

the career development of adolescent mothers: a review of 25 years of professional literature

Heather H. Barto, Simone F. Lambert, and Pamela E. Brott

Twenty-one articles from peer-reviewed journals published over 25 years (1983–2008) were selected for inclusion in a review of the professional literature on adolescent mothers' career development. Findings identified that the selected literature included a variety of research methods and theoretical approaches, identified areas of need for this population, and discussed impediments to the career development of adolescent mothers. The most frequent recommendations, aside from the need for further research, were to develop and implement comprehensive programs for adolescent mothers that are strength based and responsive to their needs, and to foster career development skills/knowledge and resiliency.

Keywords: adolescent mothers, career development



Numerous concerns associated with adolescent pregnancy and parenthood are well documented in the professional literature. Such issues are related to diversity and multiculturalism (Martyn, Darling-Fisher, Smrtka, Fernandez, & Martyn, 2006); infants' high risk for child abuse/neglect (Hunt, Joe-Laidler, & MacKenzie, 2005; Stevens-Simon, Nelligan, & Kelly, 2001); as well as adolescent mothers' high levels of stress and limited coping skills (Elster, McAnarney, & Lamb, 1983; Milan et al., 2004), lack of social support (Logsdon, Gagne, Hughes, Patterson, & Rakestraw, 2005), limited parenting knowledge and immature parenting skills (SmithBattle, 2006), and lowered academic progress/achievement and higher potential to drop out of high school (Brosh, Weigel, & Evans, 2009; Harris & Franklin, 2003; Zachry, 2005). In addition, national results have shown that adolescent pregnancy and parenting status were the individual characteristics most influential in determining on-time high school graduation (Pittman, Wakschlag, Chase-Lansdale, & Brooks-Gunn, 2012). Two studies (Gee & Rhodes, 2007; Klaw, Rhodes, & Fitzgerald, 2003) examined the educational and employment trends among adolescent mothers 2 to 5 years after they gave birth and found that 58% to 69% of the participants did not obtain a high school diploma and/or equivalency certificate. Logsdon et al. (2005) found that adolescent mothers' employment rates ranged from 28% to 52%, with their most common occupations being clerks or manual laborers.



Heather H. Barto, Department of Counseling, Messiah College; Simone F. Lambert, Department of Counselor Education and Supervision, Argosy University; Pamela E. Brott, Department of Counselor Education, Virginia Tech. This research was completed in partial fulfillment of the first author's doctoral dissertation. Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Heather H. Barto, Department of Counseling, Messiah College, One College Avenue, Suite 3052, Mechanicsburg, PA 17055 (e-mail: hbarto@messiah.edu).

Most literature on adolescent mothers addresses their personal and academic issues, providing little information about adolescent mothers after graduation, specifically their career development and future life planning. Given the negative outcomes associated with adolescent motherhood, such as financial hardship (Bogat, Liang, & Rigol-Dahn, 2008), effective career development may be a framework that can be used to positively enhance the lives of adolescent mothers. Therefore, this literature review explores the existing professional literature on adolescent mothers' career development. The review was designed to make the information more accessible by identifying salient characteristics found within the literature and then synthesizing the data gathered to provide a fresh perspective on adolescent mothers' career development.

METHOD

A literature review is a critical, objective, and thorough summary and analysis of the professional literature on a given topic (Cronin, Ryan, & Coughlan, 2008). Our purpose for providing a literature review on the career development of adolescent mothers was to make the research findings from previous studies more accessible and to suggest areas for further research. The traditional literature review can be viewed as a three-step process: (a) selecting a topic for review (i.e., the career development of adolescent mothers); (b) searching, gathering, reading, and analyzing the literature; and (c) providing concluding written analysis and interpretation (Cronin et al., 2008; J. Schilling, 2006). This process can be used with both qualitative and quantitative studies if the intent is to examine themes in written text (Leech & Onwuebuze, 2007). Our literature review incorporates information from several studies that are both qualitative and quantitative; however, the methods of the review remain the same as in the traditional literature review because the focus is on themes regardless of each study's research design.

For this literature review, inclusion criteria were peer-reviewed articles in professional journals published over 25 years (1983–2008) using the generic search terms *career* and *adolescent/teenage mother*. Efforts to locate more recent articles that met the exclusion criteria were unsuccessful. Exclusion criteria included the following: (a) research associated with dissertations, (b) studies not conducted in the United States, (c) studies primarily concerned with the prevention of adolescent pregnancy, (d) studies in which adolescent parenting status was a contributing factor but not the principal focus of the research, and (e) articles that were not relevant to the career development of adolescent mothers.

We conducted a literature search using electronic databases, including Educational Research Complete (e.g., ERIC), psychological and sociological databases (e.g., PsycINFO), and health science databases (e.g., MEDLINE). Each article included in the review was retrieved and read repeatedly. We used a number of strategies, including note taking, highlighting, and making lists, in the initial readings to identify salient characteristics, themes, and features to be included in the literature review. We also designed an Excel spreadsheet to organize and categorize the raw data from each article to develop the preliminary category system, which was later refined into the

coded protocol. The raw data included participant information, type of research, data collection methods, use of formal instruments, focus of study and research questions, theoretical framework, findings, and implications/recommendations. We reviewed data in each category repeatedly and continuously evaluated and combined when applicable. Finally, we used data from the coded protocol to generate results and findings based on the themes identified in the individual articles when viewed as a whole.

RESULTS

The electronic database searches generated a total of 77 different peer-reviewed articles to be considered for inclusion in this review. Through applying the exclusion criteria and eliminating duplicate citations, we identified a total of 23 articles. Two articles reviewing parenting programs (Brindis & Philliber, 2003; Scholl, 2000) could not be obtained after an exhaustive search of numerous resources, thus reducing the final number to 21 articles to be included in the literature review.

The selected articles were published in counseling and health-related (e.g., nursing, social work) journals, providing a diverse chronological and geographical representation of knowledge about adolescent mothers' career development. Although the years of inclusion in the content analysis ranged from 1985 to 2010, only two articles were dated prior to 1990. More than half (57%) of the 21 articles were published between 1990 and 1999, and 33% were published between 2000 and 2010. Of the 21 citations, 19 represented research studies and two were theoretical articles. The research studies covered various geographic regions and settings within the United States: the Midwest ($n = 7$), Southwest ($n = 3$), Northeast ($n = 2$), Southeast ($n = 3$), and West Coast ($n = 2$); two studies did not specify where the research was conducted. Settings included rural, suburban, and urban areas, with half of the studies based on participants from urban areas; one study contained a mix of rural, suburban, and urban settings.

Participants

The number of participants in the respective research studies ranged from a single participant case study to 204 participants for the largest study. Given that some journal articles contained more than one study and included differing numbers of subjects for each study, 38% of the studies were considered small (i.e., contained less than 30 participants), 29% were considered medium-sized (i.e., contained between 31–100 participants), and 33% were considered large (contained more than 100 participants). Studies containing less than 30 participants were exclusively qualitative in design. The medium-sized studies contained a mix of methodologies, and the range for the number of participants was 47 to 77, with four of the studies having close to 50 participants in each study. The large-scale studies, with more than 100 participants, exclusively utilized quantitative research designs.

The chronological age of participants ranged from 11 to 20 years old. The typical age range was 13 to 18 years old, and the mean age was 16.5. Two older studies

recruited subjects from nonalternative education programs: a study from a residential facility for pregnant and parenting adolescents, and a study that recruited subjects from social service organizations and community health clinics. However, the majority of the subjects were recruited from alternative education programs designed specifically for pregnant and/or parenting students. Typically, alternative education programs for adolescent mothers assist them in obtaining a high school diploma or an equivalency certificate (i.e., General Equivalency Diploma) and provide them with additional services, such as parenting support (e.g., medical care, child development) and support that addresses emotional issues surrounding adolescent parenthood (e.g., Logsdon et al., 2005; Spear, 2004; Thomas & Looney, 2004). However, career development has not been noted as a primary objective for such education programs.

The racial and ethnic backgrounds of the participants were primarily African American, Caucasian, and Latina. Although most of the studies included diverse participants, all but one study had a predominant racial/ethnic group of interest, meaning that more than 50% of the participants belonged to the same racial/ethnic group. Three studies were made up of more than 50% Caucasian participants, and three studies were made up of more than 50% Latina participants. Of the studies that included adolescent mothers as participants, 13 studies focused on African Americans. One study included more than 60% African American participants, and 12 studies had more than 90% of the participants identified as African American. More than two thirds of the studies focused exclusively on participants with a low socioeconomic status (SES). Researchers in two of the studies indicated that the subjects came from a variety of socioeconomic backgrounds, whereas researchers in four of the studies did not disclose the SES of the participants.

Types of Research

The 19 research studies included in the review were categorized by the type of research methodology. Approximately half of the studies ($n = 10$) were quantitative studies, and all of the quantitative studies were nonexperimental. The research objectives (Johnson, 2001) of these nonexperimental studies included comparative (i.e., comparing groups of participants; $n = 7$), relational (i.e., determining relationships among variables; $n = 2$), and descriptive (i.e., describing the current status; $n = 1$) objectives. The nine (47%) qualitative studies used the following methodology: four were classified as phenomenology, two as ethnographies, two as case studies, and one as grounded theory. The time frames for the studies were primarily cross-sectional (i.e., occurring once or over a short period of time; $n = 8$). However, two studies were longitudinal, with one spanning 20 years and one across a 2-year time frame; both studies used the same participants, referred to as a panel design (Johnson, 2001).

The data collection methods in the studies were varied, and some studies utilized more than one method to collect data. Fifteen studies used face-to-face and/or telephone interviews as at least one method to gather information; 89% of the qualitative studies and 70% of the quantitative studies used interviews. Five qualitative studies

used focus groups. Researcher-created questionnaires were used in six studies to gather relevant information from participants. Researchers in the two studies with a focus on mentoring relationships collected information from mentors (e.g., notes and logs). Formal instruments were used in seven of the studies, with only one of the studies being qualitative in nature. There were 12 different standardized instruments used across the studies.

Research Questions and Focus of Study

The research questions and foci of the research covered a multitude of topics. We determined 11 distinct foci of research after a careful and repeated review of each study. As the research agendas were examined as a whole, three distinct types of research foci emerged: (a) identifying obstacles to overcome, (b) delineating areas of need, and (c) suggesting positive intervention strategies. The four obstacles identified that impeded adolescent mothers' career development were pressing immediate needs, a lack of knowledge about careers and career development, a delay in career development, and the sociocultural context of the adolescent mother. The delineated areas of need in the career development of adolescent mothers were identified as a lack of vocational/future identity, an absence of self-efficacy and/or resilience, a compromise between goals and reality, and underdeveloped career development/skills (i.e., planning skills, exploration skills, and decision making skills). Seven studies noted that any interventions developed and/or implemented to further adolescent mothers' career development should be positive in focus and strength based in nature. One of the most widely used and supported means of intervention was developing both natural and volunteer mentoring relationships with adult women in the community. In addition to specifically encouraging mentoring relationships, six studies advocated the development and strengthening of other socially supportive relationships (i.e., parents or peers). Although some of the studies additionally addressed education variables, for purposes of this literature review, the primary focus was on the career development of adolescent mothers.

Theoretical Framework

In terms of the theoretical basis for the studies we reviewed, the authors referenced a wide variety of theorists and theories. In coding the theoretical frameworks, three primary categories of theories were revealed, namely feminist, social/contextual, and cognitive theories. The feminist theory category contained three articles and included the works of Carol Gilligan (Merrick, 1995), reflexivity in gender role orientation (Kissman, 1990), and more generalized feminist theory references (Ortiz & Bassoff, 1987). Social/contextual theories were mentioned in 15 studies and included more specified topics, such as mentoring, the ecological model of Urie Bronfenbrenner, social networking theory, social learning theory, and social support theory. Cognitive theories were found in 11 studies and included such specified theories as status attainment theory, "foreshortened future," possible selves, resilience, and locus of control.

Findings

Among the various results, three concepts relating to the career development needs of adolescent mothers were found to have the most widespread support among the studies, with seven or more studies citing the same findings related to the career development of adolescent mothers: (a) lack of career knowledge/development, (b) pressing immediate needs (e.g., childcare, transportation) limiting career development, and (c) mentoring as an effective strategy to further the career development of adolescent mothers. Several other findings received moderate support, with each finding being mentioned in three to five different studies. These included (a) adolescent mothers had a stronger sense of meaning in life after the addition of the parenting role, (b) adolescent mothers found help and/or support for their career development from family members, and (c) adolescent mothers' sociocultural context and/or the reported effect of contextual factors. Three findings were each presented in only one study, which revolved around: (a) obstacles, (b) resilience, and (c) the long-term outcomes for adolescent mothers.

Recommendations

Initially, we identified and coded nine recommendations for the studies. These were reexamined and collapsed into seven cohesive groupings of suggested directions for researching adolescent mothers' career development. The most common recommendation, cited in 89% of the studies, was the need for comprehensive interventions for adolescent mothers that should include career and life-planning components. The next most widely given recommendation, cited in 84% of the studies, was a need for further research into the career development of adolescent mothers. Twelve research teams cited the lack of career development skills/knowledge among adolescent mothers and suggested necessary interventions for adolescent mothers. They proposed the following three generalized areas: (a) development of career planning skills (e.g., planning, career exploration, and decision making), (b) assessment of individual strengths/weaknesses and areas of interest, and (c) attainment of specific knowledge associated with careers and life planning. Ten studies advocated that career development strategies designed for adolescent mothers should be positive to be effective. Six studies recognized the potential of mentoring relationships in working with adolescent mothers and recommended improving mentoring programs to foster adolescent mothers' career development. Finally, two studies expanded the recommendations beyond working directly with adolescent mothers and urged political and civil action to demonstrate the need for attention directed at adolescent mothers' career development.

DISCUSSION

The themes that emerged from an analysis of the professional literature on the career development of adolescent mothers over a 25-year period were both strengths of past research studies and areas of improvement/analysis for future research.

Understanding these trends helps to inform career development intervention programs for adolescent mothers. The following is a discussion of these trends, which, overall, suggest the need to develop and implement more comprehensive and strength-based interventions to improve the career development of adolescent mothers.

Strengths of Past Research Studies

On a positive note, the research endeavors addressed the needs of adolescent mothers, who may require a number of career development interventions as demonstrated by the national statistics. Furthermore, there was a variety of research conducted regarding adolescent mothers' career development. These strengths are addressed in more detail as follows.

Research mirrors current needs. According to the Guttmacher Institute (2010), the highest adolescent births occur among adolescents of color. Fortunately, the majority of the research uncovered for this study was conducted with adolescents of color. More than two thirds of the professional studies we located were predominately conducted with the African American population (e.g., Hellenga, Aber, & Rhodes, 2002). When other minority populations were included (i.e., Latina mothers), the reported research on the career development of adolescent mothers conducted with participants of color increased to more than 84% (Brosh et al., 2009). Similarly, a skew was noted when the SES of the participants was examined. Seventy-four percent of the studies focused exclusively on adolescent mothers from lower socioeconomic backgrounds (e.g., Klaw & Rhodes, 1995). Although the statistics of adolescent births are not tracked by SES, adolescent mothers of lowered SES may be in greater need of career development interventions than adolescent mothers who have a more stable SES (Ortiz & Bassoff, 1987). Therefore, the professional literature on career development appears to be representative and sensitive to adolescent mothers based on their racial group membership and SES in accordance with the available national statistics related to adolescent motherhood.

Research on the career development of adolescent mothers. The variety of research conducted on the career development of adolescent mothers is considerable with respect to theoretical frameworks and several aspects of research design. Whereas the theoretical frameworks were synthesized into three primary categories (i.e., feminist, social/contextual, cognitive), numerous theoretical approaches were used to frame research related to adolescent mothers' career development. This variety suggests that an integrated theoretical framework may be necessary to fully address the complex contextual factors (e.g., lack of family support or lack of material resources), developmental considerations, and individual differences of adolescent mothers with respect to career development.

Combined with various data collection methods, the research designs were almost equally split using quantitative and qualitative designs and provided for a rich base of information. The quantitative studies tended to use a larger number of participants, to be nonexperimental, and to be primarily cross-sectional and comparative in design (e.g., Hansford & Drummond, 1992; Klaw & Rhodes, 1995). The data collection methods were typically interviews (e.g., White & Cummings,

1995) or focus groups (e.g., Blinn, 1990), with only one study not using some form of verbal communication with participants to gather data (Hansford & Drummond, 1992). Several researchers developed questionnaires to gather specific information of interest from participants (e.g., Klaw et al., 2003). Formal measures were used in more than half of the studies (e.g., Klaw & Rhodes, 1995), but none assessed career skills (i.e., planning, exploration, or decision making) or career knowledge (i.e., information about specific careers).

The qualitative studies focused on developing a better understanding of career development from a single case study (T. Schilling, 2008) to a medium-sized group (e.g., Brosh et al., 2009). Most of the qualitative researchers used focus groups and/or interviews to gather information from participants (e.g., Stiles, 2005). Although qualitative studies typically provided great insight into a small sample of adolescent mothers, they often did not provide data about career development that could be generalized to the larger population of adolescent mothers.

Overall, the depth, breadth, and variety of research on the career development of adolescent mothers are impressive. However, gaps in the research literature remain. For example, one concern is the lack of consistent instrumentation and absence of traditional instruments used to measure adolescent career development (e.g., the Career Development Inventory). Although researchers did not use traditional measures that assess the career-related skills of adolescents, some researchers did advocate for the use of such traditional career instruments with adolescent mothers (Hellenga et al., 2002). Using such measures may help to provide more information about the specific strengths and weaknesses in the career development of adolescent mothers.

Areas of Exploration for Future Research

Clearly, there is much more research needed to develop evidence-based career development programs for adolescent mothers. First, the immediate and pressing needs of adolescent mothers must be understood and addressed within intervention programs. Second, career-related skills need to be quantified as they relate to adolescent mothers' career development. Third, supportive components, such as mentoring, need to be explored in more depth as they relate to the career development of this population. These three areas are discussed in more detail.

Emergence of two clear areas of need for adolescent mothers. As the body of research was examined, two areas of concern emerged with respect to adolescent mothers' career development. Immediate and pressing needs combined with limited career-related skills appear to seriously impede the career development of adolescent mothers. Pressing immediate needs were identified as here-and-now obstacles to overcome, and certain contextual factors (e.g., SES, race/ethnicity) were delineated as areas of potential concern. The most prevalent obstacles identified that impede the career development of adolescent mothers were the pressing immediate needs of child care, transportation, financial constraints, housing, and new parenting responsibilities. These pressing immediate needs typically interfered with the career development of adolescent mothers in the studies reviewed (e.g., Stiles, 2005).

Ten studies reported that most adolescent mothers were unable to focus beyond meeting the immediate needs of motherhood (i.e., child care, housing, transportation; Merrick, 1995). Many adolescent mothers in the studies were from lower socioeconomic backgrounds (66%), where the addition of a child could cause significant financial stress (e.g., Klaw et al., 2003). One suggestion was made to address immediate and short-term needs in the early stages of parenthood, then introduce more long-term life planning and career development skills later. However, there were not concrete steps provided for implementation (Kiselica & Murphy, 1994). Generally, the studies recommended that programs be ongoing to address adolescent mothers' immediate and crisis-orientated needs, as well as their long-term needs with regard to career and life planning.

In addition to pressing immediate needs, a lack of career knowledge/development was indicated in 17 studies and was the most prevalent finding across all of the research on adolescent mothers' career development (e.g., Kissman, 1990). Researchers have identified some shortcomings in adolescent mothers' career development, such as insufficient skills (i.e., decision making, problem solving, goal setting), limited knowledge (i.e., lack of career awareness, limited exposure to careers), and discrepancies between lofty career goals and reality (i.e., wanting to be a physician while failing academic courses). Thus, areas for improvement were identified as developing a vocational/future identity, learning to compromise between goals and reality, and improving career development skills.

More than half of the studies cited that adolescent mothers need to develop a vocational and future identity to articulate the types of career and future they envision for themselves (e.g., Hansford & Drummond, 1992). A quarter of the studies cited a delay in career development/career immaturity due to parenting status, contributing to a lack of future identity (e.g., Blinn, 1990). When compared with their nonparenting peers, adolescent mothers were less optimistic and prepared for their future, which demonstrates the need for specific career development interventions for adolescent mothers (Ortiz & Bassoff, 1987). Another concern appeared in six studies that cited the lack of congruence between the career goals/aspirations of adolescent mothers and reality (e.g., Blinn, 1990); researchers cited that adolescent mothers expressed career goals (e.g., to become a physician) that were unattainable without careful planning and often would require some degree of compromise.

One third of the studies indicated that adolescent mothers' career development skills need further development (e.g., White & Cummings, 1995). For example, Ortiz and Bassoff (1987) found that 80% of participants identified career goals for their future but did not know how to achieve their goals. Further concerns were noted with career skills/knowledge, such as decision-making and problem-solving skills (Stiles, 2005). These skills are considered important as both career and life skills that are required to be successful and self-supporting. However, none of these career-related skills were quantitatively measured.

Support for effective interventions. Mentoring relationships were cited as one of the most prevalent and effective interventions in furthering the career development of adolescent parents (e.g., Bogat et al., 2008). The eight studies examining mentor relationships evaluated naturally occurring or matched volunteer mentoring relationships with adult women in the community (Blinn-Pike, McDaniel, Mingus, & Mutti,

1998). Although mentoring was shown to be effective, mentor relationships proved to be difficult to establish and maintain when they did not occur naturally (Bogat et al., 2008). Given the challenges of forming effective mentoring relationships, other studies advocated for expanding social support systems and facilitating more informal mentor-like relationships with adults (i.e., teachers, mentors, family members) already present in the lives of adolescent mothers to further their career development (e.g., T. Schilling, 2008). Thus, mentoring and other socially supportive relationships could be important components in interventions designed to further adolescent mothers' career development.

Interventions: Being Strength-Based and Fostering Resilience

All of the studies supported the need for interventions to address adolescent mothers' limited career-related skills and knowledge. In addition, seven studies cited that any intervention developed and/or implemented to further adolescent mothers' career development should be positive in focus and strength-based in nature (e.g., SmithBattle & Leonard, 1998). Five studies identified self-efficacy and/or resilience as necessary ingredients for adolescent mothers' future career success (e.g., Carey, Ratliff, & Lyle, 1998). Fostering resiliency is thought to be one possible avenue that addresses both the immediate and the career development needs of adolescent mothers based on the work of T. Schilling (2008).

Prior research shows that implementation of career development program components are effective in generating positive long-term outcomes for adolescent mothers. However, it is unclear which intervention strategies were used and why such interventions proved to be effective. In a longitudinal study, Horwitz, Klerman, Kuo, and Jekel (1991) sought to locate and gather information from participants in an adolescent parenting program and to describe the long-term outcomes for this population. Twenty years later, 82% of the adolescent mothers were self-supporting, and 62% met the success criteria of being gainfully employed and having, at minimum, a high school education. The majority of the program participants attributed their educational and vocational success to their involvement in the parenting program.

An important component to a successful parenting program is providing adolescent mothers with the skills and knowledge to become self-supporting and successful through the inclusion of career development components, such as career planning, exploration, and decision-making skills (e.g., Horwitz et al., 1991). Most studies encourage the development and implementation of interventions that are positive in focus, developmentally appropriate, comprehensive, and based on the individualized needs of each adolescent mother (e.g., Kiselica & Murphy, 1994). However, few specifics have emerged as a guide in designing and implementing these types of comprehensive interventions that include career development components for adolescent mothers.

CONCLUSION

The studies presented are a positive contribution to the small but growing body of professional literature on the career development of adolescent mothers. Additional comprehensive, positive, and strength-based intervention strategies are needed to

fully address the complex issues associated with adolescent mothers' career development. Before developing such interventions, more research is needed to better understand adolescent mothers' career development by pinpointing their strengths and weaknesses with regard to their career-related skills and knowledge, as well as the obstacles that impede career and life planning. More information is needed about the current state of career knowledge and skills of adolescent mothers to develop strategies and interventions focused on career development and fostering lives of possibilities.

REFERENCES

- Blinn, L. (1990). Adolescent mothers' perceptions of their work lives in the future: Are they stable? *Journal of Adolescent Research, 5*, 206–221. doi:10.1177/074355489052007
- Blinn-Pike, D. K., McDaniel A., Mingus, S., & Mutti, M. P. (1998). The process of mentoring pregnant adolescents: An exploratory study. *Family Relations, 47*, 119–127.
- Bogat, G., Liang, B., & Rigol-Dahn, R. (2008). Stages of mentoring: An analysis of an intervention for pregnant and parenting adolescents. *Child & Adolescent Social Work Journal, 25*, 325–341. doi:10.1007/s10560-008-0130-4
- Brindis, C., & Philliber, S. (2003). Improving services for pregnant and parenting teens. *Prevention Researcher, 10*, 9–13.
- Brosh, J., Weigel, D., & Evans, W. (2009). Assessing the supports needed to help pregnant and parenting teens reach their educational and career goals. *Journal of Extension, 47*, 565–578.
- Carey, G., Ratliff, D., & Lyle, R. (1998). Resilient adolescent mothers: Ethnographic interviews. *Families, Systems, & Health, 16*, 347–364. doi:10.1037/h0089860
- Cronin, P., Ryan, F., Coughlan, M. (2008). Undertaking a literature review: A step-by-step approach. *British Journal of Nursing, 17*, 38–43.
- Elster, A. B., McAnarney, E. R., & Lamb, M. E. (1983). Parental behavior of adolescent mothers. *Pediatrics, 71*, 494–503.
- Gee, C. B., & Rhodes, J. E. (2007). A social support and strain measure for minority adolescent mothers: A confirmatory factor analytic study. *Child: Care, Health, and Development, 34*, 87–97. doi:10.1111/j.1365-2214.2007.00754.x
- Guttman Institute. (2010). *U.S. teenage pregnancies, births and abortions: National and state trends and trends by race and ethnicity*. Retrieved from <http://www.guttman.org/pubs/USTPtrends.pdf>
- Hansford, S. G., & Drummond, R. L. (1992). Work values of Black unwed adolescent parents. *Psychological Reports, 70*, 179–182. doi:10.2466/PR.70.1.179-182
- Harris, M. B., & Franklin, C. G. (2003). Effects of a cognitive-behavioral, school-based, group intervention with Mexican American pregnant and parenting adolescents. *Social Work Research, 27*, 71–83.
- Hellenga, K., Aber, M., & Rhodes, J. (2002). African American adolescent mothers' vocational aspiration-expectation gap: Individual, social and environmental influences. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 26*, 200–212. doi:10.1111/1471-6402.00059
- Horwitz, S. M., Klerman, L. V., Kuo, H. S., & Jekel, J. F. (1991). School-age mothers: Predictors of long-term educational and economic outcomes. *Pediatrics, 87*, 862–868.
- Hunt, G., Joe-Laidler, K., & MacKenzie, K. (2005). Moving into motherhood: Gang girls and controlled risk. *Youth & Society, 36*, 333–373. doi:10.1177/0044118X04266530
- Johnson, B. (2001). Toward a new classification of nonexperimental quantitative research. *Educational Researcher, 30*, 3–13. doi:10.3102/0013189X030002003
- Kiselica, M., & Murphy, D. (1994). Developmental career counseling with teenage parents. *The Career Development Quarterly, 42*, 238–243.
- Kissman, K. (1990). Social support and gender role attitude among teenage mothers. *Adolescence, 25*, 709–716.
- Klaw, E., & Rhodes, J. (1995). Mentor relationships and the career development of pregnant and parenting African-American teenagers. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 19*, 551–562. doi:10.1111/j.1471-6402.1995.tb00092.x

- Klaw, E. L., Rhodes, J. E., & Fitzgerald, L. F. (2003). Natural mentors in the lives of African American adolescent mothers: Tracking relationships over time. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 32*, 223–232. doi:10.1023/A:1022551721565
- Leech, N. L., & Onwuebuozie, A. J. (2007). An array of qualitative analysis tools: A call for data analysis triangulation. *School Psychology Quarterly, 22*, 557–584. doi:10.1037/1045-3830.22.4.557
- Logsdon, M. C., Gagne, P., Hughes, T., Patterson, J., & Rakestraw, V. (2005). Social support during adolescent pregnancy: Piecing together a quilt. *Journal of Obstetric, Gynecologic, and Neonatal Nursing, 34*, 606–614. doi:10.1177/0884217505280194
- Martyn, K. K., Darling-Fisher, C., Smrka, J., Fernandez, D., & Martyn, D. H. (2006). Honoring family biculturalism: Avoidance of adolescent pregnancy among Latinas in the United States. *Hispanic Health Care International, 4*, 15–26. doi:10.1891/hhci.4.1.15
- Merrick, E. (1995). Adolescent childbearing as career ‘choice’: Perspective from an ecological context. *Journal of Counseling & Development, 73*, 288–295.
- Milan, S., Ickovics, J. R., Kershaw, T., Lewis, J., Meade, C., & Ethier, K. (2004). Prevalence, course, and predictors of emotional distress in pregnant and parenting adolescents. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 72*, 328–340. doi:10.1037/0022-006X.72.2.328
- Ortiz, E., & Bassoff, B. (1987). Adolescent welfare mothers: Lost optimism and lowered expectations. *Social Casework, 68*, 400–405.
- Pittman, L. D., Wakschlag, L. S., Chase-Lansdale, P., & Brooks-Gunn, J. (2012). ‘Mama, I’m a person, too!’ Individuation and young African-American mothers’ parenting competence. In P. K. Kerig, M. S. Schulz, & S. T. Hauser (Eds.), *Adolescence and beyond: Family processes and development* (pp. 177–199). New York, NY: Oxford University Press. doi:10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199736546.003.0012
- Schilling, J. (2006). On the pragmatics of qualitative assessment: Designing the process for content analysis. *European Journal of Psychology Assessment, 22*, 28–37. doi:10.1027/1015-5759.22.1.28
- Schilling, T. (2008). An examination of resilience processes in context: The case of Tasha. *The Urban Review, 40*, 296–316. doi:10.1007/s11256-007-0080-8
- Scholl, M. (2000). MAMA—A mentor program supporting pregnant and parenting teenagers. *PPFY NETWORK, 3*, 4–5.
- SmithBattle, L. (2006). Helping teen mothers succeed. *The Journal of School Nursing, 22*, 130–135. doi:10.1177/10598405060220030201
- SmithBattle, L., & Leonard, V. (1998). Adolescent mothers four years later: Narratives of the self and visions of the future. *Advances in Nursing Science, 20*, 36–49.
- Spear, H. J. (2004). A follow-up case study on teenage pregnancy: “Havin’ a baby isn’t a nightmare, but it’s really hard.” *Pediatric Nursing, 30*, 120–125.
- Stevens-Simon, C., Nelligan, D., & Kelly, L. (2001). Adolescents at risk for mistreating their children: Part I: Prenatal identification. *Child Abuse and Neglect, 6*, 737–751. doi:10.1016/S0145-2134(01)00236-8
- Stiles, A. (2005). Parenting needs, goals, & strategies of adolescent mothers. *MCN: The American Journal of Maternal/Child Nursing, 30*, 327–333. doi:10.1097/00005721-200509000-00011
- Thomas, D. V., & Looney, S. W. (2004). Effectiveness of a comprehensive psychoeducational intervention with pregnant and parenting adolescents: A pilot study. *Journal of Child and Adolescent Psychiatric Nursing, 17*, 66–77. doi:10.1111/j.1744-6171.2004.00066.x
- White, S., & Cummings, M. (1995). Goal setting and control orientation of pregnant/parenting female adolescents in the GRADS program. *Family & Consumer Sciences Research Journal, 23*, 249–267. doi:10.1177/1077727X95233002
- Zachry, E. M. (2005). Getting my education: Teen mothers’ experiences in school before and after motherhood. *Teachers College Record, 107*, 2566–2598. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9620.2005.00629.x