

Introduction

“First comes love, then comes marriage, then comes baby in the baby carriage.”

This age-old rhyme represents the traditional order of life events for many couples; however, it is not an accurate representation of most pregnant adolescents. Pregnancy is a life altering event that most adolescents are ill-equipped to deal with. Unfortunately, the nature of pregnancy creates a dichotomy in how it is experienced; as females are “gifted” the burden of the pregnancy itself and males are biologically forced to experience pregnancy from afar. This dichotomy creates differences between how adolescent males and females live their lives and experience leisure during pregnancy.

Romantic relationships play a significant role in the lives of adolescents (Furman, 2002; Sorensen, 2007) and healthy romantic relationships provide emotional support and help teens create a sense of identity and develop interpersonal skills (Barber & Eccles, 2003; Sorensen). In addition, romantic relationships are often central to a teen’s social life (Teenage Research Unlimited, 2006). In fact, many youth, particularly those in mid to late adolescence, have reported spending more time with their boyfriend or girlfriend than with their friends and family (Furman & Schaffer, 2003). These romantic relationships likely contribute a great deal to defining adolescent leisure, as research has shown adolescents describe their leisure as unstructured and highly social (Larson &

Verma, 1999; de Bruyn and Gillessen, 2008). Unfortunately, the event of pregnancy has shown to create a “social death” for pregnant teens (Whitehead, 2001)

Although very little is known about how pregnancy affects the leisure of couples who are expecting, Herridge, Shaw and Mannell (2003) found that heterosexual romantic relationships can constrain women’s leisure. Women in their study felt that although participating in leisure with their partner contributed to satisfying leisure experiences, they also enjoyed leisure alone and with family and friends. Unfortunately, the participants’ desire for personal leisure created tension between couple and non-couple leisure. The study found that women often accommodated the needs and wishes of their partner thus limiting their personal leisure. Gilligan (1982) coined the term “ethic of care” to describe women and girls’ desire to place the needs of others in front of their own. An ethic of care and a lack of sense of entitlement to leisure have shown to contribute to increased leisure constraints for women (Harrington, Dawson, & Bolla, 1992; Henderson & Allen, 1991; Henderson & Bialeschki, 1991; Shaw, 1994).

Certainly girls face a multitude of constraints to their leisure (Davison & McCabe, 2006; James, 2000; Raymore, Godbey, & Crawford, 1994), and pregnancy specifically has been shown to constrain physical activity (Cramp & Bray, 2009; Evenson, Moos, Carrier, & Siega-Riz’s, 2009). Regardless, girls need leisure, as leisure is a major part of their lives and is an ideal context for adolescent development (Hansen, Larson & Dworkin, 2003; Larson, 2000; Witt & Caldwell, 2005). Research has found that leisure offers opportunities for youth to have choice and voice, to be challenged, to develop an identity, to develop meaningful relationships with adults and peers, and to build self-

esteem (Caldwell & Darling, 1999; Caldwell, 2005; Witt & Caldwell). Yet, despite myriad benefits of leisure and the importance of leisure to adolescent development, no research to date has explored the lived leisure experience of pregnant adolescents.

This note is a subsection of a larger study that sought to describe the leisure experiences of pregnant adolescents. This paper focuses on emergent themes that are insufficient to stand on their own, but deserve individual attention. Loosely guided by Bronfenbrenner's (1979; 1989) ecological systems theory, this note aims to describe pregnant adolescents' perceptions about their own leisure and their romantic partner's leisure during pregnancy. We argue a closer examination of the differences of men and women's leisure during pregnancy is needed as no research to date explores this topic at the adult or adolescent level.

Methods

Spear and Lock (2003) argued that qualitative examinations of adolescent pregnancy from the perspectives of pregnant teens are necessary to generate useful knowledge concerning adolescent pregnancy. Therefore, a phenomenological methodology was utilized in order to gain a better understanding of the participants' "shared experiences" (Creswell, 2007). In addition, photo elicitation added to the in-depth examination of pregnant adolescents' leisure experiences by allowing participants to symbolically represent their leisure (Harper, 2002).

Nine pregnant adolescents enrolled in a school for pregnant and parenting teens in northwest South Carolina agreed to be a part of the study. The goal of the study was to recruit participants representing different races and socioeconomic statuses; however,

those who were willing to participate were mostly of color and low socioeconomic status (See Table 4.1 for descriptions of participants).

Table 4.1

Descriptions of Participants

Name	Age	Race/Ethnicity	Gestational Week at First Interview	Gestational Week at Second Interview
Ashley	15	African American	29 Weeks	No interview
Nayla	16	African American	26 Weeks	38 Weeks
Sannia	16	African American	17 Weeks	29 Weeks
Asia	13	African American	20 Weeks	32 Weeks
Aubrey	16	White	32 Weeks	No interview
Anahi	16	Hispanic	28 Weeks	34 Weeks
Dereona	15	African American	35 Weeks	37 Weeks
Cherish	16	African American	37 Weeks	Baby was born
Hailey	18	White	23 Weeks	No interview

After the girls and their guardians gave consent to be part of the study, the girls participated in a 30-60 minute semi-structured interview and at the completion of the first interview the participants were given reflection sheets and a disposable 27 exposure camera. They were asked to document their leisure by taking pictures and recording the following on the reflection sheets: (1) title of the photo (2) description of the photo and (3) describe your thoughts and feelings when taking the photo. Approximately 2-4 weeks after the initial interview, six of the nine participants completed a second unstructured interview that focused on the pictures they took. The pictures were not used as data, rather conversational pieces that were returned to the participants; however, the reflection sheets were used as data.

Two interviews with each participant, the research journal, the photos the participants took and the reflection sheets were used to triangulate the study's data.

Lastly, peer debriefing and member checks were used to establish the credibility of the research findings. A researcher unrelated to this particular study who had research experience with pregnant teens served as the peer debriefer for the study by conducting an external check of the research process.

Findings

With respect to describing the leisure of pregnant adolescents, two contradictory themes emerged concerning the leisure of pregnant adolescents and their romantic partners: *Boyfriends Supporting Pregnancy* and *Lack of Support for Leisure*.

Boyfriends Supporting Pregnancy

For some of the participants their boyfriends were a form of support. The level of support the boyfriend provided was greatly dependent upon the strength of the relationship. Three participants (Anahi, Cherish, and Hailey) seemed to be in committed, long term relationships. Four girls, (Ashley, Sannia, Asia and Aubrey) had less stable relationships with their partners; two respondents (Nayla and Dereona) had no relationship with their baby's father. Those in committed relationships believed the pregnancy had brought them closer together and forced them to support one another. For example, when Hailey was asked how her relationship had changed since becoming pregnant she stated, "We've gotten closer. We still fight sometimes, but I think, overall, we've gotten closer. He's happy about the baby." Similarly, Cherish's response to the same question was, "probably a little stronger because we know we have to pull ourselves together for the baby." Anahi noted that her relationship also had changed due to the increased responsibility of becoming parents by stating, "It's like we trust in each

other and we have responsibilities...we respect each other.” However, Anahi was the only one to document her boyfriend as supportive in the photos, “He’s like there when I need him...Sometimes I get frustrated and stressed out and he just helps me to relieve that pain...He tells me if anything is wrong, just come talk to me...I can just tell him anything.”

Although the more committed the relationship, the more support they received from their boyfriend, *all* of the participants in relationships felt their boyfriend would be there for both them and their baby (after the birth of their baby). For example, Ashley described her boyfriend’s reaction to when she was contemplating adoption, “He’s just like give it to him if I’m going to give it away. Just give it to him.” Similarly, Asia stated that her boyfriend “supports every choice I make... but he said if the baby doesn't get adopted, if it went to orphanage then he wouldn't let it go into an orphanage.” She later added he would be a “great dad” because “He knows how it feels like to have no father.” Sannia also felt her boyfriend would be a great father, “He’s everything I could ask for. He’s on top of it...and sometimes he can make me really mad...but I think he really will be an awesome father.”

Lack of Support for Leisure

Although the girls saw their boyfriends as a main source of support, they also recognized that they were the ones making the greatest sacrifice, which ultimately affected their leisure. They acknowledged that their pregnancy created unequal leisure opportunities. Aubrey believed her relationship suffered because she and her boyfriend were no longer able to participate in activities together:

He just got his motorcycle, like a month ago, and ever since then, our relationship has been going downhill. It's like, I can't do stuff with him because I can't ride on the back of it all the time. And when he, like, goes off and does stuff, it's bad stuff, like he smokes weed and drinks, then he comes home and doesn't understand why I'm mad at him.

All of the participants with boyfriends believed their boyfriends had more freedom to participate in leisure, which was best demonstrated by Ashley's statement, "I think he has a lot more freedom than I do. 'Cause he just be out with his friends all day long and I'll be in the house all day waiting for him to come into the house, so I just go to sleep." Similarly, Sannia expressed that her boyfriend's leisure had not changed in comparison to hers. When asked how his life had changed in comparison to hers she stated, "Not at all, it hasn't" and added that her life had changed more because "just like a lot of stuff I can't do anymore... it's just like okay I used to smoke cigarettes... I used to play basketball... Him it's like he can do that... just physical stuff he can do that I can't." In the second interview, Sannia noted that she felt the unequal distribution in leisure "might change when he [the baby] get here, 'cause you know, it's that fatherly role." Sannia strongly believed that once the baby was born, her boyfriend would assume more of a parenting role, which would even the leisure playing field. Hailey also believed that although her boyfriend, "Can do whatever he wants" during her pregnancy, his leisure would "end up having to" change once he became a father.

Although all of the girls in relationships demonstrated they were less free to participate in leisure, some felt their boyfriends made some type of effort to change their

leisure behavior due to becoming a father. Hailey, who felt that she was in a more committed relationship in the first place, felt that her boyfriend “stays inside with me more now” since she had become pregnant. In addition, Anahi believed her boyfriend had made the necessary changes in his leisure in preparation for becoming a better father, “...he used to always go out with his friends...cuz he likes to party and stuff, but he kinda bowed down...I guess he's more responsible now than he used to be.”

Some of the girls believed the leisure of their boyfriends had tamed, as illustrated by the boyfriends asking the girls' permission to participate in leisure or making a pact to participate in equal amounts of leisure. For example, Anahi stated that earlier on in her pregnancy he “didn't ask me permission, and now he does. He's like ‘can I go out with my friends for just for a while?’ And I was like ‘yep, yeah you can go.’” In addition, Asia felt her boyfriend's leisure had to change once she was pregnant due to a pact they made with one another, “If I can't go, he can't go. If he can't go, I can't go...We both made it up.” Asia felt strongly that her boyfriend should not be able to participate in activities she was not able to participate in, such as going to her favorite dance club.

Unfortunately, not all of the boyfriends limited their leisure, and at times contributed to the girls' lack of leisure. During Asia's second interview it was apparent that her relationship was about to end after finding out her boyfriend was cheating. She felt betrayed that he was out with other girls doing things she was unable to participate in which led her to “just don't do nothing.” She further added that if her relationship was stable her leisure would not be affected and she would be doing things she enjoyed such as “walking my dog.” Other boyfriends were more deliberate in limiting the participants'

leisure. For example, Aubrey expressed she had lost a lot of friendships because of her pregnancy but she lost the friendship of her best friend because of her relationship with her boyfriend, “I’m not allowed to talk to her because of Kyle. It’s stupid. She’s my best friend...they dated a long time ago and...he calls her a bitch and says that she’s stuck up...he’s made me choose between them.” Afraid of losing her relationship, Aubrey chose him over her best friend creating a total loss of that friendship. In addition, Ashley stated that her boyfriend did not allow her to have any guy friends “‘cause my baby daddy don’t play like that.” In addition, Ashley’s boyfriend contributed to her lack of leisure by telling her what she was allowed to do, “...he went to the club the other day. Two times in a row, two days in a row. And I was kind of upset about it. I was like ‘I want to go’, and he was like ‘no, you can’t go.’ I said ‘aww man.’” Ashley accepted that there was unequal distribution of leisure between the two of them and that her boyfriend had the ability to limit what she was able to do.

Discussion

The themes presented regarding the dichotomy between the participants’ and their boyfriend’s leisure only scratches the surface of understanding the differences between men’s and women’s leisure during the event of pregnancy. Ecological systems theory is an appropriate theory for understanding adolescent romantic relationships (Collins, Welsh, & Furman, 2009) and adolescent leisure (Caldwell & Baldwin, 2005). The findings of this note suggest that the interpersonal interactions pregnant adolescents have with their boyfriends influence their leisure during pregnancy. The quotes selected for

this note demonstrated that while the boyfriends were viewed as supportive of their pregnancy, they were not supportive of the girls' leisure.

All of the participants in romantic relationships clearly described how their leisure not only changed but diminished as a result of pregnancy, yet their boyfriend's leisure remained nearly unchanged. The nature of pregnancy forced the girls to carry the burden of caring for their unborn child. Not only did the physical changes of pregnancy limit their leisure, their ethic of care (i.e. placing the unborn child's needs before their own) limited their leisure as well. Unlike Herridge et al.'s (2003) findings, their pregnancy did not allow them the opportunity to accommodate the leisure needs and wants of their partners; rather, they were simply left out of the leisure they once enjoyed as a couple. A lack of couple leisure while pregnant was sometimes a positive and a negative in the girls' lives. For example, it was a negative that Aubrey was unable to ride motorcycles with her boyfriend while pregnant; however, it was a positive that Aubrey no longer participated in substance use with her boyfriend during pregnancy.

Although the girls believed they were making the greatest sacrifice in terms of their leisure, they felt once their baby arrived the leisure disparity between them and the fathers would lessen. Although they were responsible for carrying the pregnancy, once the baby was born it was expected that the responsibility of parenting would lie on both of their shoulders; therefore, the leisure inequality that existed during pregnancy would lessen once they were co-parenting. Unfortunately, research has shown that mothers are often less satisfied with their leisure compared to fathers (Larson, Gillman, & Richards, 1997; Shaw, 1992). Some of the girls were able to give examples of their boyfriends

showing support and being a team by limiting their leisure; however, few boyfriends were able to stick to this agreement, only reinforcing the leisure inequality pregnancy affected.

Interestingly, the boyfriends not only had more freedom to participate in leisure, they also contributed to the girls' lack of leisure. The girls gave examples of their boyfriends prohibiting them from going places, such as to a dance club. Unfortunately, the girls were unable to describe instances in which they went against their boyfriend's demands; rather, they felt their boyfriends had the right to control their leisure. Although romantic relationships have been shown to have a positive effect on the development of an adolescent (Collins, 2003), research has found a high instance of abuse among pregnant adolescents (Montgomery, 2003). Interestingly, the girls seemed to accept the control their boyfriends placed on them, which questions the health of their relationships.

Future research.

Although this note addresses the differences in leisure experiences for adolescent males and females during the event of pregnancy, the findings are not sufficient to gain a clear perspective of this issue. Future research should directly investigate how this topic influences both adolescents and adults. In addition, research should not only focus on the perspectives of pregnant adolescents but also their romantic partners. This study only told one side of the leisure story; future research should examine if adolescent soon-to-be fathers describe similar instances to those of their pregnant partners. It would be interesting to determine if there is a difference in the leisure experiences of pregnant adolescent couples and those who are older and more prepared for bringing a child into

the world. It would also be beneficial for future research to examine the leisure experiences of couples experiencing pregnancy who are married or single as well as same-sex couples. Lastly, once more is known regarding this topic, quantitative examinations (e.g. large scale surveys) would aid in gaining a more generalized understanding of the leisure of couples experiencing pregnancy.

Implications

This note exemplifies the necessity to examine the differences in leisure of pregnant women and adolescents and their romantic partners. A greater understanding of this topic would provide leisure professionals with the information necessary to provide leisure programming that meets both mother's and father's needs. In addition, leisure professionals who aid in providing opportunities for couple leisure during pregnancy may be providing opportunities for fathers to be more engaged with their partner's pregnancy. Lastly, providing greater opportunities for soon-to-be parents to engage in equal and fulfilling amounts of leisure may help couples and women in particular transition into more satisfying leisure during parenthood.

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CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

Chapter Overview

The purpose of this study was to examine how pregnant adolescents experience leisure. This chapter will connect the purpose statements from each of the manuscripts (Chapters two, three, and four) with regard to the overall research question of this dissertation. A summary of implications for professionals and researchers as well as directions for future research in terms of pregnancy and leisure are also discussed within this chapter.

Implications for Professionals

Some may argue that offering support for pregnant adolescents either in the form of providing a school meeting their needs or creating leisure and recreation programming for them are ways of condoning their “immoral” actions and supporting teen pregnancy. It is an easy argument to make, as teen pregnancy is not a desired societal outcome; however, not providing support for pregnant teens can contribute to the dire consequences of teen pregnancy and exacerbate the economic and social hardships they face (Hoffmire & Maynard, 2008).

The premise of a positive youth development framework is that it focuses on the positive dimensions of youth, such as the internal and external assets youth possess rather than focusing strictly on their deficits. Although pregnant teens have demonstrated they are an “at risk” group, recreation professionals have the unique opportunity to focus on their internal (i.e. support, empowerment, boundaries and expectations, constructive use

of time) and external (i.e. commitment to learning, positive values, social competencies, positive identity) assets (Search Institute, 2003) as a way of recognizing that pregnant adolescents have positive factors in their lives and are “not problems just to be fixed” (Witt & Caldwell, 2004, p. 4). Rather than addressing pregnant adolescents’ problem behaviors, recreation professionals have the ability to develop programming that focuses on their assets rather than their deficits. Also, recreation professionals can “design youth development supports, opportunities, and programs deliberately” (Caldwell & Witt, p. 5) for pregnant adolescents. Providing programming that meets pregnant teens’ needs and takes a “problem free” and “fully prepared” (Pittman, Irby, & Ferber, 2000) approach may aid in the creation of healthier mothers and babies.

Findings from this dissertation suggest there are many avenues for recreation professionals to take in terms of programming for pregnant adolescents. This dissertation illuminated the struggles pregnant adolescents face in regards to their leisure; their lack of social interaction with peers greatly infringed on their leisure. The girls described their pre-pregnancy leisure as “hanging out with friends;” however, once pregnant they described few instances of leisure involving friends. This lack of socialization with peers, compounded with feeling the pressures and responsibilities pregnancy brings, the belief that they were no longer able to act like “normal” teens, and concern for their baby’s safety crippled their ability to engage in or negotiate the leisure they engaged in prior to becoming pregnant, forcing them to redefine their leisure. Once the girls became pregnant, their leisure centered on preparing for their baby’s arrival.

Professionals can use this information to provide pregnant teens with opportunities to engage in social leisure with their peers that is safe for pregnant women and provides them an opportunity to feel like a “normal” teen. Professionals and researchers must recognize that although pregnant adolescents are experiencing a life event typically reserved for adulthood, they are not adults and need many of the same developmental leisure opportunities as non-pregnant teens, providing they are safe for the unborn child. Additionally, recreation professionals have the unique opportunity to not only offer recreation programming but also educate pregnant teens on ways to participate in leisure that will not be harmful to them or their baby.

During pregnancy the girls expressed a heightened sense of responsibility that was a constraint to their leisure and goes against the negative stigma pregnant teens face. Therefore, recreation professionals should capitalize on their desire to be more responsible by creating different forms of leisure that are more nurturing and reflect this heightened sense of responsibility. For example, recreation programs should include positive parenting information. In addition, once the baby is born recreation professionals should introduce teen mothers to family leisure, as this study demonstrated that the girls enjoyed couple leisure and looked forward to making their baby their leisure as mothers.

It is also important to note that the participants in the study disengaged and failed to negotiate the leisure they engaged in prior to pregnancy because they fully intended on returning to their previous forms of leisure once they were no longer pregnant, creating a “leisure pregnancy pause.” The consequences of pregnant adolescents experiencing a

“leisure pregnancy pause” may have negative effects and it is unknown if it will in fact only be a “pause.” The lives of pregnant adolescents get harder once they become mothers and their leisure may not be able to return to a state they expect. By incorporating the desires of pregnant adolescents into recreation programming such as leisure that is social, safe for their baby and that provides elements of preparing for their baby’s arrival, it may be more reasonable to expect them to return to some of their pre-pregnancy leisure and engage in healthy, fun leisure as a mother.

Although it is important to meet the traditional needs of teenagers when working with pregnant teens, practitioners also must realize that pregnant adolescents define preparing for their baby’s arrival as a form of leisure. Recreation professionals should incorporate preparation for a baby’s arrival into their programming when working with pregnant teens, as it is their main form of leisure during pregnancy. Programs that ignore this important and enjoyable activity in pregnant adolescent’s lives may not attract their interest.

In addition, recreation professionals should try to restore some of the physically active leisure pregnant adolescents participated in pre-pregnancy during pregnancy, because of the health benefits it can provide for mother and baby. It is deeply concerning that most adult women do not experience enough physical activity during pregnancy (Cramp & Bray, 2009; Evenson, Savitz, & Huston, 2004) and those in this study were no different. Recreation professionals have the ability and the education to provide proper recreation opportunities for all pregnant women, including pregnant teens. For example, research has found that the most popular forms of leisure for pregnant women are

walking, swimming aerobics, weight lifting, home exercises, gardening, and jogging (Evenson et al., 2004; Ning et al., 2003; Zhang & Savitz, 1996). Recreation professionals should try to incorporate these types of activities into leisure programming for pregnant teens. In addition, recreation professionals should make a concerted effort to engage their pregnant participants in at least 30 minutes of physical activity, as recommended by the American Congress of Obstetricians and Gynecologists (ACOG) (2002).

Lastly, although the responsibility of pregnancy lands on the shoulders of women, both men and women preparing for parenthood have responsibilities to their unborn child. Unfortunately, because the physical burden of pregnancy is placed on a woman, it is her life that must be altered the most. Findings from this dissertation suggest that adolescent girls perceive their leisure to be much more constrained than their boyfriends'; however, they desire to engage in leisure with their boyfriends. If at all possible, recreation professionals should seek to provide opportunities for adolescent parents to engage in leisure programming together which may lead to greater family cohesion and leisure satisfaction among pregnant teens.

Programming for pregnant teens may take on many forms. For example, professionals may offer after-school programming, recreation programs at a community center that focus on preparation for their baby's arrival or pre-natal physical activity classes. In this particular instance, participants in this study were enrolled in a school for pregnant and parenting teens. Recreation professionals should take advantage of having pregnant teens congregated in one place with the facilities available to offer after-school programming. Participants expressed boredom in their lives caused by their pregnancy

and having plenty of time but nothing to do. Recreation professionals may be able to reduce the boredom pregnant adolescents face by offering them opportunities to engage in recreation after school; or at the very least, those in education should find ways of incorporating pregnant adolescents into the activities they enjoyed at their previous school such as chorus and ROTC. Research has found that pregnant adolescents experience a lack of involvement in extracurricular activities (Boyce, Schaefer, & Uitti, 1985), and recreation professionals should try to combat this issue.

Implications for Research

Although this idiographic study was exploratory, and there were no a priori themes, the emergent findings of this study have implications for research. The findings of studies reported here reinforce previous research on adolescent pregnancy. For example, Whitehead (2001) found pregnant adolescents suffer a “social death” while pregnant. Participants in this study described a lack of social interaction with peers which ultimately lead to a lack of leisure. Additionally, research on physical activity during pregnancy has found pregnant women face a multitude of constraints which lead to a void in regards to physical activity during pregnancy (Cramp & Bray, 2009; Keiffer et al., 2002). Similarly, this study found the girls’ lack of physical activity was often due to not having a clear understanding of what they were capable of participating in while pregnant and concern for the safety of their unborn child. In addition, their social isolation created few opportunities for them to be physically active with their peers.

Although adolescent pregnancy presents many challenges, research has found that adolescents tend to view pregnancy and becoming a mother in a positive light. Spear and

Lock's (2003) review of qualitative studies on adolescent pregnancy found that "most adolescent females perceive pregnancy as a right of passing and a challenging yet positive life event" (p. 397). Almost all of the participants in this study believed their leisure as a mother would revolve around their child and were excited to make their baby the center of their leisure as mothers. Spear's (2001) study of pregnant adolescents found the teens were optimistic about their pregnancy and plans for the future and expressed a desire to nurture their child by meeting their physical and emotional needs. Similar to that of Spear's (2001) study participants, the participants in this study believed their leisure would revolve around meeting the needs of their child. However, similar to the findings of Lesser et al. (1998), two of the participations (Asia and Ashley) were not optimistic about their leisure because they were overwhelmed with the idea of becoming a mother.

The girls' belief that their leisure would soon revolve around the needs of their baby (the theme *Leisure and the Role of Motherhood* represented in Chapter 3) in some ways contradicts their belief that their leisure was only paused (represented in the theme *It's Only a Pause* in Chapter 2). Although the girls felt their baby would become their leisure they also believed that at least some of their pre-pregnancy leisure would return. It appears they struggled with mourning their old life while looking forward to their new life as a mother. It is not surprising that they had contradictory beliefs, as they are experiencing an event typically reserved for adulthood while processing life with an adolescent brain. Only longitudinal research with these participants would be able to examine which belief was more prominent during motherhood.

This dissertation also provides important insight in regards to the leisure constraints framework. The participants viewed the lack of their pre-pregnancy leisure as temporary, creating a leisure pregnancy pause. Each of the participants believed their pre-pregnancy leisure would return once they were mothers; therefore, they did not see a need to negotiate the constraints they faced during pregnancy. The nature of pregnancy was temporary, and the participants had a date to look forward to when they would no longer be pregnant. This calls into question the concept of temporary constraints in regards to the leisure constraints framework. Research regarding constraint negotiation has found that people try to negotiate the constraints they encounter in order to participate in their desired leisure. Although the girls in this study desired their pre-pregnancy leisure, the temporary nature of pregnancy stymied any motivation to negotiate the constraints they faced. This finding suggests the constraints the girls faced regarding their pre-pregnancy leisure were in fact barriers to their leisure as negotiation was not an outcome.

This study also confirmed what others have argued in terms of constraints being a positive in one's life. The girls in this study should be applauded for making the healthy decisions to abstain from substance use and partying. The pregnancy forced them to take responsibility for another life, which in turn led to healthier leisure behaviors. Additionally, their lack of negotiation of leisure constraints led to the creation of new activities as leisure. The girls in this study felt preparing for their unborn child's arrival such as going shopping and organizing their baby shower were enjoyable leisure experiences. The girls were not constrained into preparing for their baby as leisure, yet

selectively chose to make preparing for their baby their main type of leisure. This finding suggests the application of the theory of selective optimization with compensation developed by Baltes (Baltes & Carstensen, 1996; Freund & Baltes, 1998, 2002) to the constraints framework. The premise of this theory is that people strive to maximize gains and minimize losses; therefore, individuals selectively engage in fewer activities as a way of becoming better at one activity rather than mediocre at many. McGuire and Norman (2005) suggested that participating in fewer leisure activities may help in skill development as participants devote more time to one activity; therefore, by limiting their leisure by focusing on preparing for their baby it was a way of reaching the goals of being a “good mother.”

Interestingly, the girls believed their leisure had changed the most in comparison to their boyfriends’. They accepted the burden of the pregnancy and believed that once their pregnancy was over the leisure inequality between them would diminish. Although ecological systems theory, developed by Bronfenbrenner (1979; 1989), has been applied to research on adolescent leisure, it is also an appropriate theory for understanding adolescent romantic relationships (Collins, Welsh, & Furman, 2009). Loosely guided by ecological system theory, the study explored only one aspect of the girls’ ecology, their boyfriends. The preliminary themes of this study suggest that the environment in which the girls were surrounded, such as the people they interacted with (i.e., their boyfriends), greatly influenced their leisure. Although the boyfriends appeared supportive of the pregnancy, they were not as supportive of the girls’ leisure. Although further research on this topic is needed, it appeared the leisure inequality between the girls and their

boyfriend was due to their boyfriends enacting control over what they were “allowed” to participate in.

Limitations

There were a number of limitations that should be mentioned that may affect the applicability of the study’s findings to other populations and settings. The study was limited by the number of participants in the study. The goal of qualitative research is not generalizability, rather an in-depth examination of a phenomenon; therefore, the scope of the proposed study was delimited by the conscious decision to include only a small number of pregnant adolescents from one particular school for pregnant and parenting teens in the northwest of South Carolina. Also, although the participants represented multiple races, most were from low income homes. Regardless, due to the paucity of research on pregnant adolescents’ leisure the findings from this study were valuable to understanding the leisure of pregnant adolescents.

In terms of using photo elicitation, a static photo can not reflect the entire experience of what was captured (Harper, 2000). Although participants took more than one static photo, the number of photos the participants took may not have been an accurate depiction of their daily/weekly/monthly leisure. It was important to recognize that one photo cannot represent an entire experience and multiple photos cannot give a holistic “picture” of leisure. Additionally, the camera itself can also be an objectifying tool (Stewart & Floyd, 2004). The participants chose the pictures they took, which may not have been an accurate description of their leisure. The participants may have highlighted either highly positive and/or negative experiences (Stewart & Floyd).

The study was also limited by an unequal representation of photos among participants as some participants chose only to take five or six pictures compared to others who took close to 27. Also, some chose to participate in a follow up interview to discuss the pictures they took; however, others denied the opportunity.

Future Research

Recommendations for research include consideration of replicating this study with other populations of pregnant teens, such as those who do not attend a school for pregnant and parenting teens and who are from other races and socioeconomic classes. Studies on pregnant adolescents should also be longitudinal as the lives of pregnant teens are constantly evolving and an understanding of their leisure as they transition into motherhood is needed. Pregnancy is only one stage in the development of motherhood; determining what teen mothers' leisure looks like and how they experience leisure will be imperative to the development of comprehensive and necessary recreation programming for this group. Also, little is known about pregnancy and leisure for all populations of women, examining the leisure of older women who are pregnant may help in determining if adolescents face similar triumphs and tribulations in their leisure as women who are presumably more prepared for becoming a mother. In addition, research should investigate if adults in the pregnant teens' lives (i.e., adults, teachers, and administrators) treat pregnant teens differently than older, married pregnant women. Their stigmas may play a large role in the leisure experiences and choices of pregnant adolescents. It may also be of interest to examine the stigmas pregnant teens have regarding themselves to determine if their own stigmas influence the leisure they participate in.

Continuing qualitative methodologies that promote empowerment such as the use of photo elicitation, will greatly enhance our understanding of the lives of pregnant adolescents as it encourages them to be part of the process of understanding such a complex social issue. The participants in this study enjoyed talking and being part of the research process. They also enjoyed having the opportunity to share their lives with the primary researcher. Researchers should also expand this topic using a larger sample to enhance the diversity and depth of the issues explored in this study. Quantitative methods will be especially useful once more is known about the lives of pregnant adolescents and their leisure and may aid in providing generalizable findings.

In terms of content, further research should also explore the concept of “temporary constraints.” To date, little to no research has explored how temporary constraints such as pregnancy and minor injuries influence negotiation (Shrier, Charland, Mohtadi, Meeuwisse & Matheson, 2010). Examining the role temporary constraints have on one’s leisure could greatly enhance our understanding of negotiation and participation in leisure. In addition, research should further explore the barriers pregnant adolescents face in their leisure and their expectations for leisure as a mother.

Lastly, this study told only one side of the pregnancy story. Although females carry the physical burden of pregnancy, in many cases their romantic partners are involved in their lives and the pregnancy. It is important for researchers to examine the differences in perceptions of leisure from both the male and female perspectives during pregnancy at the adult and adolescent levels. Future research should also examine the leisure differences between couples who are married or single as well as same-sex

couples. In addition, the girls were able to describe how the people within their environment (i.e., their boyfriends) influenced their leisure. Future studies should research the impact other people in their lives have on pregnant adolescents' leisure.

Methodological Reflections

Future research on pregnant women and teens should consider the methodological lessons learned from this study. Taking into account the methodological reflections offered in this dissertation will hopefully contribute to better research and a more in-depth understanding of the leisure of pregnant women and teens.

Participants.

It is important to recognize that the participants in this study faced multiple forms of marginalization beyond being pregnant. For example, some were of color and most were of low socioeconomic status as well as all of the participants were minors when they became pregnant. Although they faced similar constraints to their leisure as other marginalized groups (e.g., lesbian and gay youth), being pregnant while being a teen presented different needs for recreation programming. For example, recreation practitioners must provide opportunities that are safe for mother and baby. However, they were unable to describe what their recreation needs were. Their marginalization may have contributed to their inability to state what their recreation programming needs were. Being asked, "What recreation programming do you wish was offered for pregnant teens?" was a question they were not equipped to answer, as few ever had the opportunity to participate in organized recreation programming as a child. The world had never programmed for them before; therefore, being asked what they wanted as an older youth

while pregnant was an odd question to be asked. Their lack of understanding of recreation programming contributed to nonresponse or an irrelevant answer when asked what they desired in terms of recreation programming. To determine what pregnant teens need in terms of recreation programming will take not just asking them for their opinions but also providing the opportunity for them to participate in organized recreation programming so they are able to experience what it is they are being asked to critique.

Setting.

Their marginalization may have also contributed to their lack of knowledge regarding their rights as a student at a school for pregnant and parenting teens. Because the initial intention of this study was to examine pregnant teens from different areas of the northwest of South Carolina, enrolled in traditional high schools and a high school for pregnant and parenting teens, data was not collected from sources other than the pregnant teens themselves. Due to not interviewing the administrators and teachers at the school for pregnant and parenting teens it is unclear what the girls were “allowed” to participate in regarding leisure and recreation. If the girls were able to participate in after school programs at their original high school it was unbeknownst to them, as after school leisure and recreation opportunities were not communicated to them if they were in fact offered. It is important to recognize that the school these girls were enrolled in may have significantly contributed to their leisure and recreation experiences as a pregnant teen.

Data collection.

The data collection process for this dissertation provided the data necessary for an in-depth examination of pregnant adolescents’ leisure. However, relying on pregnant

teens to provide useful data created challenges. First, the girls attended a school for pregnant and parenting teens that had policies in place regarding when a pregnant teen would be allowed to enter the school and when they were expected to transition back to their original high school. These policies compounded by the high incidence of school dropout among pregnant teens created a constant changing of enrollment at the school, making a participation rate nearly impossible to calculate. For example, some days the researcher noticed twelve or more girls present at school, while on other days there would be only three students.

This constant “coming and going” from school as well as the girls unexpectedly giving birth made it increasingly difficult for all the participants to participate in follow up interviews. Interestingly, the two White participants in the study did not complete a second interview to discuss the pictures they took. This was opposite of what was expected, as there was concern that the black participants would be less willing to conduct an interview with a white woman. Although speculative, this may be due to the white participants feeling more stigmatized by the white researcher than the black participants.

Methods.

It is also important to reflect on the methods used and their effectiveness. The methods employed were chosen because of their ability to give voice to the voiceless and to provide an in-depth understanding of pregnant adolescents’ leisure; however, an in-depth examination may not have been possible without having the opportunity to build rapport with the participants during their lunch hour at school. Although not a time for

data collection, the lunch hour provided the girls with an opportunity to question my intentions and willingness to listen and proved to enhance the methods employed. The girls were much more willing to talk in the interviews because of their previous encounters with me at lunch time. However, the girls were not as insightful as I expected, rather they were factual in their responses and often did not elaborate on their first response.

Photo elicitation helped probe the girls for more information which was particularly helpful when they did not offer much information in the first interview. Unfortunately, few were as expressive and creative with taking pictures as I would have hoped. They expressed they enjoyed the process of taking pictures and reflecting on the photos, but a few of the photos did not represent their leisure. For example, some took pictures of the food they enjoyed eating but they were unable to describe how their nutritional intake was leisure for them. Although the reflection sheets helped to determine how the objects they depicted in the photos represented their leisure, they too may not have been as informative as possible. The girls were instructed to fill out their reflection for each photo after each individual picture was taken; however, some may have filled out their reflections all at once and a few days after taking the photo. There is no way of telling how dedicated they were to this process.

Overall, the interviews combined with the photo elicitation enhanced the quality of data collected, but as to be expected when working with adolescents, they did not think or speak like an adult so the data they produced was at times underwhelming. As a researcher I had to continually remind myself that they are adolescents with adolescent

brains and it was unfair to expect more from them. However, future research with adolescents using these methodologies may consider conducting more than two interviews and one round of photo elicitation. Repeating these methods with the same participants may help in familiarizing participants with what is being asked of them, thus leading to a greater amount of usable data.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this groundbreaking study demonstrates that adolescent pregnancy is not an easy adjustment for adolescents and greatly affects their leisure. The participants in this study described a lack of leisure during pregnancy and an unwillingness and inability to negotiate constraints to their leisure. The study also showed how their interactions with their boyfriends influenced their leisure and described the differences in leisure during pregnancy for the participants and their boyfriends. Although the girls failed to negotiate the constraints to their leisure, they were able to gain new types of leisure which came in the form of preparing for their unborn child's arrival. Most of the participants portrayed an optimistic outlook towards leisure once they became mothers and felt some of their pre-pregnancy leisure would return during motherhood. Although exploratory, this study has laid the groundwork for understanding and describing pregnant adolescents' leisure. A continued understanding of pregnant adolescents' leisure is necessary to ensure their developmental needs are met and healthier mothers and babies are possible.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Interview Guide

- Tell me about yourself...
- How does pregnancy make you feel?
- What do you like to do for fun?
- What activities do you enjoy?
- Where do you do these activities? And who do you do these activities with?
- How do you feel when you participate in these activities?
- What do you like to do with friends?
- What do you like to do with family?
- Are there any activities you used to enjoy before becoming pregnant that you no longer participate in?
- How do you define leisure?
- How has your leisure changed since becoming pregnant?
- How do you think others think of you?
 - Are you concerned about the ways other people think of you? Why?
- How does being a pregnant teen make you different from non-pregnant teens?
- How have your relationships with family and friends changed since becoming pregnant?
- Do you have any barriers to your leisure? If so, are you able to overcome these barriers? If so, how? If no, why not?
- What do you expect your leisure to look like once you become a mother?
 - How do you think your leisure will change once you are a mother?

Appendix B

Photo Elicitation Reflection Sheet

Photo #1

Title of photo: _____

Description of photo: _____

Describe your thoughts and feelings when taking the photo: _____

Photo #2

Title of photo: _____

Description of photo: _____

Describe your thoughts and feelings when taking the photo: _____

Photo #3

Title of photo: _____

Description of photo: _____

Describe your thoughts and feelings when taking the photo: _____

Appendix C

IRB Consent Forms

Child/Minor Assent to Participate in a Research Study
Clemson University

Leisure Experiences and Constraints of Pregnant Adolescents

You are being invited to participate in a research study. Below you will find answers to some of the questions that you may have.

Who Are We?

- Dr. Denise Anderson is an associate professor in Parks, Recreation and Tourism Management (PRTM) at Clemson University. Brianna S. Clark is a PhD student in Parks, Recreation and Tourism Management (PRTM) at Clemson University. We are both interested in better understanding the lives and leisure of pregnant adolescents.

What Is It For?

- This study is being conducted to determine how you experience leisure (i.e. what you do for fun, what activities you do with friends and family, how your activities have changed since becoming pregnant) as a pregnant adolescent. We hope that you have fun participating in this study, but we also hope that the study is beneficial to you in other ways as well. The study will specifically focus on questions about your life as a pregnant adolescent and the leisure you participate in as a pregnant adolescent.

Why You?

- We are asking you to participate in this research because we want to know more about what the leisure of pregnant adolescents looks like. We also want to know how pregnancy has affected your leisure.
- Participation will not have a negative impact on you.

What Will You Have To Do?

- You will participate in two individual face-to-face digitally recorded interviews. At the end of the first interview, you will be given a camera as well as reflection sheets. You will be asked to take photos documenting your leisure during the time in-between interviews (about 2-4 weeks). You will also be asked to record your thoughts and feelings about each of the photos you take on the reflection sheets provided to you. You will then be asked to return the camera (the photos will be developed at no cost to you), and the

reflection sheets. A second interview will then be scheduled to discuss the photos you took as well as give you the photos to keep.

- Each interview should take about 60 minutes and the amount of time taking pictures (and writing about the pictures) is completely up to you!
- In return for your participation in the study, you will receive a blank photo album (for the photos you take) and a choice of either a \$25 gift card to Walmart or a \$25 gift card to Target.

What Are The Good Things And Bad Things That May Happen To You If You Are In The Study?

- We anticipate no bad things will happen to you if you participate in this research. Also, we will do everything we can to protect your privacy. The school's and your identity will remain strictly anonymous and confidential. All digital recordings and transcriptions will be stored on the personal password protected computers of the researchers. When the study is complete and finalized results are written, your digital interview will be destroyed (i.e. deleted permanently from the computer). You will also be assigned a fake name; therefore, your identity will not be revealed in any publication that might result from this study.
- By participating you may experience some benefits, such as the opportunity to be part of the research process. Also, we will learn about your leisure as a pregnant adolescent which will hopefully help to inform others on ways to better the lives of pregnant adolescents.

What If You Want To Stop? Will You Get In Trouble?

- Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. You may choose to stop participating in the study at any point without getting in trouble.
- This research will not be used in any way to positively or negatively impact your grades at school or any other programs you may be associated with.

Are There Any Other Choices?

- Although we hope you choose to participate in the whole research process, you may choose to participate in all or just one of the interviews. Also, you may choose to take or not take photos.

Do You Have Any Questions?

You can ask questions at any time. You can ask them now. You can ask later. You can talk to me or you can talk to someone else at any time during the study. Here are the telephone numbers to reach us: 781-264-7804 (cell) for Brianna Clark in the Park, Recreation, Tourism Department at Clemson University or 864-656-5679 (office) for Dr. Denise Anderson in the Park, Recreation Tourism Department at Clemson University.

By signing below, I am saying that I have read this form and have asked any questions that I may have. All of my questions have been answered so that I understand what I am being asked to do. I am willing and would like to participate in this study.

Please Check One:

I wish to participate

I do not wish to participate

Please Check One:

I allow my voice to be digitally recorded

I do not wish my voice to be digitally recorded

Signature of Child/Minor

Date

A copy of this form will be given to you.

Parental Permission Form for Participation of a Daughter in a Research Study
Clemson University

Leisure Experiences and Constraints of Pregnant Adolescents

Description of the Research and Your Daughter's Participation

Your daughter has been invited to participate in a research study conducted by Dr. Denise Anderson and Brianna S. Clark. The purpose of this research is to gain a greater understanding of pregnant adolescents' leisure and access to leisure opportunities.

Your daughter will participate in two individual face-to-face digitally recorded interviews. At the end of the first interview, your daughter will be given a camera and reflection sheets. She will be asked to take photos documenting her leisure during the time in-between interviews (about 2-4 weeks). She will also be asked to write down her thoughts and feelings about each of the photos she takes on the reflection sheets provided to her. She will then be asked to return the camera (the photos will be developed at no cost to you) and the reflection sheets. A second interview will then be scheduled to discuss the photos she took as well as give the photos to your daughter to keep.

Each interview will take approximately 60 minutes. The amount of time and the amount of photos taken by your daughter are completely up to her. The second interview will occur 2-4 weeks after the first interview.

In return for her participation in the study, she will receive a blank photo album (for the photos she takes) and a choice of either a \$25 gift card to Walmart or a \$25 gift card to Target.

Risks and Discomforts

There are no known risks associated with this research beyond the ordinary stressors associated with adolescent pregnancy.

Potential Benefits

Your daughter may benefit from participating in this study by being given the opportunity to be part of a research project. Her involvement in the research as a participant may empower her as she is an active participant in the research process.

Protection of Confidentiality

We will do everything we can to protect your daughter's privacy. The school's and individual's identities will remain strictly anonymous and confidential. All digital

recordings and transcriptions will be stored on the personal password protected computers of the researchers. When the study is complete and finalized results are written, your daughter's digital interview will be destroyed (i.e. deleted permanently from the computer). Your daughter will be assigned a pseudonym; therefore, your daughter's identity will not be revealed in any publication that might result from this study.

In rare cases, a research study will be evaluated by an oversight agency, such as the Clemson University Institutional Review Board or the federal Office for Human Research Protections, that would require that we share the information we collect from your daughter. If this happens, the information would only be used to determine if we conducted this study properly and adequately protected your daughter's rights as a participant.

Voluntary Participation

Participation in this research study is voluntary. You may refuse to allow your daughter to participate or withdraw your daughter from the study at any time. There is no penalty for not participating and your daughter will not be penalized in any way should you decide to withdraw your daughter from this study or not to allow your daughter to participate.

Please Check One:

- I allow my child to participate
- I do not wish my child to participate

Please Check One:

- I allow my daughter's voice to be digitally recorded
- I do not wish my daughter's voice to be digitally recorded

Contact Information

If you have any questions or concerns about this study or if any problems arise, please contact Dr. Denise Anderson at Clemson University at 864-656-5679 or Brianna S. Clark at 781-264-7804 (cell). If you have any questions or concerns about your daughter's rights as a research participant, please contact the Clemson University Office of Research Compliance (ORC) at 864-656-6460 or irb@clemson.edu. If you are outside of the Upstate South Carolina area, please use the ORC's toll-free number, 866-297-3071.

Consent

I have read this parental permission form and have been given the opportunity to ask questions. I give my permission for my daughter to participate in this study.

Parent's signature: _____ Date: _____

Daughter's Name: _____

A copy of this parental permission form will be given to you.