James A. Athanasou
Raoul Van Esbroeck
Editors

International Handbook of Career Guidance

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ISBN: 978-1-4020-6229-2 e-ISBN: 978-1-4020-6230-8

Library of Congress Control Number: 2008920728

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Printed on acid-free paper

9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

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To international collaboration and cooperation in career guidance. Without this collaboration and willingness to listen and support each other, this handbook could never have been realised.

To our wives, Angelena and Josée, who supported us in this project and who were always available to encourage us regardless of the fact that they had to miss us so many hours while we were working on the handbook.

PREFACE

The *International Handbook of Career Guidance* represents a project of international professional cooperation. It is intended as a catalyst for reform and was designed to support the development of career guidance in the years to come. Working for over four years from Belgium and Australia we had the privilege to collaborate with over 50 colleagues throughout the world to produce this Handbook. In every instance we selected key researchers who have an established reputation in the field of career development. They agreed to be involved and we are grateful for their support in this major effort.

In this handbook we have tried to bring together a collection that summarises the diverse aspects of career guidance. It is a synthesis of the domain of career and vocational guidance firstly for an international readership and secondly it is designed to act as a reference for academics, researchers and professionals in the expanding field of career development. For this reason the Handbook includes coverage of the background and history of guidance right through to poignant issues relating to careers in the modern world of work. Policy issues relating to the provision of careers services as well as professional issues relating to career education, career counselling, career assessment, program evaluation and research methodologies are covered.

The reader will find that many different viewpoints are represented. This is deliberate. The Handbook intends to present to readers some of the career guidance "homes", as it was called by Savickas and Baker in their chapter on "The history of vocational psychology" in the 2005 3rd edition of the Walsh and Savickas *Handbook of Vocational Psychology*. No attempt has been made to impose a uniform viewpoint, or a particular ideology or theoretical perspective on the reader. Rather, we have preferred the option of allowing each author to speak with their own voice and from their own experience. Accordingly the various chapters complement each other. They provide a holistic view of career guidance as a discipline that is worthy of research and as a field that has both practical and theoretical applications. It is up to the reader to critique and evaluate each contribution on its own merits and then to consider its relevance for their particular situation or context.

The original idea to create an International Handbook originated at the 2001 International Association for Educational and Vocational Guidance (IAEVG) in Vancouver, Canada, at the moment of the presentation of the first issue of the *International Journal for Educational and Vocational Guidance*. Several

international colleagues agreed on the need at that moment, but no action was taken. Unfortunately it took several years before the real work began. Concrete action to realise this handbook started in mid-2003 and progressed still further following a meeting of the International Association for Educational and Vocational Guidance in New Zealand. Agreement was reached in 2004 and the first contributors were contacted in the second half of the year. Three years, some 1,000 pages and 1,300 e-mails later, the Handbook has emerged.

Our underlying aim was to provide a reference that reflected international work in guidance. This edition represents a small step and from the outset it was our stated hope that it would be updated at regular intervals. We are conscious that educational and vocational guidance in all the continents has not been adequately represented and we look forward to the day when there will be a wider international representation of cultural views, so that career guidance is not seen as a purely Western phenomenon.

One by-product of the Handbook has been to reinforce the view that career guidance is certainly a coherent and structured professional field. There is a body of knowledge and expertise that pertains to educational and vocational guidance. It is vast and wide-ranging.

Another by-product for the editors has been an acquaintance with some fine colleagues. Whatever may be said about this field, one thing is true; and that is the fact that people who work and research in this field are by-and-large exceptional individuals. They sacrifice their time and effort to advance knowledge for the benefit of society (and of course their own careers). They blend intellectual curiosity with some altruistic quality. We may not agree on theoretical issues but we certainly agree that we like each other as individuals. This is not a bad starting point for a world that is riddled with wars, oppression and tensions. The field of guidance is international and we thought it deserved an international handbook.

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Chapter 1
INTRODUCTION: AN INTERNATIONAL HANDBOOK OF CAREER GUIDANCE

Raoul Van Esbroeck[1] and James A. Athanasou[2]

A key question is "why an international handbook"? Indeed there are a large number of handbooks on career guidance available all over the world. They exist in different languages and are updated regularly. In general, however, most of these handbooks are strongly related to one country or to one cultural or linguistic region (e.g., Brown, 2003; Herr, Cramer, & Niles, 2004). Accordingly they are written from a specific point of view and based upon academic developments, guidance practice and societal situations specific to the readers they target. Beyond any doubt, it is an obvious and appropriate choice but it has one disadvantage. The readership will not be confronted with what is going on in the rest of the world and the global diversity in the field of guidance. Accordingly it is a disadvantage in view of an increasing globalisation and the newly required competencies for professionals. Knowing more about the world-wide diversity will help to uncover better practice examples that may be of use for some specific clients or yield new ideas to adapt existing approaches. It also can help to grasp the new developments in the required competencies for career guidance professionals or to acquire a better understanding of them.

Some of these well known handbooks (e.g., Guichard & Huteau, 2006) respond to this disadvantage and include references to research results, theory development and practice in other countries, mainly the USA. This is certainly an improvement from a global point of view but does it solve the shortcoming? This may solve it to the extent that the handbook reflects on the differences between the situation of the area where the handbook originates and the situation from which the other theories or examples were taken and the impact on the applicability of these foreign models.

The major issue in this perspective is the transferability of theories, research results, measurement instruments and guidance practice from one region to another. For several years a major debate has been opened on the cross-cultural applicability of theories (see, e.g., Leong, 1995). The same is true for instrument development that was, for example extensively debated at the International Association for

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J.A. Athanasou, R. Van Esbroeck (eds.) *International Handbook of Career Guidance*,

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Educational and Vocational Guidance and National Career Development Association (IAEVG-NCDA) 2004 International Symposium in San Francisco (Watson, Duarte, & Glavin, 2005). But the topic of the use of career techniques and interventions also received ample attention at this symposium (Feller, Russell, & Wichard, 2005). It can be concluded that sometimes a transfer is possible but that the contextual factors should be taken into account and that in some cases the expected results are not reached. Watson and colleagues (2005) stated that "career counselors and researchers needed to step out of their own reality to consider the reality of clients from other cultural groups" (p. 32).

The number of publications on diversity and cross-cultural issues is increasing rapidly following the influence of these discussions. But in addition, the importance is reflected in more and more journal publications and books that do not have diversity as the main topic of their work. A growing sensitivity to the issue that research findings cannot always be generalised and there is recognition of limitations in applicability of the results is appearing in these publications. Even more it is also generally reflected in the population used for research projects. At the moment it is no longer accepted that theories and methods are developed exclusively on basis of data coming from psychology and counselling students, a research sample that mainly represents the middle-class group of our society. The idea that these results can be applied to the population in general at a national or world-wide level is under pressure.

In vocational psychology and career guidance it is strongly recognised that more attention should go to other social groups (Blustein, 2001; Fouad, 2001). Blustein (2006) considered this issue as key theme and he highlighted the role of social barriers, among which "classism" is central, as creating "inequitable conditions for many people and easy access to wealth and power for some" (p. 194). This author even went beyond the recognition of the need to advance knowledge about the barriers for social groups but stressed how this knowledge can be used to empower these groups and change inequitable systems.

The editors of this international handbook tried to take into account these issues by putting them at the centre of their attention while developing the handbook. In this perspective the decision was made to include a wide range of authors coming from all over the world and not belonging to one linguistic group. These authors, though all well acquainted with international developments in the field of career guidance, will approach their topic based upon ideas and concepts, which are influenced by their national, social or ethnic culture. The influence of the environment(s) on how a situation is interpreted is beyond any discussion. Opting for such a diverse group is a guarantee for a larger diversity in the contributions. This strive for diversity was enhanced because the authors were requested to start with those aspects in their topic they knew best. Implying that they could draw upon their experience and knowledge embedded in their own – national or local – environment. But they also were urged to use results, examples or models coming from other counties and certainly to reflect on the differences. There may be some difference in the amount of this type of reflections in the contributions but this is mainly related to the topic. Some topics offer more possibilities to make this kind of reflection than others.

The fact that diversity may be reached is positive but at the same time it provides a difficulty for the readers. Though all authors contributed in English and therefore use an internationally accepted and recognised standard terminology, a first cause of difficulty may be some subtle differences in what these terms mean to the authors. This is related to how their ideas and concepts are embedded in and influenced by different national, social or ethnic cultures. These differences may not always be apparent at the time of first reading. To discover and recognise these differences may take extra time and may cause some temporary misunderstanding before the issue is cleared. Some extra effort to discover these differences and to overcome them may be needed while reading the handbook. A second cause is related to the native language of the author. Those who are non-native English speakers will translate the terminology from their own mother tongue into English. Though the authors may, in that case, apparently be using the same terminology, they may not necessarily cover the same content, even when they use what appears to be a correct translation.

These differences in interpretation of concepts and terminology – related to cultural and linguistic differences – is not just for some specific terms that were developed in a well defined linguistic or geographical region. It even affects very basic terms such as *guidance* and *counselling* (Watts & Van Esbroeck, 1998). The term guidance is generally translated in French as *orientation* and in German as *Beratung*. But *Beratung*, as used in Germany, does not cover the same tasks and activities as what is understood to constitute guidance in Anglo-Saxon countries (Rott, 2002; Watts & Van Esbroeck, 1998). In the French Community of Belgium the word *orientation* is sometimes replaced by *guidance*. This term is even used as a regular French term. It does, however, not correspond to what the term means in the USA or UK. The same is true for the term counselling. Jean Paul Broonen from the Université de Liège (Belgium) pointed out in his translator's note (Watts & Van Esbroeck, 1999, p. 6) that "the term counselling is exemplary in this respect. There exist no single appropriate short term in the French language, except for a longer paraphrasing, that can describe exactly the type of practice …". In France, several terms and descriptions are used to cover partial aspects of counselling. The term *aide* (help) is used and frequently combined with the word *psychologique* (psychological). While others (Blanchard, 1996), used the term *conseil* (advice) also in combination with the term *psychologique* or other terms such as educational. But this is not so universal in the French speaking world. Indeed, in the French speaking community of Belgium the term "counselling" is used by career practitioners as a standard French word, though it covers a very different content compared to what is understood in the US tradition. The same is true in Quebec (Canada), where they use the term frequently in leading publications, however, this time in line with the US tradition (Bujold & Gingras, 2000).

It can be concluded that the decision to include a large range of authors with a very different background has the advantage of presenting work that brings views from all over the world. The benefit of such a result for an international readership is the possibility to discover those world-wide differences in one handbook. It also has the advantage that many of these differences will be highlighted and framed in

a broader reflective perspective. But it requires at the same time some extra work and attention from the readers.

The diversity within the global career guidance community is not only related to cultural and linguistic differences but is also related to the many schisms and splits in the field of vocational psychology and guidance. One of the first splits had started already in the 1930s with "the beginnings of the drift apart by vocational psychologists interested in individual and those interested in industries" (Savickas & Baker, 2005, p. 39). But others followed as for example the split between career guidance practitioners and academic researchers (Herr, 1996). But also among the career theorists different paths were followed each of them related to specific paradigms. This led to what Savickas and Lent (1994) called "a plethora of theories, philosophical positions, and research camps" (p. 1). Though Savickas and Lent recognised the benefits of divergence, they also recognise that the ultimate result of too large divergence can be chaos. The "convergence project" (Savickas & Lent, 1994) represented a major effort to define the theoretical splits and how some of them may be resolved. There were other efforts to overcome these schisms. The constructivist Systems Theory Framework (Patton & McMahon, 1999, 2006), a meta-theory integrating the different approaches and views, should be mentioned in this context. This framework can well serve as a basis for reflections on how to develop and build a guidance practice opening up some new avenues to deal with some of the splits.

But also splits occurred at a more methodological level. The importance of quantitative methods for research in vocational psychology is generally recognised and accepted. This is, however, not always the case in relation to qualitative methods. McMahon and Patton (2002) stated that "most literature concerning career assessment is devoted to quantitative assessments, … little attention has been given to qualitative assessment" (pp. 52–53). This debate of quantitative vs. qualitative methods is sometimes a debate of one method being superior over the other and only one method, the quantitative, being considered as a scientific method. Is this really the case? Could it not be that each method, if applied with rigor, can lead to a valuable contribution depending on the research goals? The SWOT (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats) analysis for vocational psychology that was realised at the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the *Journal of Vocational Behavior* (Savickas, 2001) came to this last conclusion. Savickas (2001) formulated, on basis of the results of the analysis by his colleagues, a recommendation that there should be

> …greater use of qualitative inquiry attuned to context and complexity while emphasizing the need to balance quantitative and qualitative methods, exploratory and confirmatory research, and positivist and constructivist epistemology. Balance might be best accomplished in programmatic research that uses, in turn, both methodologies …". (p. 287)

Regardless all the efforts to overcome the splits and schism, the situation did not really improve and led to a situation of even larger divergence. Originally vocational psychology had as its purview all aspects of work and education as a lifelong developmental process. This common purview was divided in many fields of specialisation which tended not to know each other anymore. The process was so

strong that he discipline has "dampened" and that "vocational psychology now lacks a disciplinary home" (Savickas & Baker, 2005, p. 44). The reinvigoration of the field has been forwarded as a real need. Some think that "vocational psychology needs a second 'big bang' " (Savickas & Baker, 2005, p. 46), while others look for new inputs from other scientific disciplines (Collin, 2007) or plead for new paradigms (Palladino Schultheiss, 2007).

Another initiative that could be mentioned that may contribute to reinvigorating the field is the founding of the International Life-design (ILD) group in 2006 in Brussels. This is an international group of career counselling researchers, who are also strongly involved in guidance practice, that work on the idea of new paradigms and how to implement them in practice. This group is, inspired by Mark Savickas' views on "constructivism". They chose to include the phrase "life-design" in the name of the group to indicate that learner support, personal guidance and counselling, and vocational or career guidance and counselling should be grouped together. The three areas of guidance and counselling should be considered as parts of one large development project of the individual's "life" in a broader social and environmental setting. This "life" process includes educational, learning and work aspects but also broader aspects of social and personal development are part of it. The individuals construct their own life in all its aspects and do so in an environment to whose construction they also contributed. Indeed, in line with the ideas of Krumboltz (1979) all individual behaviour becomes part of the environment. From a contextual view (Young, Valach, & Collin, 2002) these actions will play a role at a later point in the construction of the connections among actions and the internal construction of the environment. This is exactly what "designers" are doing. Designers are working with their "client" (the person) to develop an environment or part of it in a process of interplay between both of them and this in an environment that is under change and constant interpretation and re-interpretation.

By stressing a holistic model of the individual and how the different components are interwoven, a platform will be created where all those who are engaged in the broad field of educational, vocational and career guidance, counselling and development could meet on an equal footing with their colleagues from other counselling and guidance areas. This could be an option for practitioners as well as for researchers. Indeed, the life-design group opted to translate models and theories into practical guidance and counselling materials.

But at the same time, the schism between the counselling and the industrial/organisational psychology wing is also a focus of attention for this ILD-group. For this reason the "coaching" concept – a topic that is very high on the priority list of organisational psychology – has been chosen by the ILD-group as a project for applying the "construction" idea. There is a question, however: Is coaching so different from counselling? Or is coaching a matter of applying counselling methods? An international survey and some research projects may bring some answers.

Also in the broader career guidance community efforts have been made to assess the splits and the see how to overcome them. This is reflected in the themes of national and international professional meetings. An example of this type is effort of this type was joint International Symposium in San Francisco in 2004 organised

by International Association for Educational and Vocational Guidance (IAEVG) and the USA based National Career Development Association (NCDA). It was a meeting where researchers and practitioners from all over the world discussed over two days the topic of how international collaboration could help to overcome some of the existing splits. This was followed by the 7th Biennial Conference in 2005 of The Society for Vocational Psychology, which was organised by Richard Young in Vancouver. In this meeting – though strongly oriented towards career psychology research – attention was given to the issue of the need for researchers and practitioners to cooperate on new developments in the field of vocational psychology and its related practice.

Already there have been quite some efforts to reinvigorate the field and the impact of all these initiatives is real and beyond any doubt. It would, however, be beneficial if all these initiatives and all those involved could meet and confront their findings and ideas. This would be even more important if it could be done within a group where practitioners as well as researchers could cooperate. This is exactly one of the goals of this handbook. The authors were chosen in such way that they represent the different "homes", as this was called by Savickas and Baker (2005). The goal is that by putting all the different point of views together in one publication, to transcend the so-called borders and that the different homes become different rooms with many doors leading to each other in one large "house". The house, which will be the home to vocational psychology and career guidance and counselling.

The handbook has six parts and 35 chapters. Parts I, III and IV can be considered more as reflections and information on the career guidance practice, while Parts II, V and VI are more theoretical and research oriented though the relation to guidance practice remains evident. A brief overview of the content may help to highlight to which extent the goals of building the house of vocational psychology and career guidance has been realised.

Part I of the Handbook consists of three chapters that give a taste of how career guidance worldwide is influenced by societal changes. In particular technological changes and globalisation are pointed out as the most influential changes. There are large differences in societal development between countries or regions. The issue of inequality – in particular if it is related to economic power – plays an important role because of the globalisation. These differences can lead to some unexpected and undesired effects on the individual's career development. The social context in the different countries and continents define the importance and organisation of career guidance but it also affects the methods and goals. The question is if this should lead to indigenous forms of guidance and to which extent these indigenous forms still have communalities? The three chapters approach the issue of worldwide societal changes and its effect on career guidance somewhat differently but have quite some common grounds.

The chapter on *Career Guidance in a Global* World by Raoul Van Esbroeck describes how the present situation of globalisation is the result of a long process of changes in society and the world of business. Globalisation is perceived as having far-reaching consequences for society as a whole. There are benefits but there are also a number of unexpected consequences. Some of these consequences are

related to the clash of cultures and are indicated as having major impact on individuals and their careers. The need for career guidance and new approaches in guidance are given special attention. A holistic person-centred guidance model and a one-stop-shop model are presented as a heuristic framework for designing new paths to career guidance in a globalised world.

The chapter on the *Social Context for Career Guidance Throughout the World* by Ed Herr discusses the powerful effects of the social context on individual career development and on the provision of career guidance. These processes are interactive and the content of each is undergoing rapid and wide-spread change. The social contexts of nations around the world are being affected by many forces, including the intensity of international economic competition, the pervasiveness of advanced technology in the implementation of work processes, the transfer of jobs and work tasks across political boundaries, and the globalisation and integration of manufacturing, creativity, science, technology, and management. Such contextual factors have made career paths and individual career development more complex and more fragmented, requiring workers to assume more responsibility for keeping their skills current and serving as their own career manager. As expectations of workers vary and as the social contexts of nations are recreated by transformative forces – economic, political, organisational – career guidance has become a world-wide socio-political instrument to meet national goals and to assist individuals to address their specific career concerns.

The third chapter, written by Kerr Inkson and Graham Elkin on *The Context of Careers in Developed Nations*, explores the issue of career contexts by using the metaphor of the (career) traveller travelling through a complex and changing landscape. Individual agency in careers is contrasted with contextual structure and the influence of structure is emphasised. Among the contextual variables considered are constraints imposed by social class, ethnicity and gender: economic development; globalisation; political policies; industry and occupation structures: the knowledge economy and educational provision; organisational restructuring and control of careers; forms of employment such as contracting and temporary work; changing labour force characteristics including ageing, feminisation, turnover, and migration; national and local cultures and values; family life; and future scenarios for increased casualisation of the workforce and mass unemployment.

Part II of the Handbook contains seven chapters. This part is the classical part, as it can be found in any handbook. It contains the history of career guidance (*Helping People Choose Jobs: A History of the Guidance Profession*), the career theories in general (*The Big Five Career Theories* and *Recent Developments in Career Theories: The Influences of Constructivism and Convergence*), more specific theories (*A History of the Guidance Profession, Decision-Making Models and Career Guidance, A Constructivist Approach to Ethically Grounded Vocational Development Interventions for Young People, Developmental-Contextual Perspectives on Career across the Lifespan*) and some reflections on the applicability of theories in a global world (*Theories in Cross-Cultural Contexts*). There are, however, some specific aspects which are interwoven through all chapters. The authors of these chapters take into account the importance of social contexts and

the role of international societal differences and changes. It makes this part of the Handbook, though classical at first sight, an innovative section that may bring some surprises to readers.

The chapter written by Mark Savickas on the history of the guidance profession approaches the history from a broad international perspective. With the rapid social changes brought by information technology and the globalisation of the economy, the profession of vocational guidance must reconsider the current relevance of its models, methods, and materials. The profession has successfully reinvented itself before in devising youth mentoring for agricultural communities, vocational guidance for industrial cities, and career counselling for corporate societies. To remain relevant and useful in the 21st century, the profession is again reinventing its theories and techniques, this time to concentrate on self-construction within an information society. The chapter contributes to the guidance profession's self-reflection and encourages its reinvention by considering the history of vocational guidance, especially its origins and the development of its four main methods for helping people make educational and occupational choices.

Alvin Leung wrote the chapter on what is considered at the moment as the traditional "big five" theories. He reviews five career development theories that were developed in the United States (USA) but have made an important contribution to career guidance and counselling internationally. These five theories are the Minnesota Theory of Work-Adjustment, Holland's Theory of Vocational Personalities and Work Environment, Self-concept Theory of Career Development formulated by Super and more recently by Savickas, Gottfredson's Theory of Circumscription and Compromise and the Social Cognitive Career Theory. In addition to summarising core concepts and propositions of the five theories, this chapter also examines their cross-cultural validity through reviewing key findings from recent empirical studies conducted outside of the USA. Possible directions to advance and "indigenous" the five career development theories in diverse cultural regions are also discussed.

Some recent developments on career theory influenced by constructivism and convergence are described in the chapter written by Wendy Patton. This chapter briefly overviews the history of career theories, and within the context of the need for a shift in philosophical underpinnings of career theory, describes the core principles of constructivism and its role in the focus on convergence in career theory. Second, it explores two recent theoretical contributions, the Systems Theory Framework and the Career Construction Theory, which reflect developments in both integration and in the influence of constructivism in career theory. For the purpose of comprehensiveness, the influence of constructivism the role of these influences in a number of emerging theoretical discussions is also reviewed.

The chapter by Itamar Gati and Shiri Tal concentrates more on the role of decision-making models in career guidance. This chapter discusses the ways in which a decision-theory perspective can potentially enhance our understanding and facilitation of the career-decision-making process. The chapter explores how by adopting and adapting decision theory to the unique features of career decisions, theoretical knowledge can be transformed into practical interventions, providing career counsellors with tools to assist deliberating individuals. The authors suggest

that one of the reasons decision theory has not yet been embraced as a leading framework for career guidance is that normative decision-making models, which were dominant for many decades, are overly rational and too abstract to be applicable. It is therefore suggested to adopt prescriptive decision-making models, which outline a systematic framework for making decisions, while acknowledging human limitations and intuitive decision-making styles. The usefulness of prescriptive models for facilitating career decision-making is demonstrated by a short review of the PIC model (Pre-screening, In-depth exploration, Choice).

The chapter written by Jean Guichard and Bernadette Dumora brings in the ethical component as it can be applied in constructivist approaches. They start with reflections on the societal context of "high modernity" (Giddens) and how this implies that vocational issues are much broader than that of occupational choice (Parsons) or of career development (Super): Reflexively organised life-planning becomes a major endeavour for individuals. Vocational interventions (education or counselling) aim to help them in this life designing process that – for most individuals – encompasses the issues of work and employment. To do it rigorously, such interventions need to fulfil two conditions: (a) to be grounded on knowledge about the self-construction processes and factors and (b) to make their societal and ethical ends explicit. Adolescence and emerging adulthood appear to be critical ages in this self-construction. Different European researchers have approached the processes in young people of the constitution of the intentions for their own future. Four approaches are presented: the representative matching of self and occupations (Huteau), the development of career decision making cognitive abilities (Dumora), the recurrent and diverse mini-cycles of career development activities (Van Esbroeck et al.) and the construction of a dynamic system of subjective identity forms (Guichard). Relying on these observations, vocational interventions (career education or counselling sessions) have been designed (and some of them assessed) to prepare youngsters to take their decision as regards their school and (future) occupational careers. In our current global context, it seems nevertheless that vocational interventions should aim at more ambitious ends: those of helping young people think about their own contribution to the development of a world where people "live well, with and for others in fair institutions" (Ricoeur).

The chapter written by Fred Vondracek and Erik Porfeli highlights the role that developmental-contextual perspectives can have on career development across the lifespan. These authors start from the idea that the developmental contextual perspective has proved to be a useful means of comprehending how careers are the product of the person-in-context because it represented a meaningful extension of segmental theories that served as the foundation of vocational psychology. Developmental Systems Theory and one of its progeny, Motivational Systems Theory, employ developmental contextualism and living systems theory to yield a comprehensive theory of human functioning. Such advances hold great promise because they merge the biological, psychological, and action aspects of the person to yield a bio-psycho-social perspective of career development.

In their chapter Fred Leong and Arpana Gupta examine the strengths and weaknesses of Western based models for use in a global/international setting. They use

the case of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders because they are the fastest growing ethnic group in the United States. Though this is not mentioned by the authors the same situation is present in other countries as, for example, Australia and New Zealand. This requires that professionals will need to develop career theories and be able to better understand this population in order to provide effective and culturally appropriate interventions. In order to understand the career development among Asian Americans the chapter is divided into three main sections: (a) the first section analyses career development on an individual level. This includes a large number variables as, for example, career interests, occupational values or personality variables, which impact Asian American's career development as well as work adjustment and vocatio nal problems, (b) the second section very briefly mentions the group and societal level processes, (c) the last section ends with problems inherent in current research and end with an outline of the directions for future research.

Parts III and IV of the Handbook concentrate on the career guidance practice. This is a very broad area that could fill a handbook on its own and evidently due to limitations in the number of available pages a selection has been made. Some of the chosen topics are at the centre of attention in the present practice and research. Other chapters deal with topics which have been neglected in the field. But anyhow many topics have been ignored and the editors regret this enormously.

Part III has seven chapters that cover classical topics as career guidance in educational settings, counselling methods, training of practitioners, public policy and last but not least qualification standards. In addition two less traditional topics were chosen: workplace guidance and career management. Both topics come from the "home" of work related guidance. Though these are issues receiving wide attention in public policy and guidance practice, many vocational psychologists do not recognise it as belonging to their field. It is seen too often as belonging to the "home" of I/O (cf. Savickas & Baker, 2005).

The chapter on *Career Guidance and Counselling in Primary and Secondary Educational Settings* by Norm Gysbers focuses on the developments in last decade of the 20th century and first decade of the 21st century and describes the support in primary and secondary education. It opens with background information concerning the administrative authority for career guidance and counselling and whether or not that authority is centralised or decentralised. The chapter continues with a sampling of career guidance and counselling programs and practices from around the world. This section focuses on what children and adolescents are being asked to acquire as well as the delivery systems and methods being used to provide career guidance and counselling. The chapter closes with discussion of some unresolved issues noted in the literature that effect the ways in which career guidance and counselling is conceptualised, delivered, and practised in primary and secondary educational setting.

The chapter by Peter Plant on *Guidance in the Workplace* concentrates on guidance activities that are brought out of the traditional guidance offices into the actual workplace. It highlights two aspects of this pro-active approach. First, it considers the policy links between guidance and lifelong learning, highlighting findings from studies and policy documents on lifelong guidance. Secondly, it compares

approaches to workplace guidance about education and training, drawing upon evaluations of workplace guidance initiatives organised by trade unions and employers in Denmark, Iceland, and in the UK. The conclusions point to power issues behind workplace guidance that need to be addressed by guidance practitioners and policy makers, including employers and trade unions, in terms of outreach-based approaches in adult guidance.

The chapter by Annelies van Vianen, Irene De Pater and Paul Preenen on *Career Management: Taking Control of the Quality of Work Experiences* is written from the point of view that employees rather than employers will be responsible for employees' development and careers. This chapter focuses on career management through personal development. Extant literatures have primarily addressed the quantity of employees' work experiences as being important for personal development, whereas the quality of these experiences has been neglected. The authors argue that the quality of work experiences will become crucial for people's objective and subjective career success. The best way to increase the quality of work experiences is to engage in challenging assignments, since these types of assignment stimulate learning, development, and career flexibility. Whether employees encounter challenging experiences depends on personal initiatives as well as opportunities provided by employers. People's specific motives, self-efficacy, proactivity and career anchors may stimulate or prohibit them to initiate challenging assignments. In a similar vein, the work context and particularly supervisor task assignments may offer opportunities for or restrain employees from having challenging experiences. Employees need the coaching of others to manage their careers.

The chapter by Nancy Arthur on *Qualification Standards for Career Practitioners* outlines national and international initiatives to design and implement qualification standards for career development practitioners. The benefits and challenges for developing and managing standards of practice for career development practitioners are discussed along with key areas for future consideration. Cultural diversity and social justice issues are highlighted to suggest how qualification standards can be leveraged to make positive changes for consumers of career development services. Examples of qualification standards and guidelines from several countries are incorporated into the discussion.

Norman Amundson and Erin Thrift present a chapter on *The Emergence of More Dynamic Counselling Methods*. This chapter illustrates a more dynamic, imaginative and flexible career counselling approach. The starting point is some critical reflection about the underlying traditions and conventions that serve as a foundation for much of career guidance. These include an examination of relationships as well as consideration of time structures, physical space, modes of communication and the involvement of others. With this fresh perspective in mind, the focus shifts to illustrations of more dynamic counselling methods. Particular emphasis is placed on the use of metaphors, storytelling and some of the more paradoxical questioning methods. The emphasis here is on different ways to change perspective to help people develop new ways of seeing themselves and their problems. These new perspectives enable clients to create new possibilities and also to realistically assess the viability of various options.

The chapter by Tony Watts on *Career Guidance and Public Policy* was chosen because it ties in with the growing interest in the application of public policy to career guidance. Drawing upon a number of international policy reviews, the rationale for policy interest in career guidance is examined. The underlying rationale is that career guidance is a public as well as a private good, in relation to three sets of policy goals: learning goals, labour market goals, and social equity goals. These are currently being reframed in the light of policies relating to lifelong learning. The potential roles of public policy in relation to career guidance services are four-fold: legislation, remuneration, exhortation, and regulation. Stronger roles tend to be evident in relation to "free-standing" services. Here governments can adopt one or more of three policy models: a social-welfare model; a market model; or a quasi-market model. Finally, a number of policy issues are discussed. These include: the relative merits of stand-alone and embedded delivery models; the implications of the move from reactive to proactive policy models; the need for strategic leadership mechanisms to assure lifelong access to career guidance; and ways of influencing policy. The need for closer mutual understanding between policy-makers and the career guidance profession is underlined.

The last chapter in Part III on *Training Career Practitioners in the 21st Century* is written by Spencer Niles and Azra Karajic. In this chapter, issues related to training career practitioners are examined. An international perspective is taken to identify similarities and differences in both the level and scope of training for career practitioners. While on the one hand, the variability that exists in the training of career practitioners reflects the variation in national contexts, there is also the need for more uniform (and rigorous) training standards. In most cases, it can be argued that training standards fall short of what can be considered minimal. The Council for the Accreditation of Counseling and Related Educational Programs (CACREP) provides an example of more rigorous standards than what exists in many contexts. Additionally, it is noted that there is substantial variability in the language used to describe career interventions. This is problematic because career practitioners engage in a verbal profession. Thus, the need for more precise language when referring to career interventions is also suggested.

The Part IV, a continuation of the practice oriented chapters, is geared towards specific target groups. The five chapters in this part concentrate on gender aspects – with special attention to work-family role conflict, persons with disabilities and at risk youth. Obviously an international oriented chapter related to immigrants has also been included.

The chapter by Jenny Bimrose on *Guidance for Girls and Women* examines the position of women in labour markets around the world. It starts from an observation on gender inequality as a feature of labour markets around the world. Despite the general recognition that the economic prosperity of all nations can only be enhanced by the full and equal integration of women into labour forces, women continue to be marginalised. Whilst the progress made by some women is encouraging, in general terms they are far from enjoying equity with their male counterparts. Their participation in labour markets is lower than men's; they are to found more often in part-time employment, the majority are clustered in a relatively small number of "female" occupations;

and their attempts to move upwards into higher status, higher paid employment has been pitifully slow. Of course, this has implications for careers guidance practice. This chapter reviews selected career guidance and counselling approaches that have been developed, or adapted, for this particular client group and it explores their application to female participants in a longitudinal study of career progression.

The chapter on *Career Guidance for Persons with Disabilities* written by Salvatore Soresi, Laura Nota, Lea Ferrari and Scott Solberg relates the career development of persons with disability to the type and severity of disability. Disability may decrease exploratory behaviours during development, thus diminishing the knowledge one can have about professional activities and work settings. In addition, significant others often tend to make decisions, and also career decisions, for these persons and so stimulate scarce involvement in them. This condition can reduce self-determination and quality of life, and also restrict participation in working activities and economic life. Vocational guidance is the essential premise for any project of work inclusion. An analysis should be done of the wishes, professional expectations and strengths of persons with disabilities, and support should be given to their decisional process. Therefore, practitioners require to be especially trained to become able to design effective career guidance programming for persons with disability needs.

Charles Chen wrote the chapter on *Career Guidance with Immigrants* in which he refers to the effective utilisation of human resources as one of the main challenges that accompany the growing trend of immigration. To develop its premises and elaborate its arguments within a North American context, this chapter attempts to generate heuristic perspectives and conceptualisations that might be of some help to similar contexts internationally. An attempt is made to integrate theory, research, and practice within the context of enhancing career guidance for new immigrant professional workers. The chapter fist examines some of the critical issues that affect the work life experiences of the target group, drawing particular attention to the psychological impact of such experiences on immigrant professionals. It will then review key tenets from some of the career development theories, contemplating to form an initial theoretical framework, namely, the Cross-Cultural Life-Career Development (CCLCD) framework, for immigrants' life-career adjustment needs. Some considerations are addressed, aiming to improve the career and vocational wellbeing of immigrant professional workers.

The chapter on *Coping with Work and Family Role Conflict: Career Counselling Considerations for Women*, also written by Charles Chen deals with the issue of the challenge of role conflict between their work life and family life that many women workers encounter while assuming simultaneously the role of a worker and a homemaker. This chapter examines some key aspects of this role conflict, and proposes several career counselling considerations that aim to help women clients cope more effectively with the conflict, building a balance between their work life and family life.

The chapter by Hazel Reid on *Career Guidance for Young People: Constructing a Way Forward* deals with guidance with young people "at risk" of social exclusion. Policy makers in different countries have given increasing attention to those young people who leave education early and then spend time in short term, often unskilled

employment, combined with periods of unemployment. Different countries have applied a range of strategies to help them with educational and vocational decision-making. This chapter considers how practice needs to adapt to accommodate this. It begins with a definition of the terms used when considering the specific issues that at risk young people present for career guidance, and moves on to discuss the focus on inclusion for such young people. It then introduces a constructivist framework and explores the usefulness of motivational, outcome-focused and narrative-based approaches within this context. The author advocates a move to narrative thinking in order to construct a way forward for face-to-face, career guidance work with young people at risk.

Part V deals in seven chapters with the most treated topic in educational and vocational guidance: the issue of testing and assessment. In the handbook the issue is treated from an international perspective and contributes to the reflection if there are limitations or difficulties in the use of tests in cross- and multi-cultural situations. The choice to give an important place to testing and assessment is an obvious one. Most handbooks give ample attention to assessment within the framework of self-knowledge. The topic is so important that even in the second edition of the impressive book on *Testing and Assessment in Counselling Practice* edited by Edwards Watkins and Vicky Campbell (2000) more than half of the book was on vocational assessment. But the choice to concentrate on the measurement of some key concepts – as, example, career maturity, interests, values and role salience – in an international and cross-cultural setting is less evident. This is exactly the importance of this part of the Handbook.

The chapter written by an international team with Maria Eduarda Duarte and Jérôme Rossier on *Testing and Assessment in an International Context: Cross- and Multi-cultural Issues* sets the tone for this part of the Handbook. This chapter reviews the methodological and practical implications for psychological assessment in the field of career guidance. The methodological implications are numerous and several aspects have to be considered, such as cross-cultural equivalence or construct, method, and item bias. Moreover, the construct of culture by itself is difficult to define and difficult to measure. In order to provide non-discriminatory assessment counsellors should develop their clinical cross-cultural competencies, develop more specific intervention strategies, and respect cultural differences. Several suggestions are given concerning translation and adaptation of psychological instruments and developing culture specific measures. More research in this field should use mixed methods, multi-centric designs, and consider emic and etic psychological variables. A multidisciplinary approach might also allow identifying culture specific and ecological meaningful constructs. Non-discriminatory assessment implies considering the influence and interaction of personal characteristics and environmental factors.

The chapter by Mark Watson on *Career Maturity Assessment in an International Context* deals with the measurement of one of the important concepts in career guidance by Donald Super: career maturity. The chapter explores the construct equivalence of career maturity within the cultures in which it is applied. The traditional definition of career maturity from a normative and linear perspective has

been increasingly criticised internationally as failing to consider an individual's context as well as for its value laden connotations. This chapter explores the need to adapt the construct of career maturity in order to reflect specific cultural contexts. In so doing the chapter returns the conceptualisation of career maturity full cycle to Donald Super's earlier use of career adaptation as representing a more accurate reflection of the career developmental tasks within the contexts in which they must be accomplished.

Terence Tracey and Saurubh Gupta deal in their chapter on *Interest Assessment in an International Context* also with one of the key variables in career guidance. The issues relevant to construct equivalence across cultures is presented in general and then specifically with reference to interest assessment. Focus is placed on aspects of structural equivalence and relations of interest measures with extra-measure data such as interest-occupation congruence. With respect to structural equivalence, research has demonstrated that Holland's hexagon RIASEC model does not demonstrate structural equivalence across cultures. It fits U.S. contexts well but does not in other cultures. Gati's simple RIASEC partition model does demonstrate a better fit in non-U.S. cultures. The spherical model has been found to demonstrate structural equivalence across cultures and is thus becoming a promising alternative. The validity of the application of interests themselves across culture will vary as a function of constraints of culture on choice. So interests measures, even if structurally equivalent across cultures may not be valid in application. As such, validity evaluations of both the measures themselves and their applications are required to determine cross cultural equivalence.

The chapter by Branimir Šverko, Toni Babarovi and Iva Šverko on the *Assessment of Values and Role Salience* examines the methodological issues connected with the measurement of values and role salience and offers an overview of the main instruments that have been used in their assessment. The chapter begins with the conceptualisation of the basic constructs. First, the concept of roles and role salience are explained, with special emphasis on Super's view of life roles and their interaction across the life-span. Then the constructs of life values and work values are discussed and various *a priori* and empirical taxonomies of values are reviewed. This is followed by the methodological section, which has two parts. In the first part assessment approaches, measurement techniques and related methodological problems are considered, and the second part presents short descriptions of existing inventories for assessment of values and role salience. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the use of values and role salience assessment in career guidance.

The chapter by Jacques Grégoire and Frederic Nils on *Cognitive Measurement in Career Guidance* is based on the viewpoint that career guidance started out historically with the assessment of physical and cognitive abilities that are crucial for specific occupations and for developing professional skills. Later, career guidance gradually considered students' interests as a central issue in educational and vocational guidance. Today, the assessment of cognitive abilities is often relegated to the background and, sometimes, dropped in favor of the sole conative characteristics. The current chapter handles the issue of the place of the cognitive abilities within the vocational assessment and guidance. The first section analyses the relationship between cognitive abilities,

school and job performance. The next section discusses the nature of the relations observed between abilities and interests. In a last section, models and methods used to assess cognitive abilities in career guidance are presented.

The five first chapters of Part V were concentrating mainly on qualitative assessment. There is, however, also the quantitative approach. This topic was chosen in view of an effort to go for a balance between both approaches (Savickas, 2001). The chapter on *Qualitative Career Assessment: A higher Profile in the 21st Century* written by Mary McMahon starts out by recognising the limited profile that qualitative career assessment has in career development literature. The author wonders, however, if this will remain so in the 21st century as career counsellors face new challenges. She agrees that qualitative career assessment is in no way intended to replace traditional standardised quantitative assessment processes. Both have a purpose and both offer a range of potential benefits to clients, and may operate in complementary ways. The chapter provides a brief history of qualitative career assessment and overviews its development and use. It describes some common instruments and discusses the advantages and disadvantages of qualitative career assessment.

The final chapter of this Part on *Ethical Issues in Testing and Assessment*, written by Donna E. Palladino Schultheiss and Graham B. Stead, reflects on the need for practitioners and researchers to have an awareness of the ethical issues impacting the career assessment process. Practitioners have a responsibility to their clients and to the general public to uphold fair and just practices that are in the best interests of the people that they serve. As such, professional standards and ethical guidelines have been developed by many national and international professional associations to assist practitioners in making decisions regarding their professional behaviour. This chapter provides an overview of the issues impacting the ethical practice of career assessment and testing. Current global practices in competent career assessment will be examined, as well as ethical issues evident in computer and Internet-based assessment, and assessment with specific populations.

The final part of the Handbook is on the issue of evaluation of educational and vocational guidance. The four chapters in Part VI deal with the evaluation of the effectiveness of career guidance in general but also specific techniques are treated as, for example, meta-analysis, longitudinal research, and action theory.

The chapter written by Paul Gore and Takuya Minami on *Quantitative Research Synthesis: The Use of Meta-Analysis in Career Guidance and Vocational Psychology* treats big challenge of synthesising and summarising career guidance research literature. This chapter describes the basic principles of meta-analysis; a set of statistical and methodological procedures developed to provide investigators with means to objectively and quantitatively synthesise a body of literature. This review is conceptual rather than mathematical in nature but will provide the reader with a fundamental understanding of the processes used in conducting a meta-analysis. In effort to provide examples of the use of these procedures, this chapter also describes four meta-analytic studies investigating issues that are of interest to career counsellors and vocational psychologists.

In the chapter by Richard Young and Ladislav Valach on *Action Theory: An integrative Paradigm for Research and Evaluation in Career* contextual action theory

is proposed as an integrative paradigm for research and evaluation in career. Contextual action theory is able to address both processes and outcomes of career counselling and other interventions as well as incorporate consciousness and natural phenomena as the critical criterion of research and evaluation in this field. The chapter provides an overview of action theory as an explanation of career. Contextual action theory provides a conceptual framework or paradigm for understanding the actions in everyday life and how these processes are constructed over the medium and long terms to form projects and careers. This paradigm is then illustrated by applying it to the issue of what constitutes a life-enhancing career, under the assumption that educational and vocational guidance is ultimately directed at facilitating such careers. How the paradigm is applied to research and evaluation in career is discussed with reference to what it allows us to do; the procedures for its use in research and evaluation are provided; and its use in counselling, one of the primary means of educational and vocational guidance, is described.

The chapter by Jane Swanson and Sarah Miller on *Using Longitudinal Methodology in Career Guidance Research* s built on the idea that research in vocational psychology and career guidance has been criticised for its underuse of longitudinal methodology. This means, however, more than simply conducting more longitudinal research. On the contrary it should be well-crafted longitudinal studies that are sensitive to expected and unexpected change. The chapter discusses the use of longitudinal methodology based on a conceptual framework borrowed from developmental psychology. In the chapter examples from published research are given to illustrate application of the framework to career guidance research. The authors also discuss methodological issues in designing longitudinal studies, including approaches to acquiring longitudinal data through prospective and retrospective designs and through the use of using existing datasets.

The final chapter in Part VI on the *Evaluation of Career Guidance Programs* is written by Susan Whiston and Ilene Buck. This chapter examines the research related to the effectiveness of career guidance programs with a focus on evaluating different types of interventions. The first section of the chapter addresses the overall effectiveness of career guidance interventions and programs and summarizes some career outcome research that has been conducted in different countries. In addition, the authors discuss the effectiveness of different modalities (e.g., individual, group, or career course) and research related to the effectiveness of computer or Internet-based systems. The most important part of the chapter includes the description of a method on, how career guidance programs can be evaluated and suggests methods for improving this evaluation process.

The handbook ends with a concluding chapter on *International and Social Perspective on Career Guidance* written by the editors. This is not a technical chapter that deals with career guidance in cross-cultural and international situations. It is rather a reflective chapter that tries to frame the broad scope of career guidance activities into a model that can be used as a conceptual framework. In this model two broad factors that have an impact upon career guidance perspectives throughout the world are considered and are described as (a) individual and vocational factors; and (b) guidance delivery factors. The first section of this paper considers the

background of career guidance as a basis for understanding the perspectives that already had an impact upon it. Then selected social and international perspectives relevant to career guidance are considered jointly as part of the existential issues facing each person and each practitioner.

Like most handbooks, this one certainly has limitations. Some of these were already announced by the editors. Some will be discovered at a later stage. But anyhow the handbook is an effort to enhance and improve international exchange and understanding within the world-wide career guidance community.

Acknowledgement The editors want to thank all the authors who contributed to the Handbook for making available an abstract of their chapter that were used extensively in this introduction.

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Part I
Educational and Vocational Guidance in a Social Context

Chapter 2
CAREER GUIDANCE IN A GLOBAL WORLD

Raoul Van Esbroeck

The Path to Globalisation

The period of industrialisation in the Western world was first marked by the development of large business companies within countries. Companies and corporations assumed responsibility for all aspects of the development, production and distribution process. As noted by Savickas (see Chapter 5), they were city-located, hierarchically organised and offered the possibility for stable and well-defined career paths within the organisations themselves. This led to a migration of workers from the rural areas to the cities or in some cases from one country or one continent to another (e.g., from Europe to the USA).

Very soon, however, and even more so in the second half of the 20th century they grew into worldwide multinationals. The growth of the original organisation entailed the creation of many new jobs and brought industrialisation to new parts of the world. The model of hierarchical organisations encompassing the totality of the production or service process, and concentrated in a well-defined location, was exported the world over. Society was transformed by economic globalisation. This led to a situation where some organisations, including for example 17 of the top 100 UK companies, employing the majority of their workforce outside their home countries (Storey, 2000). Many examples of these situations can be found all over the world. This form of globalisation is closely connected to an increase in communication whether at the physical level of transportation of goods and people or at the virtual level. The development of technology in general and information and communication technology (ICT) in particular gave a further boost to the economic globalisation. The development of new industries and businesses triggered off a new migration process of workers within new countries and regions. Also, there appeared a new type of temporary migration, that is expatriate migration, which involved highly skilled professionals moving from mainly western home countries to new countries.

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J.A. Athanasou, R. Van Esbroeck (eds.) *International Handbook of Career Guidance*,

© Springer Science + Business Media B.V. 2008

The picture of organisational growth, in particular in western society, came to an end as soon as a third wave of structural transition appeared, that is, post industrialisation. The post-industrial revolution builds upon the scientific and technological revolution. This revolution was "highly technical and anti-industrial" (Herr, 1999, p. 26); it had major consequences for the organisations and changed the entire societal structure. The manufacturing sector declined in post-modern society and was increasingly replaced by the service and communication sector. The corporations started a process of outsourcing and delayering. The organisations became as businesses that were downsized and reduced to the core business of the organisation with other activities being moved to external companies. Organisations also became flatter as a result of "fewer levels of management and the use of cross-functional autonomous work teams" (Greenhaus, Callanan, & Godshalk, 2000, p. 5). Also, there was no longer any need for organisations to be located at the traditional sites and city centres. Organisations or at least important parts of them moved to new locations. It was no longer the case that the same organisation controlled the entire production or business process. The traditional organisation was replaced by a decentralised system and networking became the norm within the same organisation; subsidiary companies, however, could be granted large managerial and legal independence. Networks are often complemented by partnerships with other external companies. The organisation became a conglomerate of a variety of interconnected firms each specialising in a specific though integral part of the process of production.

In the beginning, the post-industrial revolution led to migration of labour and jobs within countries (e.g., from the North-East to the South of the US) or migration locations within the same geographical area (e.g., from France to Spain). Instead of moving workers to businesses, businesses moved to where the workers and new markets were. Technological progress very soon allowed business processes or parts of them to be re-located to countries overseas. That was when the term "offshoring" appeared. In the beginning in the 1970s and 1980s, offshoring mainly involved low- and semi-skilled workers, but very soon it concerned almost any job (Levy, 2005). Another possibility of worker migration followed from these developments. Some economic sectors, however, cannot be offshored. Hutton (1995) referred to the service sector in this perspective, but the construction sector could also be part of it. This led to a situation of body shopping, which is the practice of using offshored personnel to do temporary disaggregated tasks within the home company. An example is that of the construction workers from the new EU-countries (e.g., Poland) who work as project-related independent sub-contractors for larger companies in the old EU-countries (e.g., Belgium, France).

All these migration movements of organisations, jobs and workers have led to a world-wide labour market and a globalised economy. Economists argue that the globalisation of the labour market creates wealth in the original country as well as in the country that receives the new jobs (Farrell & Agrawal, 2003). Also, cross-cultural contacts are often seen as the source of new intangible wealth. These ideas were and are still at the basis of the EU transnational programs such as the Leonardo

da Vinci program, which relates to life-long learning. The question, however, becomes to what extent these positive effects are real and if there are not some unexpected side-effects?

Globalisation Revisited

The process of globalisation has far-reaching consequences for society at large. Blustein (2006) referred to globalisation as a force that will completely rearrange current social structures. In particular, because globalisation has to be seen in association with technological developments. The possibility to move jobs around leads to a reduced job security and layoffs, with "despair and social disengagement" (Blustein, 2006, p. 44) as a consequence for the individual. This is most certainly not only an issue in the Western world, but has become a major issue in other parts of the world also. In China, workers have become aware that "competition from foreign companies would be intense, which in turn has intensified the job insecurity of Chinese workers" (Probst & Lawler, 2006, p. 251). This is an even greater problem in the collectivist culture of China than in the individual cultures in the West. Probst and Lawler (2006) concluded that the negative effects of job insecurity will be more serious for this group than for Western countries.

In the West, offshoring has major effects on employment. Data on mass layoffs in the US (Brown & Siegel, 2005) indicated that in 2004 one in four relocations were outside the US. Similar situations are found in other Western countries. This leads to concerns among political leaders and social organisations in the original countries, because it creates unemployment with all its direct economic, social and individual consequences. In the receiving countries, however, it creates new employment and wealth. The question is whether wealth creation is only in the new countries? Indeed, there are indications that the real gain is not for new countries, but that most of the gains remain in the original countries.

A good example is given by Vogel (2006), who referred to the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) Corridors in relation to the offshoring of transportation jobs leading to "further dislocation and debasement of labor in the United States" and "intense labor exploitation in Mexico" (p. 25). This is clearly related to a change in attitude on the part of corporate leadership. The main reason for outsourcing, offshoring and other migrations is to reduce production costs and increase corporate benefits. Offshoring in the USA means that "companies save $0.58 for every dollar of spending on jobs they move to India" (Farrell, 2005, p. 676). These are gains that could be reinvested or "distributed to shareholders". This is exactly the problem. All too often corporate profits are equated with national wealth (Levy, 2005). Levy (2005) stated that "reducing wages by itself, however, does not increase national income, it simply transfers income from workers to shareholders" (p. 686). The same effect would be reached if workers in the home countries accepted significant pay cuts. As a result company think tanks are

discussing "how to make the transition to a global economy less painful for workers and increase the participation in the wealth creation" (Farrell, 2005, p. 675). This is obviously a concern, since about one third of the US workers who lost their jobs because of displacement were not fully reemployed and a majority of them lost out on their wages (Farrell, 2005). Not all authors support these views. On the contrary, some minimise the effects of offshoring as being only a small part of the total economy that is compensated by shifting jobs to the personal service industry (Blinder, 2006).

The problem is becoming even more pressing in some other Western countries. The possibilities of offshoring and outsourcing are often used as threats that may influence the salary. A good illustration of this is what happened to the workers of the "Volkswagen" car assembly plants in Germany and Belgium. They were forced to accept major salary cuts in order to avoid plant closures and production lines being moved to other countries with a lower salary structure.

It is clear that offshoring affects the career possibilities in the original countries where jobs are lost, as also in the receiving countries where new jobs are created. This leads to a new movement. Young adults from Western countries follow the job movement and start looking for jobs in the new countries. Indian companies, for example, are currently looking for C-level executives (CEO, CFO, and COO) in the West (Fisher, 2005). The international career option has already been recognised by adolescents. Witko, Bernes, Magnusson, and Bardick (2006) found that 45% of senior high students in Southern Alberta, Canada, "believed that it was 'very likely' or 'quite likely' that they would be able to find work internationally" (p. 88). This means that a new movement of worker migration has started. It is no longer the case that expatriates move to non-western countries on a temporary basis as employees of multinational organisations, and with an option of being repatriated at one stage as employees of the head company. On the contrary, western workers now embark on a career in non-western countries working for local companies. These are the new global workers (Neault, 2005).

This type of work migration generates its own problems; unexpected problems related to financial issues (e.g., being paid local wages), to the recognition of competencies and expertise when moving to another country or back to the home country, to underutilised skills, differences in job content (leading to less challenging and interesting jobs than expected), culture shock, etc. (Neault, 2005). These problems occur for those moving into as well as for those moving out of western countries. Many of the problems are related to the meeting of different cultures and the cultural distances between them including "different languages, have different social structures, religions, standards of living, and values" (Triandis, 2003, p. 489).

It can be concluded that globalisation will lead to positive developments with respect to some aspects in society and to advantages for some groups. Changes, however, are not always for the better. There are, temporarily maybe, major problems and disadvantages for some groups and some regions. Undeniably, however, globalisation will have a profound impact on society, whether for better or for worse.

Meeting Other Cultures as Part of Globalisation

Within globalisation, the main story is always about moving people, jobs and organisations. When persons move to another country or region they bring with them their own culture that can differ considerably from the dominant culture of the new environment. So that "people are forced to get along with those who are different from themselves" (Triandis, 2003, p. 486), which is not so easy. People respond to the challenge by categorising. The division into "us" and "them" (Triandis, 2003) is a very common response. The problem with dichotomisation is that the meeting of cultures is not so neutral. There is the issue of perceived similarity (Triandis, Kurowski, & Gelfand, 1994) and ethnocentrism (Evans-Pritchard, 1969). But there is also the issue of dominant vs. subordinate culture. This is to some extent related to the dimension of "power distance" in Hofstede's typology (Hofstede, 2001). Though in an ideal situation the equality of cultures should be recognised and respected, in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the United Nations in 1948 and the related international conventions, there still remains the struggle for dominance and the difficulties inherent in getting along with persons from other cultures.

Problems can be related to the size of the group, with a majority and a minority group, though this is not always the case. They can also be connected to economic and political power. The culture of a minority group can represent the dominant economic power and accordingly, influence the struggle for cultural dominance. But they can also be part of the cultural system itself. The culture of a minority group can be recognised by the majority group as the leading cultural system that needs to be adhered to. When people move from one cultural environment to another the issue of cultural dominance plays a role in the confrontation. The majority or dominant group expects the minority group to a certain extent to adapt and align with the cultural characteristics of the majority group.

Next to the moving of people there is also the move of organisations, which is not culture free either. When organisations move to another country they take with them their organisational culture and managerial style (Van Esbroeck, 2002) embedded in the national culture of their home country. This organisational culture can differ considerably from the dominant and traditional organisational culture of the host country. An organisational culture that is in turn connected to the national culture of the host country. Once again, there is an inequality of power between both cultures. The multinational organisations that move into new environments usually do this from a powerful position. They take with them the investments, the jobs and wealth in general. They also transfer new knowledge and skills. In this situation, they can be expected to want to impose their organisational culture to the newly created organisations.

The relationship between the organisational and national culture is complex. On the basis of Schein's organisational culture model, Derr and Laurent (1989) developed a level of culture triangle (see Fig. 2.1). These authors saw the basic assumptions (e.g., faith in free enterprise) as being at the basis of the organisational culture, and as being strongly related to and influenced by the national culture. The values, norms and arte-

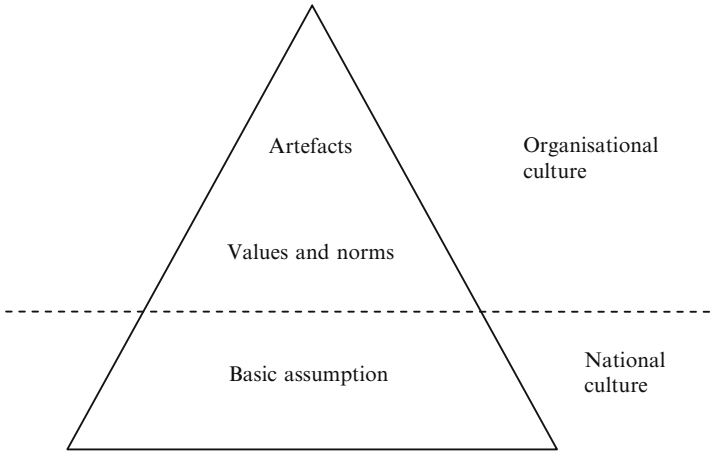


Fig. 2.1 Levels of culture triangle (From Derr & Laurent, 1989)

facts (e.g., dress code) – important though but to be considered as peripheral – are translations and representations of these assumptions and are built along the development of the organisation. They are less deeply embedded and part of the organisation itself. They are "more apt to change over time and more symbolic of the social reality" (Derr & Laurent, 1989, p. 465). According to this model, the national culture – and related to it the basic assumptions – is the most important and the least subject to change. This is precisely the part of the organisational culture that the organisation will try to maintain and implement in their newly developed branches.

The cultural "collision" (Weber, Shenkar, & Raveh, 2001) between the organisational culture (i.e., the basic assumptions) and the national culture may be at the basis of many failures in moving organisations and jobs. The dissimilarity and strength of ethnocentrism in the national cultures (home and host) will help to predict the problems related to the clash of cultures. The results of the study by Weber et al. (2001) highlighted this issue very well when they concluded that national culture differentials are a better predictor of the outcome of the confrontation in the case of company mergers and acquisitions. It is not the peripheral aspects that will cause the problem. On the contrary, they are the first aspects to change. A good example of this provided by Fisher (2005), when she described how a US company adapted its company cafeteria to the Indian manager's lunch style – even the visiting managers – and served "tuna on rye" instead of a "cold sandwich". But the basic assumptions will not be changed so easily. The basic assumptions of the organisational culture will be transferred into the new branch. And only those who support these assumptions or do not openly challenge them will remain in the company (Greenhaus et al., 2000).

Evidently there will be some adaptations because some managerial assumptions in the national culture of the host country will prevail. Laurent (1983) found, for example, that in a US-multinational organisation with a well-developed standardised worldwide system for assessing managerial potential and success, there were

still major cross-cultural differences in success variables. But certainly not all assumptions are subject to change.

The confrontation of cultures is inevitable and on the increase in the globalised society. This confrontation is not going to be easy because there is always the underlying fight for culture dominance. This confrontation will certainly create temporary difficulties for the persons who are confronted with it. Ultimately, this will probably change as soon as a mutual culture recognition prevails and differences are accepted and embedded in the thinking patterns. Meanwhile the difficulties are present and will have major impact on society, the individuals and their careers.

Globalisation and Effect on Careers

In addition to its effect on post-modern society, globalisation has a specific impact on careers. Post-modern characteristics did not develop at the same pace all over the world, and there were differences even between the different subgroups in one country. As a result of the migration of people and organisations, individuals may therefore in addition to cultural differences be confronted with unexpected aspects of post-modern society. Individual persons and their social environment may not be prepared to deal with them. Western organisations could move into a very rural environment where the majority of the population identifies with a strong, deeply embedded traditional culture. Modern western society may for such a population only be available virtually through communication channels such as TV and radio. And then all of a sudden the western world becomes real and is knocking at their door. Evidently differences will not always be that extreme and in most cases are situated somewhere between two extremes.

The same situation arises when persons move from traditional rural environments in non-western countries to westernised countries. In this situation, it can be even worse, because such a move changes their status from belonging to a majority to a minority group. What the effect of such a move has on the career has been well studied. In the US and in Europe, minority groups enter a situation where they are in a disadvantaged position compared to the majority. The issue of economic and cultural disadvantages, and related forms of discrimination is doubtless crucially important. The topic is, however, not really a focus of attention of this chapter.

Within the framework of this chapter only some reflections will be made on how globalisation leads to a confrontation between traditional gender roles and gender equality, and between individualistic and collectivist cultures. These are two key variables that also appear in Hofstede's typology (Hofstede, 2001). The "power distance", a third variable in Hofstede's typology, is not included separately because it is, as described above, an inherent part related to the moving from one culture to the other. The role of these variables depends, however, on the cultural identity development (Atkinson, Morton, & Sue, 1989; Cross, 1971) of the persons. Persons, who identify strongly with the minority group they belong to, may face

more difficulties than those who do not identify with it when handling differences between their own culture and the host culture.

Gender

One of the issues where there can be large discrepancies between cultures and where globalisation related confrontation can be hard to cope with is the gender issue. When western multinationals move into certain areas in developing countries, they sometimes take some basic assumptions with them that are related to reducing gender bias in the organisation. Accordingly, they tend to give the job to the best qualified person irrespective of the person's gender. This leads to situations in which female workers are taken on, assigned leading positions, and paid a salary in accordance with their qualifications. So that, unlike what happened in the traditional context, women suddenly become wage earners. This impacts on the role of men as the providers for the family or at least, men will find themselves in a situation in which they are no longer the sole providers. There can be disastrous effects for their families and the local community. Brennan (2004) for instance described the effects of tourist and sex business in the Dominican Republic on the gender relation within families. Women see the "sex trade as an advancement strategy" (Brennan, 2004, p. 711) and are often supported in this by their partners. Once women engage in this kind of work, they make substantial sacrifices, but receive little benefits in return. Their social status within the family and local community deteriorates and women become more vulnerable to the negative reactions of the community, and even of their fellow workers in the business. The effects on their partners are even greater. Their male partners develop a more explicitly macho attitude, sometimes become more violent, and display explicitly their monetary wealth instead of investing it in advancement projects. As a result, the male partners of female sex workers participate less in the local wage-labour market, which means that the import of this new industry disrupts the normal social system.

The disruptive impact of the introduction of new labour activities is not restricted to the sex trade, it is a general issue related to any kind of work. Heise, Ellsberg, and Gottemoeller (1999) referred to the situation in Mexico and Papua New Guinea where women stopped participating in development programs because of men's threats. Because "men perceived the growing empowerment of their wives as a threat to their control" (p. 25). The authors also confirmed in studies carried out in Bangladesh, Peru and on the garment workers in Mexico (the so called *maquiladores*) that "even if men do not prevent women's participation they may use force to deprive them of its benefits" (p. 25). This is roughly the same pattern of behaviour as was found by Brennan (2004) in the Dominican Republic. Most studies referred to situations in lower socio-economic groups and manual or low skilled jobs. The same effects are felt, however, also in higher socio-economic groups and

in relation to jobs for which a higher level of education is required. Heise et al. (1999) for example referred to female teachers in Papua New Guinea, who do not accept promotions to avoid more violence from their husbands.

This picture is certainly not universal. In matriarchal societies, where women traditionally played a leading role, the new work opportunities are warmly welcomed. Athanasou and Torrance (2002), referring to the situation in some of the Pacific Islands concluded that "female participation in the paid labour force is increasing over time following the access to education and training" (p. 17). This is an example of positive confrontation related to similarities in basic assumptions in the different cultures.

The integration in the labour market is an issue that also plays an important role in situations when individuals move to other regions. Women, who move from non-western to western cultures, face the difficulty that entering the labour market is not supported within their own community. In Flanders, only a small minority of immigrant women (12.5%) of Mahgreb, Turkish or Arab origin – second generation women even – are entering the labour market (Lacante, Almaci, Van Esbroeck, Lens, & De Metsenaere, 2007). This study also found that there is a strong make up movement in the third generation immigrants. The participation of women in higher education is proportionately much higher than for men. This indicates that, though these women still identify strongly with there cultural origins, they have reached a high level of sociocultural adaptation, which confirms the results of the study by Berry, Phinney, Sam, and Vedder (2006). It does not, however, mean that these women are no longer at risk. These authors concluded on the basis of their research that "females may be more at psychological risk" (p. 325).

Collectivist Versus Individualistic Cultures

The confrontation between individualistic and collectivist cultures, in some cases interwoven with the gender equality topic, is also related to globalisation and may require special attention. In Western individualistic society careers are built from an individual point of view. The individuals should make their own decisions, develop their profiles, and build their own careers. The ultimate goal is to realise your "self", to achieve individual success and satisfaction. This is certainly not supported in collectivist cultures, where the priority is given to group goals rather than personal goals (Triandis, 1989). In some cultures, it is even considered improper to talk about oneself. This was beautifully illustrated in the answer provided by a South Korean student, who was studying at the Vrije Universiteit Brussel, and who in reply to the academic advisor's question about his academic performance said "my family is very satisfied about the academic progress and results".

The difference between the two cultures really comes to the fore when job hunting starts. The informal network – friends and family – that supports job hunting in the collectivist cultures is more important than in individualistic cultures.

Even in Europe there are differences in the use of the informal network. The persons from countries with a strong family culture (e.g., Spain) use more informal channels than persons from countries where this is less explicit (e.g., the Netherlands) (European Community, 1999). Such phenomena also appear in other countries. Lebanese graduates from public universities, which are more part of the traditional neopatriarchical society, use friends, personal and family contacts in the job procurement process more so than students from private universities (e.g., the American University of Beirut, Notre Dame University) who use more formal application methods (Nasser & Abouchedid, 2006). The difference is that these private universities are much more western oriented and attract more upper class students.

The influence on the career, however, is much more differentiated. Sanders, Nee, and Sernau (2002) found that Asian immigrants in the US, who are more reliant on informal networks, find more jobs outside the ethnic group than those who are self reliant. They concluded that "ethnolinguistic closure encourages ethnic segmentation in the labour market" (p. 308). Nasser and Abouchedid (2006) concluded that Lebanese university graduates who used informal channels had a higher level of job satisfaction. This is particularly true for men. On the other hand, these graduates had a lower level of occupational attainment. Graduates who applied through formal channels received more rewards in their careers.

After entering a career the difference between the individualistic and collectivist cultures remains. The example of work-family conflict (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985) illustrated this very well. There are ample research results indicating that in western countries, but also in the rest of the world, the work-family and family-work interrole conflict affects performance in these roles and the quality of family life, and vice versa (Parasuraman & Greenhaus, 1999). In collectivist cultures the family is recognised as the centre for economic and social interaction. There is, in these cultures, a demand for respect and active participation in family roles. In traditional Arab families men as well as women have a major obligation to safeguard the family's honour (Cinamon, 2006). In this culture, "blending work and family roles, especially for women, will never be possible without first obtaining the permission of the family" (Cinamon, 2006, p. 84). It is clear that such a situation will have major effects on career development. A cross-cultural study comparing US and Hong Kong employees (Aryee, Fields, & Luk, 1999) confirmed that the work-family conflict strongly influenced the Hong Kong employees. The authors saw "the interference of work with family responsibilities … as threatening the family identity" (p. 508). Spending enough time with the family is crucial. This is confirmed in other cross-cultural studies (Wharton & Blair-Loy, 2006). Yet other studies, however, do not fully confirm these discrepancies (Hill, Yang, Hawkins, & Ferris, 2004). The study of IBM employees, evidently highly educated and computer technology involved persons, was carried out in 48 countries and led to the reflection that employees "experience the tensions between work and family in impressively similar ways" (p. 1313). This may indicate that the extent of identification with the own collectivist culture may influence the work-family conflict experience.

Globalisation and Impact on Career Guidance

Within the context of globalisation, the traditional career management may no longer be adequate and traditional knowledge and competencies need to develop. Though this is a general rule that may apply to everyone the world over, it may be even more the case for those who do not belong to the group that created the western economic, business and management model. This group includes persons from non-western cultures as well as minority groups and some socio-economic groups (e.g., the Fourth World citizens) within the western-world. The western model will, as explained above, be to some extent influenced by the national cultures with which they are confronted. But the main change will always be for those who do not belong to the group that created the western model. This group will be more in need to acquire new career management skills and knowledge.

In collectivist cultures and minority groups descending from these cultures, the social group (e.g., nucleus or extended family, social circle) traditionally has a large influence on career development. The Lebanese study of Nasser and Abouchedid (2006) provides a good illustration of this point. But the same phenomena are also found in minority groups in western countries. Brown (1995) mentioned this in relation to African-Americans, as did Leong and Serafica (1995) for Asian-Americans. The question is to what extent these finding can be generalised. Indeed, the results in other countries and with other cultures are less obvious. College freshmen of Maghreb, Turkish, and Arab (MTA) origin in Flanders indicate that they were less influenced by their parents and friends in their educational choice than were students of indigenous origin (Lacante et al., 2007). This was, however, in particular the case for the higher socio-economic groups and not for the lower socio-economic groups. In this group there was no difference between the two cultures. But also the gender variable appeared to play a role. All female students, and particularly those of MTA origin, are significantly more influenced by their extended family. The tendency to call upon an informal support system can still be the dominant factor, but it be should be recognised that other variables such as socio-economic background, gender and cultural identity development can also have an influence.

Relying upon an informal support system within the family is strengthened by cultural norms related to family responsibility and the concept of honour (Tata & Leong, 1994). Going outside the family, and calling upon professional help, can be perceived as a dishonour to the family as a whole. This leads to a situation in which calling upon professional help is not supported. This was found among Black and Latino college students (Chiang, Hunter, & Yeh, 2004) in the US, but also among immigrants in Brussels (De Clerq, Vrancks, Navarro, & Piette, 1996). Tata and Leong (1994) highlighted that gender, the level of acculturation, individualism-collectivism orientation and other variables have an influence on the trend to call upon professional support.

The bottom line, however, is that many persons within a globalised world will be facing the need for support in career decisions and that often they will call

upon informal support channels. These informal guidance systems may no longer prove to be adequate. The traditional patterns, which were adapted for career support in the traditional culture, do not meet the new needs. The older generation did not experience the new changes and they are not acquainted with the expected changes in the future. In traditional environments, there may not be many precedents for a need for change or incentives to engage in the process of acquiring new skills and knowledge. The decrease, and to some extent even disappearance of stability and predictability, which were part of their traditional and modern world, is not perceived.

The older generations may not be aware that they are no longer able to provide adequate support. But they certainly still feel responsible for the younger generations within the family or social group, and want to fulfil the traditional role of head of the household (Cinamon, 2006). This is a major problem because they are currently confronted with a situation in which one of the basic assumptions in their culture is not met. They can no longer properly protect the honour of the extended family. This is a tragedy for the older and younger generations alike. In most cases, the young generation is closer to the changes and is well aware of the changes. They may want to change, but they cannot ignore the older generation, and the older generation is not aware of the need to change or is unable to support the change.

The adolescents and young adults are made aware of the upcoming changes and the need for adaptation through school and other educational settings or communication systems. Schools, and even institutions of higher education, may not always be prepared to give the young generation the skills and knowledge that they will need to manage their careers in a globalised world.

The problem is that even professional guidance support is not always fully prepared for this new role and that there is still the pressure of informal guidance systems that do not recommend too much change. The development of professional career guidance support is already an issue on its own. In some countries such a system is scarce or inexistent. The problem is that the access to such systems through the educational system can even be determined by the traditional society. The situation of the career guidance support in the Pacific Islands is a good example of this (Athanasou & Torrance, 2002). In such societies the access to "educational and vocational development … can be a function of the available cultural tradition of power and prestige that range along a dimension of egalitarian or highly stratified groups" (Athanasou & Torrance, 2002, p. 15).

Not only the availability of a professional system, but even the content of guidance support can be culturally influenced. Flum and Cinamon (2006) described how Israeli Arab teachers approach career education differently from Israeli Jewish teachers. Not only is there a difference in ranking of career goals, but the issues treated in the programs are also different. Israeli Arab teachers dedicate, for example, more attention to exploring the world of work and less time to decision making.

Globalisation may require that the formal guidance system complement, and in some cases perhaps replace, the informal guidance systems. What will be the balance between the two systems? In any case, the formal support system will need to be extended and adapted for the new globalised economic environment. This may require the system to be reorganised or totally renewed.

A Holistic Model of Career Guidance in a Globalised World

Guidance as a Lifelong Process

Within modern society lifelong development was frequently divided into stages each characterised by specific interests, values, activities and forms of behaviour (Super, 1953, 1990). In adulthood the stages are often related to work roles (Levinson, Darrow, Klein, Levinson, & McKee, 1978), but other roles such as learning (lifelong learning) and family building (Super, 1990) should also be included. The stages were relatively stable and more or less universally accepted. Levinson and colleagues (1978) believed that these stages are universal and even that men and women go through the same developmental periods (Levinson, 1996). The content may differ, but the periods of instability and stability in life remain as does the alternation of the periods. Serious doubts arise. Indeed, in some cultures "children move very quickly from childhood into early adulthood and their career entry stage starts earlier in their chronological development than in other cultures" (Van Esbroeck, 2002, p. 53). The same is true in relation to retirement. A concept that is inexistent in large parts of the world.

Postmodernism has definitely changed this situation. There is no longer a discussion about universal and well-defined developmental stages or periods. It is more and more recognised that the stages, as proposed by Donald Super, are undergoing changes (Savickas, 2002). The importance and role of the environment is fully recognised by the contextual models (Young, Vallach, & Collin, 1996). This leads to a more fluid view on lifelong development. Career development can no longer be predicted, it becomes an individual process, influenced by environmental factors, but forged to a large extent by individuals. The forging, however, is conditional upon the availability of adequate skills and knowledge.

It is exactly at this point that lifelong career guidance support starts playing a role. This system should not just help people to acquire skills to deal with change and development, but it should first help them to determine precisely what skills and knowledge are needed and then help them to determine how, where and when they can be acquired. At each stage of their development, individuals may need support. Some may need assistance to cope with the challenges of a particular stage. Others may need support to overcome barriers that prevent them to end a stage and enter a new developmental stage.

Areas of Guidance

Though it is generally accepted that career guidance is a lifelong support process, the question remains as to how broad the guidance process should be at the different stages. Is it related to pure work related issues or not? Greenhaus and colleagues (2000) defined career as "the pattern of work-related experiences that span the course of a person's life" (p. 9). This definition includes only the work role, though it is recognised that the careers take place in "specified social environments" (Baruch, 2004, p. 3). Unfortunately, this is limited by these authors to the organisation in which the career develops. Other roles are not really included. But, on the other hand the same authors recognised the importance of the family role in relation to the work role, and vice versa (Parasuraman & Greenhaus, 1999). In this perspective the leisurate role but even aspects related to personal development are involved. In particular by relating career to the organisational environment, the work role is also related to the learner role. In the era of lifelong learning a continuous update of skills and knowledge is an integral part of career development. The learning role actually complements the work role and is even a key component in the "knowing how" of the intelligent career (Jones & DeFilippi, 1996). Without learning the "portfolio of employable skills" will not be kept up to date and this might affect career development. In addition, a number of issues in career development are strongly related to learning (Seligman, 1994).

Super's idea on the importance of the life-roles (Super, 1990) is supported by the recent developments in relation to post-modern views on careers. A good example is the connection between decision-making styles (Jepsen, 1974; Krumboltz, Sherba, Hamel, & Kinnier, 1979) and learning styles (Kolb, 1984). Kolb's learning styles allow for better understanding of how decision-making styles can be developed and be influenced. From this perspective, activities to support the awareness or the development of decision-making styles relate to learning support. Learning support can in some cases influence essential variables for career development. Interventions in relation to, for example procrastination can reduce indecisiveness.

The interconnectedness of all these roles leads to the observation that career guidance cannot be separated from other types of guidance. In general three types of guidance are identified. Peters, Shertzer, and Van Hoose (1967) and Peters and Farwell (1967) already referred to three types of guidance in school situations. These three types have been adopted in many other countries (e.g., Gieles, Lap, & Konig, 1985; Higher Education Quality Council (HEQC), 1995; Van Esbroeck, 1996) and is widely used in Europe (Watts & Van Esbroeck, 1998). There is, however, major discussion as to what should be included in each of the areas. Without actually going into the discussion, the areas, in framework of this contribution are defined as follows:

– Vocational (career) guidance:
  Support in relation to development, choice and placement in educational options and occupations or work roles

- Personal guidance:
  Support in relation to personal and social development and well being
- Learner support:
  Support to maximise the effect of the learning process. It includes support to acquire appropriate learning skills and methods, attitudes and motivation

Level of Specialisation in Guidance

Following an analysis of school guidance practice in several Western countries, Gieles (1992) identified three levels of specialisation in guidance. This division was confirmed and used in other studies. Watts and Van Esbroeck (1998) used it, for example in a European survey of guidance in higher education in the EU. Though these three levels of specialisation are based on guidance systems in school settings, they can easily be adapted for use in other settings. The model is a three-in-line model at which the client (pupil) is at the centre. The limitation, however, is that it only includes professional support systems.

First-in-line guidance covers an easily accessible support system that is mainly oriented towards the detection of possible problems and problematic situations that might affect the development and performance of the client. The first level of support may, next to the observation activities, include some preventive actions but no remediation. The persons involved at this level have no specialisation in guidance and their major task is related to the activities within the system they work in (e.g., teachers or tutors in a school system), outside guidance.

Second-in-line guidance is already a structurally developed support system that is embedded in the major function of the support worker. The guidance workers have a moderate level of specialisation, but are not restricted to one specific area of guidance focus. They are specialists in guidance activities though they still remain involved in the main activities which are central to the system in which they work in (e.g., school career counsellors who partially teach). In relation to guidance they are involved in organizing and implementing developmental programs and preventive actions. They can, however, also be engaged in individualistic guidance activities, possibly including a differential diagnosis of the problems and some remediation. Support to first-in-line professionals is also one of the activities at this level.

The third-in-line level includes highly specialised interventions realised by persons whose main task is guidance and who are highly trained as guidance counsellors. Access to this level will often go through the second-in-line system. The main object of the guidance is differentiated diagnosis, remediation (counselling) and support for the activities at a lower level. Though therapy should be excluded, the practice shows that in some cases the distinction between third-in-line guidance and aspects of therapy is very thin. The persons at this level are experts trained in a limited field of specialisation within one area of guidance.

A Holistic Person-Centred Guidance Model

Within the globalised world, however, the professional support system is for many persons not the most important source of guidance. As mentioned above informal support from extended family, friends and even the broader social environment – where religious leaders and other significant persons – can play a role is sometimes more important than the kind of backing that can be provided by professional support systems. This is certainly the case in collectivistic cultures, but neither can it be ignored in individualised cultures. Studies in Belgium in relation to the role and effect of significant others (parents, friends, relatives) indicate that their role in the educational choice process at the end of secondary school is more decisive than the role of the professional guidance workers and specialists (Lacante, Van Esbroeck, Lens, & De Metsenaere, 2002).

The inclusion of the informal support system in addition to the professional three-in-line model (see above) leads to a four-in-line model (see Fig. 2.2). The informal support system complemented by the three-in-line professional system. The first-in-line professionals are those who have direct contact with the clients and the persons within their informal support system. They are, if the client agrees, open to the questions and requests from the clients and their environments. These professionals have a major responsibility in making the clients and their environment (family and social circle) acquainted with the changing societal system in which they operate.

In this model, the role of the first-in-line professionals complements the informal system. Under no condition can they replace the informal system. But they should stimulate their clients and their clients' environment to develop a better understanding of the globalised world and ongoing changes. They should also help their clients and their social circle – while respecting their traditional approaches – to find ways of coping with the changes. In relation to career issues, this includes working in career guidance within the setting of educational institutions, lifelong learning and labour market related organisations. The interconnectedness of the work role to other life roles will require that the first-in-line professional should also pay attention to other roles and their influence on career development. This means that the first-in-line professional should support the persons in all their aspects and that all areas of guidance should receive attention. It is only from the second-in-line level onwards that a specialisation in one of the guidance areas becomes possible.

A One-Stop-Shop Holistic Career Guidance

Guidance support in general and the career guidance in particular is based on segmented support systems (Van Esbroeck, 2002). In many countries career guidance is organised for specific social groups or persons in specific situations by services embedded in broader systems (see Chapter 17). This can range from

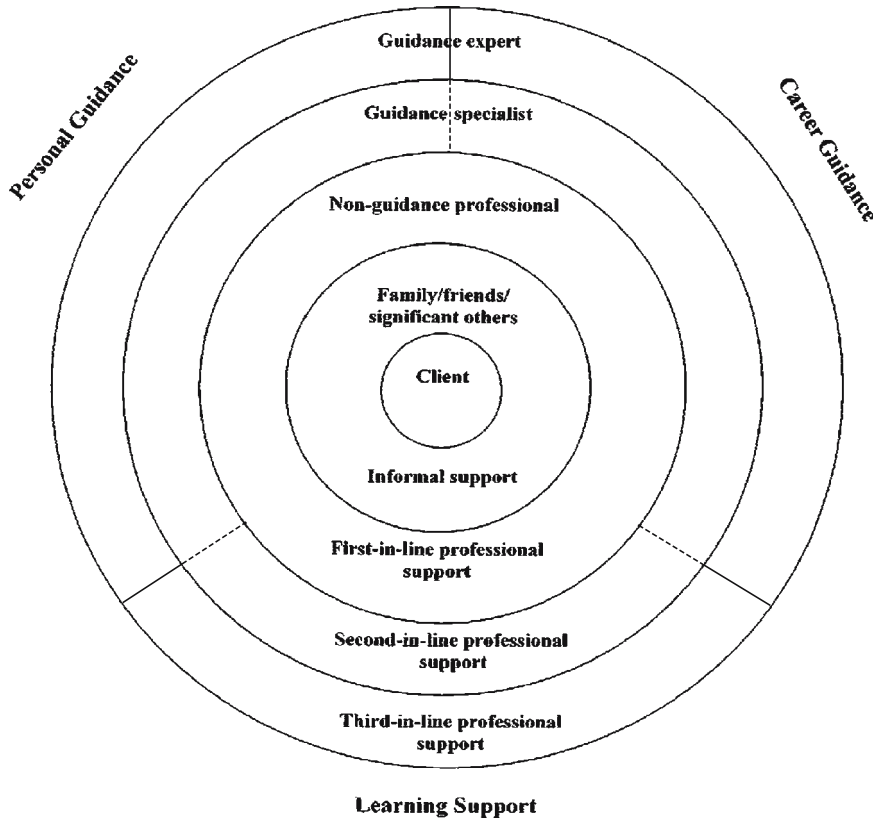


Fig. 2.2 A holistic model for client centred support in a global society

career guidance for the socially deprived, unemployed, cultural minorities, immigrants, specific age groups, etc. But the dominating life role at a specific point in time in a person's life is also used to segregate the support system. The split between learner (in school settings) and worker is very common. Watts and Sultana (2004) concluded, on the basis of a comparative study on guidance provisions in 37 countries, that career guidance systems in a country "are disparate sub-systems, including services in schools, in tertiary education, in public employment services, and in private and public voluntary sectors" (p. 120).

The problem is that these services are embedded in a specific setting and work only for their target groups, and that they are not open to other groups. These services were often created in response to needs that existed at a particular moment. They were financed by specific government departments, trade unions, private voluntary organisations, etc. Their mission was narrowly defined, often in relation to the problem that had arisen and the organisation that had created it. All these services act independently; each deals with just one part of the larger problem the individual might be facing.

The client, however, sees it differently. Clients do not tend to divide their problems into categories or see them in relation to the specific group they belong to. Only the problem is the point of attention. Furthermore, the group they belong to is liable to change. People who are unemployed may find work and, when they do, discover that the agency that provided guidance and counselling while they were unemployed is no longer able to offer support to help them to integrate into their new environment, though they are still experiencing many of the same old problems. Similarly, a person may present a career choice problem, but closer examination may reveal that the problem is connected to personality issues. The service that provided assistance with career problems may not have the expert or the mandate to help this person.

Segregated services do not deal with the client's problem as a whole. In order to receive support for all aspects clients may need to commute between services, with little assurance of receiving the support they need. Evidently, the services will communicate with each other and refer clients. If they work together efficiently, adequate support may still be available. All services together are able to cover any problem any individual may encounter. Unfortunately, segregated services are not in the clients' best interest. Clients are shunted from one service to another, from one location to another, and are expected to re-start the procedure with a new counsellor or advisor every time. The commuting issue and the variety of counsellors make it very difficult for some clients and may lead to failure or breakdown in the search for help.

The segregated approach will become an even larger problem in the globalised world. Existing services are built on historic developments within a society. They present a structure known to those who belong to that society, who understand very well how and why the support system is organised as it is. But, what about all those persons and organisations moving about within a globalised world. More and more people will be asking for support though they have only very little insight into existing society and how the support system works. New organisations that enter an existing society for the first time may also be unacquainted with the traditional support system of the society into they are moving into.

As a result, they might call for support at the wrong organisation. In the best of cases, they may actually end up finding the service they need, but it is more than likely that many of them will not. They may also become disappointed and give up the search. In such cases they will fall back on the group they belong to and seek informal support. The informal support system may, however, as was argued before, not provide the ideal support.

The call for better integration of the different guidance services into a system that is centred around the client is not a new one. But it becomes all the more urgent if the globalisation is taken into account. The system should provide a kind of "one-stop-shop" service that could deal effectively with all problems. The service should be able to operate at the first-in-line level, as well as take on a highly specialised third-in-line approach. This should be available for all three areas of guidance because it may be difficult to identify which area of guidance is involved when a problem is presented. Everyone should have access to this support system regardless of their age and role in society. This kind of system is in line with some

of the observations made by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (2004). It is, however, much broader because it extends to areas of guidance that go beyond career guidance.

Conclusion

There is no doubt that globalisation is the cause of major changes in our world in general. There will be further changes in the work environments, with fewer certainties and a more culturally diverse approach that will require flexibility and openness. To respond to these transitions large groups within the population will require preparation that is different from what has so far been offered. New procedures may be needed to develop people's awareness and prepare them for these changes. Present support systems do not meet the new needs because they are too fragmented or too narrowly focused on specific problems, and are generally too problem-oriented. The traditional approaches of professional support systems are well adapted to local needs, but will no longer be adequate. Even informal guidance support may turn out to be inadequate in many cases.

A revision of the present guidance system may be needed. The authorities at local, national and even international level should revise their strategic thinking. They should transcend the existing models and structures. A one-stop-shop system might prove an adequate approach. This, however, would need to be framed in a holistic approach that includes informal guidance support. The professionalized guidance system must realise that change is at hand and must target the informal system to prepare those involved at this level for the changes caused by globalisation and advise them on how to cope.

Career counsellors and career guidance workers will need to acquire new competencies. The initial training of new staff will have to change, and re-training of the existing staff will become necessary as part of life-long learning. The proposed holistic guidance model can serve as a heuristic framework to assess what is needed for the different roles in the guidance support system. The level of required specialisation can be used as a guideline.

Globalisation is changing the world and will put high demands on the guidance support system and on those associated with it. It is the task of all guidance workers to be prepared for the future.

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Chapter 3
SOCIAL CONTEXTS FOR CAREER GUIDANCE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

Edwin L. Herr

It is difficult to fully understand either career guidance or individual behaviour in isolation from the social contexts in which they function. Neither individual behaviour nor career guidance occurs in a vacuum, removed from the continuous transactions with social norms, mass media, behavioural expectations, policies and regulations, cultural traditions, definitions of acceptable roles, beliefs and values that comprise the field of stimuli in which individual behaviour and career guidance processes are constantly immersed. Such stimuli occur with different levels of intensity, intimacy, relevance and credibility as they shape and reinforce individual behaviour or the form and substance of career guidance processes, programs, or systems.

Social contexts also provide the conditions that shape individual self-concepts or identity, the content and nature of the occupational structure, the form and freedom of access to work, and who is likely to obtain what types of work. Thus, the social context influences the choices available to individuals and reinforces some career behaviour while rejecting other behaviour. Elements of the social context also influence how guidance and family roles are conceived, the types of achievement and aspirations that are nurtured, and the types of knowledge about opportunities that is filtered to subpopulations of people through cultural, racial, and socioeconomic lenses. The social context, then, is also the seed-bed for career concerns that become the content of career guidance (Herr, 1996). Kleinman (1988), a psychiatrist and anthropologist, has put the transactional nature of human behaviour as follows:

> In the anthropological vision, the two way interaction between social world [social context] and person is the source of thought, emotion, action. This mediating dialectic creates experience. It is as basic to the formation of personality and behavior as it is to the causation of mental disorder. (p. 3)

Individual behaviour and career guidance are also interactive. They come together based upon individual career concerns, dilemmas, decisions that have evolved from transactions with the people, objects, events, messages, and specific experiences that have occurred within the social context. The content of career guidance,

The Pennsylvania State University, USA

J.A. Athanasou, R. Van Esbroeck (eds.) *International Handbook of Career Guidance*,

© Springer Science + Business Media B.V. 2008

the dilemmas people experience, and the substance of the problems with which they have to cope do not typically arise without external triggering events. From a psychological perspective, the personal questions for which people seek help are, in large measure, functions of how they view current social or occupational expectations and opportunities for personal choice, achievement, productivity, social interaction, prestige, or the ability to use their abilities and interests.

Frequently, individual career dilemmas first must be understood in relationship to their context. In essence the question becomes how is the person experiencing his or her environment, his or her social context, as a guide to decisions by the individual and a counsellor about some course of career guidance interventions (e.g., career information, assessment, job shadowing, exploratory activities, individual counselling). Many of the individual career concerns that bring people to a relationship with a career practitioner differ from population subgroup to population subgroup (as related, for example, to discrimination, segregation, sexism and ageism as contextual factors for some persons) or nation to nation (as related to resource differences, cultural value systems, demographic distribution) as well as at different points in individual career development. Such individual career concerns and the related anxieties, information deficits, or indecisiveness become the content with which career guidance practitioners and individual counselees interact. Thus, at the most intimate of interactive processes, the micro-level, career guidance is a social activity engaged in by a career practitioner and a client or counselee; at a macro-level, career guidance is a socio-political process influenced by governmental policies, legislation, economics, politics, and by historical events. Throughout the last one hundred years or so, career guidance has become an increasingly important process in nations around the world as it responds to a variety of triggering and shaping mechanisms that emanate from economic and education changes, social policies, political transitions, and related phenomena.

Social Contexts: Some Perspectives

Social contexts are not unitary. Nor are they standardised across nations. They are comprised of political, economic, interpersonal, and cultural components that have varying types of relevance for different subpopulations – children, youth, adults, women and men, the abled and the disabled, the rich and the poor – at different times in their development and in their transitions across the life span. Each nation creates, or theorists, writers, journalists create for that nation, metaphors that try to capture the essence of that nation's values, beliefs, or typical actions at a point in time. These metaphors address the characteristics of a nation in general, a specific conception of a nation, or subpopulations within that nation. Terms like the cybernetic or wired society, generation x, the rise of the creative class, the world's policeman, the culture of efficiency, the age of discontinuity are each attempts to extract from national behaviour, or that of its various constituent groups, perspectives that summarize the processes, the personality characteristics, the types of behaviours that are normal or abnormal, acceptable or

unacceptable, or have broad societal sanction (e.g., self-reliance or conformity, individual or group decision making, assertiveness or deference) and for whom.

As social contexts are observed and classified across nations, it becomes clear that there are different values embedded in the social policies, the legislation, the interpersonal behaviour in families, in schools, in the media and in other institutions that can be identified. Some nations can be classified as competitive, perhaps aggressive, and prize individual self-reliance and assertiveness. Some are cooperative and prize team work and consensus, politeness, and gentleness. As Fiske (1991) has suggested, some nations allocate work and rewards on the basis of communal sharing; others on authority ranking, family lineage, or individual ability and merit. Thus, among their other attributes, social contexts model directly or indirectly the behaviour considered to be appropriate to persons in particular classes within that nation. Therefore, the totality of cultural apparatus – language, social modelling, symbols, slogans, demonstrations, identification of heroes and celebrated members, interpretations, mentoring, family reinforcement, learning in schools – is brought to bear to help individuals acquire and internalize the traditions, the behaviours, the attitudes consistent with the social contexts relevant to them. These interactions with the social contexts one inhabits spawn the concerns that are frequently brought to the counsellor as one experiences self-efficacy and worth, dignity, and purposefulness or low self-esteem, incompetence, despair, anxiety, or information deficits. In general, most persons experience several social contexts – family, school, workplace, cultural membership – at the same time.

Social contexts also provide powerful effects on the nature of social institutions, including counselling and career guidance. These processes, like individual behaviour, are shaped by transactions with the larger society in which they originated and within which they are designed to respond to the metaphors, the historical models, the cultural traditions by which individual behaviours are nurtured and classified.

Given the complexity of the forces that constitute a given social context, the priorities and the resources allocated to career guidance vary from nation to nation depending upon its history and how career guidance is seen to fit into that history and to advance current national goals. Thus, social contexts within and across nations are not static; they are constantly changing as nations go through their own transitions and transformations in their quest for power, influence, international economic competitive advantage, shifting political emphases or new social and economic goals for their citizens. In essence, however, at a minimum a social context supportive of career guidance as a national priority must evolve from a point when occupational diversity, comprehensive opportunities, and needs for individual choice that are more complex than families or neighbourhood residents can provide information or advice about. If the only jobs or occupations available are those which are very visible and accessible, there is no need for a trained cadre of counsellors or career guidance practitioners; extended families are able to describe the advantages and disadvantages, the status, and the availability of such jobs. However, when jobs and work settings become highly diverse and hidden behind large fences, in skyscrapers, in the operation of computers and other advanced technologies, the choice of opportunities within them becomes much more difficult, less visible, and not available to direct observation and

assessment. In such circumstances, people are "walled off" from the possible choices available to them. But, it is not only the transparency or visibility of the occupational choices and the career paths available to persons trying to decide what work they can do, are interested in doing, and want to do, there are other factors that comprise the social context and complicate the choice process.

As Super (1985) suggested some two decades ago, of particular importance in understanding the fit of career guidance within the cultural emphases embedded in a particular social context are "the nature and rigidity of the class and caste structure, the value system, the relationship of the individual to the group, and the nature of the enterprise system" (pp. 12–13). Such perspectives accent how gender and socioeconomic differences are viewed, whether individual action and self-reliance or group consensus are prized, the encouragement of the private sector, entrepreneurship and independent ownership of business and industry, or the domination by State owned enterprises, bureaucratic control of private enterprises, and economic goals that give priority to the needs of the state rather than the needs of individuals.

Whatever the combination of philosophies or interactive variables that characterise a particular social context, these elements become the mediators of the opportunity structure; define which career paths and occupations are valued and available and for whom they will be available; create the behavioural metaphors that describe the type of individual purpose and achievement the society values or idealizes; and reinforce the types of contingencies that shape the cognitive structures, habits, and information processing of the in-groups and out-groups of the society. These social context elements define which groups are at risk, marginalized, or seen as societal problems (Herr, Cramer, & Niles, 2004) as well as those groups to be prized and validated.

As these elements or emphases of the social context change, so do the ways people negotiate their personal identity and live out their self-concepts. Further, such social contextual valuables are instrumental in determining whether career guidance is necessary, and the purposes of such career guidance interventions and processes if they are implemented.

Changing Economic Systems

As will be discussed later, there is not one form of career guidance that fits the purposes of all nations. Indeed, in the past century as economic and political structures have become differentiated throughout the world, the reasons for and the delivery of career guidance have become more varied and indigenous. Indigenous, in this discussion, reflects the dynamic ways in which the persons occupying a particular social context have come to understand themselves in relationship to their environment, their cultural beliefs, their history and as they organise that knowledge to create the social institutions and processes to enhance their lives (Semali & Kincheloe, 1999).

In the past several decades, nations have increasingly departed from early models of career guidance that originated in Europe and North America in the early 20th century to create their own forms of career guidance that better fit the resources available and the changing individual and governmental needs for such processes. In an overly simplified way, the nations of the world differ in their economic and political development depending increasingly on the nature of their technological development and their view of whether the state or the individual is to be served by allocation of resources and priorities to career guidance. In imprecise terms, nations can be plotted across a continuum of economic systems: Those that are primarily agricultural, industrial and manufacturing, organisational oriented, knowledge and information based, innovative and creative (Florida, 2004). Whichever emphasis a particular nation exemplifies, it needs a social context – a political, social, and economic environment – that can nurture its implementation and the roles that citizens in that nation are expected to play at a particular point in history.

Until the last century or so, for most of the nations of the world, the economic emphases and the jobs available were agriculture-related. As new technologies were applied to farm work, the productivity of each farm worker was increased and a smaller number of people were needed to work on farms to produce the food necessary to sustain the population. In the United States today less than 3% of the working population is employed in agriculture compared to a large majority of the working population in 1900. As the industrial revolution arose in the late 1800s, the invention of major new forms of technology (the steam engine, electricity, railroads, automobiles) transformed work in many nations from agriculture-based or small cottage industries in rural villages to large physical plants in urban areas, expanding the variety of jobs available that were necessary to fuel the rise of large manufacturing and industrial enterprises. This need for talent began to raise questions about how to match persons with specific abilities to the growing number of jobs that needed such talent. At that point in history the need for specialists trained to assist persons to identify, choose, and prepare for the growing complexity of jobs being created by the rapid industrial expansion became social imperatives. Visionaries in many nations began to articulate the processes and techniques that served as the early foundations of career guidance. By the 1950s, many nations entered an organisational age that emphasised the rise of large corporations, growth in white collar work, and expectations that workers would be loyal and conform to the rules and regulations of the organisations by which they were employed. In the 1970s and beyond, knowledge, cybernetic, and information-based economies were ascendant as the effects of advanced technology – computers, telecommunications, fibre optics, Internet, robots – began to permeate work processes, raise educational requirements for jobs in general, increase individual productivity and emphasise the wedding of science, technology, and the production of goods and services.

As these influences on the economic system developed so did the rise of the global economy, the intensity of international economic competition, workplaces as learning organizations, and the growth within the work force of knowledge workers: Persons who not only knew how but why and when to implement various work

processes. In such circumstances, the ability to work with knowledge, information, and ideas superseded experience per se as the primary requisite for employability. By the beginning of the 21st century, the emphases on knowledge workers as a major aspect of how and by whom work is done spawned the broad outlines of yet another economy: the creative economy. In this rise of the innovative and creative class, there was growth in the proportions of people who are paid principally to do creative work for a living: scientists, engineers, artists, musicians, designers and knowledge-based professionals. Currently, knowledge workers comprise roughly 60% of the working population of the United States and similar proportions in many of the other developed nations of the world. The creative class, as a subset of knowledge workers, now includes nearly a third of the workforce in the United States and 25–30% of the workforce in the advanced European nations (Florida, 2004, p. xiv). Nussbaum (2005) contended that:

> what was once central to corporations—price, quality, and much of the left-brain, digitized analytical worker associated knowledge—is fast being shipped off to lower paid, highly trained Chinese and Indians, as well as Hungarians, Czechs, and Russians. Increasingly, the new core competence is creativity—the right brain stuff that smart companies are now harnessing to generate top-line growth. The game is changing. It isn't just about math and science anymore. It is about creativity, imagination, and above all innovation. (p. 62)

Within such contexts, most of the nations in the world, including the United States and Europe, have not yet begun to systematically tap into the creative potential of their workforces, although such a goal will be an important issue in the continuous quest for economic advantage in the future.

Change as a Continuous Reality

A variety of authors have looked at these major forces and argued that there are others of importance in shaping the contexts of change that need to be considered. They contend that is it not simply "that human life is changing, but that it is changing extremely fast" (Cornish, 2004, p. 10). Indeed, some authors suggest that of the traditional four descriptions of how social change occurs – gradual change, revolution and major disruption, rapid change, and radical change – we are now in a fifth category, an era of hyper change where individuals have little stability in their lives, jobs are increasingly temporary as are lifestyles. In essence, "change brings new demands, conflicts, and stress as people cope with new jobs, new residences, new spouses and children, and new colleagues" (Cornish, 2004, p. 12). Cornish called what we are now experiencing, the global transformation of human life that affects everybody, everywhere. It is an era of multiple transformations that is shaped by the interlinking of six super trends: changes in technological progress, economic growth, improving human health, increasing mobility of people, goods, and information, environmental decline, and increasing deculturation (loss of traditional culture). From Cornish's viewpoint, these are reflections of changes in the worldwide integration of human activities, and ongoing currents of change that flow in

the same direction and cause alterations in many aspects of our lives. With particular attention to work, Cornish contended that:

> workers will need to change jobs with increasing frequency to stay employed… there may be few jobs that assure lifetime employment. Most workers will have to reinvent their careers to keep up with a fast changing workplace. To cope with the complexities of the job market and find positions suited to their talents and interests, workers will be more dependent than ever on career counselors, coaches, and mentors. (pp. 32–33)

Friedman (2005) has identified some ten major forces that have converged as a result of political events, innovations, and organisational dynamics to "create change in the social, political, and business models emerging and their effects on some of the deepest most ingrained aspects of society right down to the social contract" (Friedman, 2005, p. 45). In this view, the forces identified are producing changes in the roles of individuals, the roles and forms of government, the way we innovate, conduct business, fight wars, the roles of women, the way we educate ourselves, the way science and research are conducted, the way religion responds and art is expressed. Implicit in Friedman's perspectives is the notion that the forces affecting change now and in the immediate future affect the social context in psychological as well as material ways. Thus, the forces about which Friedman speaks include the fall of the Berlin Wall, the dissolution of the Soviet Union, and the tipping of the balance of power away from communism and toward democratic, consensual, free-market oriented governance; the shift to an Internet-based platform for communications, transporting ideas, and conducting business transactions; global supply chains; open-sourcing; outsourcing; and offshoring.

Reflected in Friedman's observations about the changes that are now rapidly becoming assimilated in the social contexts of nation after nation is the convergence of technology and events. Technology has made a global supply chain possible and allowed increasing numbers of nations to become part of that process by creating conditions by which they can provide services and manufacturing to other nations, creating new work opportunities in their nations and changing the types of work being done in the nations that transfer jobs and processes to these nations. At the moment, India and China tend to be the major players in this global supply chain of goods and services to the United States, Japan, and many European nations. But it is also true that many other nations are nurturing the technological capability of their workforce and of their infrastructure to participate in this process. Included are Ghana, Nigeria, Ireland, Romania, the Caribbean nations, Taiwan, South Korea among others. In so doing, the occupational structure of these nations changes as does the social context of how they view themselves and how they view the need for career guidance.

Forces Affecting Social Contexts

Nested in each of these economic emphases that have evolved across the history of civilisation are many career guidance issues. One of these is inequality in wages,

status, and opportunity for people because of gender, minority vs. majority group membership, education or its lack. Another career guidance issue is stereotypes about "men's work" and "women's work" that constrain persons from pursuing preparation and access to jobs they could perform well and enjoy but are stigmatised or thought of only in gender terms. Other issues include providing opportunities for persons with disabilities, lack of mobility, learning problems, etc. There are many other career concerns that are important issues: the need of many young persons and adults for assistance in exploring options available to them; matching their interests and abilities with opportunities in the occupational structure; developing individualized career plans; clarifying with workers their marketable, transferable, elastic skills and where they might be applied; helping resolve personal conflicts on the job through practice in human relations skills; teaching stress reduction, anger management, assertiveness, communication skills; assisting workers to integrate work and other life roles; providing retirement planning; providing support for persons experiencing job loss or career transitions; helping persons understand and act on their work adjustment and work dysfunction problems; learning to adapt to change and be personally flexible; dealing with geographic and other dislocations as career transitions.

Depending upon the social context of each nation; the career concerns just identified and others that are related, are likely to reflect the importance of career guidance in policy and legislation. Thus, in some nations, career guidance is seen as a method of building human capital or preparing an effective work force; in other nations, career guidance is intended to rehabilitate those on the margins of society; in still other cases, career guidance is intended to empower persons to engage in informed free choice, self assessment, and systematic use of resources by which to explore occupational possibilities; to engage in a labour exchange to match persons and jobs, or to provide assistance to deal with issues of work adjustment. In any case, as nations compete for economic and political viability in an international economy, the quality of their human resources become fundamental concerns in their national rhetoric and policy making. At the national macro-level, there are implications for career guidance that arise as nations change political systems, experience high rates of unemployment, change from employer-oriented responsibility for employee career development to expecting more responsibility by employees for their own welfare, skill development, employability, purposefulness and productivity. In a growing number of cases, as nations are in transition, they see career guidance as a socio-political instrument by which to respond to economic, social, political and other changes that are occurring in their national and international involvement and the effects of these on their citizens' career development. As examples, one can cite the dissolution of the Soviet Union (Skorikov & Vondracek, 1993), the major changes from communism to capitalism in Hungary (Ritook, 1993) and other Eastern European nations, the end of apartheid in South Africa (Mathabe & Temane, 1993), and the transformations in the lifetime employment system in Japan (Inagami, 2004; Whittaker, 2004). In these nations and others, the democratization of opportunity, increases in individual freedom of job choices, changing career patterns, and growing recognition of the need to provide formal support for all individuals to plan, prepare for, and be productive in their work life

has led to legislation focused on training counsellors and providing new approaches to career counselling, career education, and career guidance. Such phenomena have also changed the social context for career guidance in these nations.

Work in Changing International Contexts

Each era of economic development in nations across the world has brought forward new complexity in the identification of available work opportunities and career paths, choices available to individual citizens, the freedom to choose and prepare for a particular kind of work, and the mobility available as one enters and adjusts to the requirements of a particular occupation or workplace. Although such issues differ from nation to nation, there are new forces that are reinforcing needs for more career guidance and for new paradigms of theory, assessment, and career interventions as world-wide phenomena. These forces have changed the social contexts for career guidance in nations that are technologically rich and those nations which are less technologically developed but rapidly becoming the recipients of jobs and technical processes being shed by more technologically advanced nations. For example, major effects on the social contexts for career guidance in many nations include global labour surpluses, high and sustained unemployment rates, growing divides between rich and poor nations, the pervasiveness in many nations of advanced technology in the workplace and in international economic transactions, extensive immigration around the world, the growing intensity of outsourcing, offshoring, and the transfer of knowledge and jobs among nations.

Although there is much to be done to expand the creativity and the productivity of knowledge workers, corporations and other work places are finding new processes by which to expand their knowledge bases and innovative capacity. Among these are in-sourcing, outsourcing, and offshoring, just-in-time distribution of materials, goods, and services, and global supply-chains. This new language of work and its organisation is only the tip of an iceberg that is empowered by computers, the Internet, satellites and telecommunications, management, creativity, and globalisation. Each of these processes changes the nature of work and the prerequisite skills required of workers. For example, just-in-time distribution means that the warehousing of large inventories of goods is no longer standard procedure, rather goods are produced as orders are received and immediately shipped to the location of the order. Therefore, the manufacturer of the goods ordered needs far fewer workers to store and inventory goods and much more skill in computer managing of goods as they are produced, customised, and shipped to the proper recipient. A global supply chain is actually a form of collaboration across borders among suppliers, retailers, and customers as a way of expediting goods to retailers and customers, to manufacturers, or others, to standardise the quality of goods ordered, manufactured, and sold. It involves just-in-time manufacturing and distribution, constant communications from a retailer or manufacturer to a supplier that specific goods need to be ordered and supplied as quickly as possible, and incorporate a

complex network of collaborating organisations enabled by advanced technology – computers, Internet, telecommunication – and a cycle of tasks that are standardised, managed, and constantly active: They include "delivery, sorting, packing, distribution, buying, manufacturing, reordering, …" (Friedman, 2005, p. 128). In-sourcing is essentially a process by which a particular corporation or other workplace employs another specialist firm to come into their firm and redesign and manage some aspect of their operation that has been troublesome or problematic in the past. It may mean, as an example, designing and managing their global supply chain, or redesigning and managing their packaging or some other process.

Outsourcing and Offshoring

Two major processes affecting social contexts are outsourcing and offshoring. Outsourcing is essentially the contracting by a corporation with external companies to provide services or products that traditionally have been provided by corporations with their own employees. Within a highly competitive global economy, corporations are seeking ways to reduce the costs of goods and services they produce. Typically, the most expensive parts of that process are labour costs and overhead: health benefits, retirement benefits, etc. Therefore, increasingly, corporations are attempting to downsize their personnel only to those who perform the core tasks of that company: of basic concern are those skills essential to the management, provision of technical support, and the fundamental processes that produce the products or services of that company. This then means, that many jobs once performed by in-house employees are now delivered by outsource companies that employ people to engage in the performance of specialised tasks and their delivery to the company who has contracted for these tasks. Included as possible outsourced tasks or service are such examples as accounting, advertising, custodial and maintenance, customised goods production, food serving, catering, legal services, marketing, security and transportation. Thus, the company that contracts with an outsourcing firm to provide any or all of these types of services receives services that are focused, delivered in a time frame that is relevant to the company, provided just-in-time when they will be needed, and increase the efficiency of such services. Therefore, the employing corporation does not have to employ and pay the overhead rate for labour to get these tasks done. The outsourcing company does all of this and delivers the end product, whatever that may be, on a precise schedule.

Outsourcing is basically the transfer of jobs from one location to another as a way of reducing costs and increasing efficiency. Outsourcing can occur within a specific nation or a local venue in ways just described but it can also occur between nations. In such cases, outsourcing and offshoring are combined. Because of the dramatic differences in labour costs and the benefits provided to workers from nation to nation, globalisation has spurred the transfer of specific jobs or tasks from

nations that are advanced economically and technologically to nations that are less so. In so doing, the outsourcing of jobs from one nation to another changes the social context, the occupational structure, the types of jobs available, in both the nation transferring jobs and the nations receiving the jobs. This becomes a career guidance issue as specific types of jobs and, indeed, entire industries (e.g., textile or clothing production, steel manufacturing, semi-conductor fabrication, the manufacture of televisions and other electronic devices) are removed from one nation and are relocated to another nation, and the workers affected need assistance to negotiate the career transitions imposed by such job transfers.

Although there are many nations that are now the recipients of the transfer of jobs, the two emerging economic superpowers are China and India. Both of these nations have been the recipients of outsourced jobs from the United States, Europe, Japan and other nations and are developing rapidly in their own economic development. Although China has been primarily the recipient of manufacturing jobs it is rapidly creating the workforce and the infrastructure to be a major outsourcing location for advanced technology tasks. India has been primarily concerned with high-end technological tasks and precision manufacturing. Given its large population of engineers, scientists, physicians and business specialists, India has become an extension of other nations' knowledge and creative economies and a significant player in the global innovation chain. Speaking specifically to the U.S. economy, India is designing software and providing many important services to major technology companies: (i.e., Cisco Systems, Hewlett-Packard, Motorola, General Motors and Boeing). Working in technology-rich facilities in many locations in India, professionals in a range of fields are developing new software applications for finance, search engines, digital appliances, and industrial processes; managing information technology processes; operating call centres to deal with customer complaints in the United States and the processing of insurance claims, loans, airline reservations for U.S. carriers, credit card bills; doing tax returns for U.S. accounting firms; reading and evaluating U.S. x-rays and suggesting diagnoses; and engaging in a vast range of research and development tasks. (Friedman, 2005). To date, India has emphasised knowledge and creative work, China has emphasised off-shore manufacturing jobs, although that nation is rapidly constructing the facilities and developing the cadres of knowledge workers to participate in a major way in the information economy (Engardio, 2005a). There are now examples of these two nations complementing each other, as multinational corporations have "their goods built in China with software and circuiting designed in India" (Engardio, 2005a, p. 55).

Both China and India have significant issues related to its populations. Although they have large groups of exceptionally well-trained and world-class researchers, engineers, and business people, they are also poor nations where many of their rural populations exist on $1 a day (in China's rural areas, the per capita income was $384 in 2005). Only one in six Chinese workers has a pension plan and 5% have guaranteed medical benefits. Thus, both nations need very strong economic growth of 8% or more per annum just to provide for the tens of millions of persons joining the workforce each year. (Engardio, 2005b). Whether these problems are solved in

these nations or not, their momentum and potential international penetration can disrupt workforces, industries, companies and markets in ways that can create serious career guidance problems for persons in nations around the world. These changes in the nature of work in China and India modifies their national social context as well as that of other nations with which they are engaged.

Globalisation

At issue here is the rapid rise of globalisation, a process in which jobs, currencies, data and ideas can be transmitted electronically without regard to national political boundaries. In such instances, some nations lose their economic sovereignty as they are swept up in efforts to compete in the global marketplace. Other nations become so dependent on trade with or doing specific work for other nations that they essentially become extensions of the economy, the innovation, the productivity enjoyed by those nations. Multi-national corporations, sometimes with larger annual budgets than some nations, can direct resources, move work and workers anywhere on the planet to obtain cheaper costs, and literally change the opportunity structure, the social context of specific nations.

The complexity and rapidity of change that arises from such forces put at issue the nature and organisation of work and how the content and processes of career guidance should be modified to accurately convey the new skills expected of individual career management, continuous or life-long learning, and the increasingly fragmented career paths available to persons seeking work. As these forces play out interactively they both create new social contexts for career guidance and new client content and experiences with which individual practitioners must help their counsellors deal.

Career guidance as a world-wide phenomenon must work within the reality that persons in both the technologically advanced nations and in less technologically capable nations will likely have a number of different jobs throughout their careers, and, perhaps most important, they will need to have assistance to exchange old technologies, skills and attitudes for new ones. At a macro-level, nations will have to reframe their social contexts to incorporate new metaphors for example, as economic innovators, global economic powerhouses, the world's number one employer of scientists and engineers, the engine of the world's global transformation. They will need to see themselves as in continuous improvement; the purveyors of knowledge, ideas, and their applications. At an individual level, job seekers will have to receive messages that acknowledge that each person must be his or her own career manager, responsible for anticipating and acquiring skills that will keep them employable, and persons whose competition for jobs is not with persons locally but with persons in nations around the world. In each of these cases, the social context will, in whatever form of intentionality that is relevant, be conveying the reality of change and global transformation at a macro-level and encouraging new realities for individual career development.

Individual Career Development

Certainly, within the messages emanating from social contexts of change and transformation, new images of individual career development are being played out. Career development is the term that summarises research and theory about the structure and the development of career behaviour, personal identity in work and other life roles, and the factors that influence career decision-making. At the individual level, it is the process by which one develops and refines such characteristics as self-identity and career identity, work values, abilities and interests, planfulness, and career maturity.

Because of the effects of globalisation on the organisation of work, the traditional view of how individual career development occurs is undergoing change. Of particular importance, individual career development in many nations and in a growing number of organisations is no longer linear, predictable and secure. Life-long employment in one firm or one job is no longer typical for most people even though a generation ago most workers expected such a career pattern. In broad terms, many persons 50 or 60 years ago saw their career plans as seeking life-long employment in a prestigious organisation, advancing through its ranks and retiring. Individual career development was essentially seen as a series of phases that were age-related, understood, and anticipated. Such phases were reflected in what was a logical and descriptive pattern of choosing work, being inducted into it, and leaving it, that included exploration, preparation, induction, consolidation, advancement, and retirement. Although not every career pattern was as linear and fluid as this model suggests, such a model of individual career development was often taken as the normative frame of reference, the prognosis of the passage and the career concerns that occurred through its phases that became the subject of assessment and of career guidance.

However, the consensus of researchers and other observers is that work, within the context of growing globalisation of economies and institutions, will be qualitatively different than has been the prevailing model of the last one hundred or so years. A sampling of views of individual career development incorporate the effects on individual career development of rapid change, organisational shifts in how work is done, the impact of advanced technology on the transfer of jobs across nations and on the skills needed to do the work available. Increasingly, national policies and rhetoric as well as both popular and professional literature argue that the most important asset of nations that want to successfully compete in the international economy is not raw material or wealth, but the literacy, numeracy, computer and communication skills, commitment to life long learning, personal flexibility, and teachability of their citizens. Various authors have suggested a variety of perspectives that build on such a view and identify new attitudes and skills needed in a global work environment that is continuously churning, changing, and moving in new directions.

Arnold and Jackson (1997) have argued that:

> The changes taking place in the structure of employment opportunities means a widening diversity of career patterns and experiences … more and different sorts of career transition will be taking place … in the future more men will experience the kind of fragmented careers that many women have experienced. (p. 429)

Hall and his colleagues (1996; Hall, 2004) have suggested that career paths will increasingly become a succession of mini stages and short learning cycles as they move among "product areas, technologies, functions, organisations, and work environments" (1996, p. 33). Hall and his colleagues have also introduced and applied the notion of "protean career" that emphasises that workers in the present and the future must learn to constantly adapt to change, be personally flexible, and undertake personal responsibility for their careers. In this sense, workers must be their own career managers, as well as their own futurists, constantly trying to discern trends that will affect their skills and their employment, and keep themselves constantly equipped with new knowledge and skills that make them attractive to employers.

In the developing knowledge, creative, and innovative economies, another skill set of major significance is lifelong–learning. A sound basic academic education is increasingly seen as one of the requirements for individual flexibility and teachability. The World Bank (2003) in speaking to such issues has addressed the importance of learning as follows:

> Performing in the global economy and functioning in a global society require mastery of technical, interpersonal, and methodological skills. Technical skills include literacy, foreign language, math, science, problem solving, and analytical skills. Interpersonal skills include teamwork, leadership, functioning effectively with culturally diverse colleagues, and communication skills. Methodological skills include the ability to learn on one's own to pursue lifelong learning and to cope with risk and change. (p. 22)

The content of the changing social contexts in which workers will need to construct and negotiate their work life and their personal life obviously shapes the need for new skills, new attitudes, and new understandings about how to create their preferred career paths. A particular emphasis in these perspectives is that concerning responsibility for one's own career development, one's skills, one's ability to cope with change. Thus, the essential skills that have been identified here are both psychological and technical. They suggest that individual career planning must be oriented, among other things, to helping persons recognise and normalise complexity and ambiguity and to develop resilience, malleability, and personal flexibility to live and work within the constancy of change. Many of there issues are psychological or attitudinal in addition to other issues that are technical or physical skills.

One way to resolve the dilemma for the worker who is expected to be his or her own career manager, responsible for keeping his or her skills updated and relevant, maintaining continuous learning, and having the ability to live with change is to apply "human capital theory" (Davenport, 1999) to the individual, not only to the building of a macro-level workforce. When applied to the individual, one can think of the "worker as investor", in control of the human capital he or she possesses and his or her motivation to apply it to different work settings, problems, or expectations. In such an instance, human capital means how one chooses to commit or express one's *ability* (knowledge, skill, talent), *behaviour* (how we perform in contributing to a task), *effort* (the conscious application of our mental and physical resources to accomplish particular tasks, our work ethic), *time* (how much time we are willing to invest in a particular job or task), and what the worker expects as a *return on*

investment (e.g., intrinsic job fulfilment, opportunity for growth, recognition for accomplishments, financial rewards)? Obviously, each of these elements of individual human capital is worthy of analysis, discussion, and action in career guidance; in part, because each of these elements of human capital can be rigidly or flexibly applied, accurate or inaccurate in the individual understanding of its meaning, and seen or not seen as an asset over which one has control. In such a paradigm, one can draw a parallel between the worker as an investor and the worker as his or her own career manager. In the latter case, the task is to apply human capital in those cases where the return on investment is expected to yield valued outcomes and to reduce risk associated with change. Further, to remain flexible, the worker as career manager must be constantly improving and adding to his or her supply of human capital to make it more attractive to changing organisations and employers.

Although not the focus of this chapter, as the next session illustrates, the contextual issues discussed in this chapter affect the training of career guidance practitioners, the delivery of their services, the practices of career guidance, and other processes.

Social Contexts and Career Guidance: Some Examples

To understand the link between social contexts and the forces which churn within them and the methodology of career guidance requires an observer to extrapolate from the characteristics of a particular society – its history, its cultural tradition, its political events, its belief systems – to the career guidance approaches that have been deemed acceptable and become operational in the nation. Such a situation indicates that models of the delivery of career guidance in a growing number of nations are no longer dependent on Euro-centric models of career guidance but are becoming increasingly indigenous and customised to the needs of a particular nation. Some examples of national contexts and responses follow.

Australia

Although emerging models of career guidance may not be directly transportable from one nation to another, they nevertheless open up new possibilities of dealing with problems shared across nations. Such models frequently change in subtle if not more visible ways, but their legacy remains and is reinvented or redefined by other nations. For example, Australia has a long and important history in career guidance. It is a nation with a very large landmass with relatively small populations in regions outside of major cities. Thus, distance is a major factor affecting the provision of career guidance. Often resources have not been adequate to provide for a sufficient number of professional career guidance specialists to meet the needs of persons in geographically remote or thinly populated areas trying to choose work or adjust to its dynamics.

The result, the link, to Australia's social context includes several important emphases. One, in response to the distances between population distributions, is Australia's pioneering of client self-help resources designed to achieve many of the outcomes usually provided by direct contact with career guidance professions via individual counselling. To achieve such goals, Australia has been very effective in using audio, video, and computer methodology to provide user friendly, self-contained, self-help packages that address specifically defined areas of career concerns or problems. They have also made extensive use of a nationwide telephone information service that provides employment information, employment trends, perspectives on career decision-making, career planning, implementation, and adjustment (Pryor, Hammond, & Hawkins, 1990).

The federal government of Australia has created an Internet site, the Australian Career Directory, that provides a wide range of labour market, career and occupational information. One Australian State has developed an interactive site, The Virtual Campus, that facilitates identification, enrollment, and participation in training provided by technical, further education and private providers. Included at this site are an advisory service, an information service, and a help line for students and others (McCowan & Mountain, 2000).

Australia has also created Job Network, a national network of more than 300 private, community, and government organisations with which the Australian government contracts to provide flexible and tailored assistance to job seekers. The comprehensiveness of such services to meet individual needs is defined by five categories ranging from job matching to intensive career assistance. The access to such services offered by Job Network is through one of 290 Centrelink customer service centres across Australia that provide a uniform national service for registering job seekers, administering unemployment benefits, assessing job seekers' eligibility for labour market assistance, referring client's to Job Network assistance, administering tests, and enforcing compliance with conditions of income support (McCowan & Mountain, 2000).

In the past three decades, as a result of recession, the reluctance of many employers to hire young people because they are perceived to lack basic skills – literacy, numeracy, skills, maturity, and communication, "a willingness to learn, good presentation and work habits, stability and reliability, the ability to work in a team and loyalty to the firm" (McCowan & Mountain, 2000, p. 85) – and frequent complaints by employers that students have learned little about work in school, the Australian government has taken several initiatives. In terms of the social context, the federal government has proclaimed that "the preparation of young people to engage actively and productively in social, economic, and political life" is one of the most vital tasks of any society (p. 84). To that end, the federal government has created the Australian Qualifications Framework to provide a nationally consistent framework to identify all qualifications in post-compulsory education and training. Such qualifications (or job competencies) are intended to emphasise a closer integration of learning and work, upgrade knowledge and skills in areas without specified standards of competency or educational expectation, support new and flexible education and training pathways, and encourage "parity of esteem between academic

and vocational qualifications, and the improvement of school-industry links." Flowing from such initiatives are a governmental focus on "the achievement of minimum standards by all students in basic skills" (p. 91), reform secondary education by increasing opportunities for vocational orientation and the gain of experience in business enterprise, develop apprentice opportunities in industries where rapid job growth is occurring, provide information on opportunities available in training and in the labour market, and the provision of career education and knowledge of the world of work.

Japan

Japan has recently implemented new policies redefining the needs for career guidance efforts, particularly for young people, because of abrupt changes in the social context during the late 1980s and the 1990s. Through the 1980s, the transition of graduates from the high school or university to the workplace was the envy of many other nations and created a positive international reputation for Japan. Through the collaboration of three major social systems – the family, school and the company – students graduating from upper secondary schools or universities found jobs via corporate recruiting or placement services provided by the school, and started full-time, secure jobs, with the expectation of long-term, indeed life-long employment in many instances, immediately following graduation (Kosugi, 2005). This positive process involved the strong financial and motivational support by families for their children's schooling and often strong advice about jobs or companies in which to be employed. Schools actively sorted and distributed graduating students in conformity with the labour demands of companies seeking to recruit students. Immediately after the completion of their schooling, companies employed young people and provided them intensive in-company training (Honda, 2005). However, during the extended and difficult recession of the 1990s, the labour demand for new graduates decreased rapidly. This was in part the result of a social context in which seniority was prized and secure. Thus, in an aging workforce, companies were obliged to continue to employ older workers, who were making the higher salaries and benefits, and decrease their recruitment of young people coming into the labour force. A rapid trend was the rise of young people who entered "atypical employment", as part-time workers (*arubaitt*) without definite or long-term employment and another group of young people, named NEETS (not in education, employment, or training), who do not enter and participate in the labour market (Honda, 2005).

Many factors in the social context have been identified as causing the Japanese crisis in the transition to adulthood (Miyamoto, 2005). They include the economic recession; the demise of life-long employment; the demographic factors related to the financial burdens of seniority-based labour forces in many companies; the lack of availability of full-time, long term employment for young people; the rapid increase in the number of women who remain in the labour force after marriage and children; the expansion of post-secondary institutions which created a supply of

University graduates much larger than the demand for them by companies; the change in the industrial structure – a significant decrease in the manufacturing sector and a large rise in employment in the service sector. Underlying these macro-level changes in the Japanese social context were other more micro-level issues including diminished ability of many Japanese families to finance private school or university education for their children; the inability from their own experiences to give their children honest and realistic advice about the severe labour market conditions they were facing; the need for many young people to both work and go to school that collectively diminished vocational aspirations, the intensification of competition for better jobs; and the flexibility that part-time work affords, particularly if one can continue to live at home.

A major issue in the Japanese social context is the emerging change from a historical emphasis on group consensus to the emerging need for individual choice. Companies no longer offer life-time employment and training, when it is needed, for workers to be prepared to do new jobs. Therefore, the traditional ethic that essentially prohibited workers from jumping from one company to another when they were engaged in lifetime employment with the company that recruited them is no longer an issue. Workers are now encouraged to make choices and pursue the options available to them. But this presumes information and guidance. Researchers determined that the guidance necessary for young people was lacking and rigid. Many high schools simply make insufficient provisions for information about higher educational institutions or employers for students. In addition, in most high schools such information is provided by teachers who also have career guidance responsibilities. Frequently, these teachers employ career guidance practices that include very rigid recommendations for a job in a specific company or attendance at a particular institution, but such recommendations rarely value students' individuality and the diversity of their interests and abilities (Honda, 2005). Thus, youth are essentially forced to take on more complicated and risky choices, in a social context that has never fostered individual choice or prepared persons with decision-making skills. Indeed, until recently governmental intervention to support young people's transitions from school to work has been weak in Japan. However, in 2003, the Japanese government altered the social context related to the employment of young people by launching a comprehensive program entitled "Plan to Foster a Spirit of Independence and Challenge to Youth" (Honda, 2005). According to Honda, this plan includes:

> the introduction of a Japanese – type dual system, the establishment of regional employment support centers targeting youths, the promotion of career education in elementary and secondary schools, the stationing of 'job-supporters' and career counselors at employment security offices, and the provision of strong support to business start-up projects. (p. 21)

There have been other policies and interventions related to adult employment and re-employment as well as the special needs of other sub-populations. With regard to adult populations, the Public Employment Security Offices (PESO) in Japan have developed a three-tier system of interventions for job applicants, classifying client needs and providing them with varying forms of assistance. They have also provided a national computer assisted information system by which labour supply and demand information can be made available to PESOs across the nation

(Watanabe, Masaki, & Kamiichi, 1990). Further, a new course of study to help students acquire knowledge of career decision-making processes (Senzaki, 1993) has been developed as has specialised services for women, older workers and school drop-outs (Watanabe & Herr, 1993).

Clearly, Japan is altering its social context and policies in order to deal with the major changes now occurring in its economic and social institutions and in its economy. In large measure, career guidance and career education, their professionalization and their implementations are the recipients of such attention.

South Africa

A further example of indigenous emphases on career guidance as a function of a changing social context is apparent in the case of South Africa. South Africa's history is unique in its legislated policy of apartheid that segregated its citizens by race for many decades. Such segregation also defined the opportunity structure for employment, the types of jobs different racial groups could obtain, the types of education or training available to them, where racial groups could live, the degree to which and under what circumstances persons of different racial groups could interact. Underlying such oppressive conditions for the racial groups that were essentially powerless and economically and socially disadvantaged (respectively Black African citizens, "coloured" citizens of mixed race, and Indian citizens) were huge differences of freedom of choice; equity in access to employment, educational and social opportunity; resource distribution by the white government; and general quality of life.

When the Apartheid regime was defeated and the decades-old national liberation movement, led by the African National Congress, came to power in 1994, it was clear that the social context under which people of all races had lived and negotiated their place in society had to be recreated. The psychology of despair and survival that immersed so many citizens of the nation needed to be replaced with a psychology of hope, equality of opportunity, and economic and social equity. Such goals are difficult to achieve quickly and comprehensively because attitudes and behaviours of long standing that had characterised different racial and socioeconomic groups needed to be reframed and reconstructed. Thus, began a series of reforms, necessary legislation to institute such reforms, and to tailor such reforms and legislation to the unique needs of South Africa.

Since South Africa during the apartheid period was essentially isolated from normal intellectual, economic and social exchange with the rest of the world, such processes needed to be re-established (Crouch, 2004). Among the necessary reforms in which the country needed to engage were those of equity, justice, redistribution of resources, change of an inefficient bureaucracy, curricular and pedagogical reform (Crouch, 2004). In terms of equity, for example, the distribution of income and of social opportunity was very unequal, the quality of schools, buildings, teachers, and resources for student learning were widely disparate with the resources going to "white" schools often exceeding those going to "Black or Coloured" schools by a

factor of 7 to 1 or more (Crouch, 2004). As might be expected under the conditions of poverty, parental illiteracy, poor infrastructures and resources that characterised the geographical concentrations of "Black Africans" and other underclasses, educational achievement was much less than in "white" areas of the country. While these gaps are now narrowing significantly as equity, justice, redistribution of resources and opportunity are moving much closer to parity across racial groups, there continues to be more subtle transition issues that are still of concern as the social context continues to be modified in its emphases on equity in social and economic opportunity. Many of these issues have had implications for the content and the process of career guidance. One such issue is identity formation among African late adolescents, who are trying to find out who they are and to define themselves within the transformation of African society, taking place in all its sectors: political, education, churches, workplaces, sport, racial integration, and in equity in economic and social opportunity. As Alberts (2000) has suggested: "Broadly speaking, every person in South Africa is challenged to orient her or himself to a fundamentally new social situation. Adolescents are thus forming personal identities in a situation of dramatic change and transition" (p. 24). Thus, in many instances, career guidance practitioners must deal with the struggles of adolescents to come to terms with their identity or, more precisely, identity diffusion, without a period of exploration of personally meaningful alternatives. Such issues frequently need to be addressed before dealing with more conventional career concerns.

These and similar issues occur in school counselling in secondary schools and in counselling centres in South African Universities. Historically, South Africa had twenty-one universities comprised of ten historically black universities divided along language lines (some nine dialects, other than the major languages of English and Afrikaans); four historically white English Universities; five historically white Afrikaans universities, a dual-medium historically white university, and a correspondence university. The identities of these universities emerged over the years and became entrenched, causing enrolment to be closed to those considered as belonging to out-groups (Nicholas, 1996). However, in 1991 the South African government committed itself to a single education system which would not be based on race and would serve the whole country. As higher education institutions work toward such goals, they still must deal with racism, hostility, and intolerance toward out-groups. But, speaking more specifically to career guidance and counselling, as students attend integrated universities they frequently experience anxiety, needs for increasing self-confidence, fears related to academic work, selection of a major, learning test-taking skills, time management, assistance with decision-making skills, and job search skills. Some researchers have argued for a greater understanding of students' current stage of career development, the developmental readiness of students to deal with career decision making, and the salience to students of study and work roles (Watson, Stead, & DeJager, 1995). In general, however, career guidance in university student counselling centres is conventional, including the frequent use of workshops dealing with career and study skills, career information, job seeking skills, as well as individual and group counselling, testing, and providing liaison with potential employers in the interest of students.

Watts and Fretwell (2004) in their extensive study of public policies and career information and guidance systems in developing and transition economies, sponsored by the OECD, added further perspectives on career guidance in South Africa. From the standpoint of social context, they observe that "the growth of career guidance services is closely related to economic development as well as to the development of market economies and democratic political institutions" (p. 3). Such observations are critical to understanding the rise of career guidance in nations that are now offering their citizens opportunities for free and informed choice and access to education and to occupations that were denied them for decades. This is particularly true of South Africa as it implements its transition from a social context that was based on the separate development (apartheid) of racial groups to an integrated and open society. However, in such a period of transition, career guidance services that accommodate the needs of all groups of citizens may be insufficient or not adequately customised to the social development of groups who previously were powerless within a culture of choice or without adequate preparation to choose and prepare for opportunities that are now open to them.

Toward these ends, South Africa has moved to institute new approaches to career guidance that will respond to the pluralistic needs of the populations in transition. For example, in schools guidance counsellors typically have been trained as teachers, and often these "guidance teachers" implement and teach guidance related programs within the curriculum. Recently, many posts for guidance teachers have gone unfilled as they are being supplanted by the new role in curriculum of 'life orientation' teachers, who teach a new course in life orientation which integrates career awareness and guidance activities, career education, personal development study skills, citizenship and related topics. In addition, in South Africa, all, subject teachers are encouraged to make connections between their subject and specific aspects of career education. Career fairs are a popular career guidance mechanism in South Africa.

Public employment services are primarily in place to help job-seekers find jobs, but in an effort to maximize the use of available resources, there is growing use of self-directed information and assessment. Just as life orientation classes are being held in schools, life skills training programs, including career guidance components, are being funded by the Department of Labour to be used with persons involved in training. In South Africa, employers are expected to provide career guidance for their employees as part of the offer of accredited training. As they do so, they can receive a refund on the skills development levies that they pay to their local Education and Training Authorities. In the private and voluntary sectors of South Africa, many registered psychologists in private practice provide career counselling, psychometric assessment, individual counselling and self assessment for fees from companies, individuals and private schools. There are also private employment agencies available which provide career development and retention services to companies. Such services include intensive career counselling to assist individuals to enhance their careers within the company, outplacement services, and career counselling for departing workers. Retention services include assisting valued employees to plan their careers within the company, and developing coaching and mentoring programs for these individuals.

Summary

This chapter has examined the characteristics of social contexts in creating an environment in which career guidance is a major socio-political process. It also has examined the effects of social contexts on individual career development. As suggested at the beginning of the discussion, neither individual behaviour nor career guidance occurs in isolation from the forces – political, economic, social – that make up the stage on which individual choices and roles are negotiated and played out, and a particular form of career guidance is created to respond to the career concerns that are seen as priority issues in a particular nation at a particular point in its history. The final section of the chapter addressed the rise, growth, and emphases of career guidance in three nations with different social contexts, histories, priorities, and issues including major issues of geographic difference between population centres, dismantling of employment structures (e.g., lifelong employment) increased emphasis on personal choice, and the transition from a segregated society to one democratising educational and occupational opportunities.

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Chapter 4
LANDSCAPE WITH TRAVELLERS: THE CONTEXT OF CAREERS IN DEVELOPED NATIONS

Kerr Inkson and Graham Elkin

When individuals think about their careers, they often use the metaphor of a journey to make sense of their experiences (Inkson, 2004, 2007). They think of their careers as having movement, as getting them from place to place. Nelson Mandela, for example, described his career as a *Long Walk to Freedom*:

> I have walked that long road to freedom. I have tried not to falter; I have made missteps along the way. But I have discovered the secret that after climbing a great hill, one only finds that there are many more hills to climb. I have taken a moment here to rest, to steal a view of the glorious vista that surrounds me, to look back on the distance I have come. But I can rest only a moment, for with freedom come responsibilities, and I dare not linger, for my long walk has not yet ended. (Mandela, 1994, p. 751)

Mandela's journey has a clear destination – freedom – and is all uphill. He has not faltered, nor has he looked for easier routes. His journey is constrained by the topography through which he walks, yet he conquers the constraints and heads resolutely on. As he walks, he sees new landscapes ahead and realises that they too must be travelled. His journey is a struggle between his human spirit and the rigors of the landscape he travels through.

The metaphor of career context as a landscape through which people travel their careers helps them understand their nature. As they observe, and travel through, the landscape, their career journeys are determined by it and their response to it.

The earth and its landscape varies enormously. In some areas mountains make travel difficult and it is only possible along prescribed routes. Some parts of the landscape are featureless deserts that only allow the best prepared travellers to pass. Some areas are dangerous. Some are impenetrable jungles, where sense of direction is easily lost. And some are pleasant rolling plains, or downhill stretches with clear signs and helpful paths along which travellers can move quickly and with purpose.

The landscape through which they travel changes more than they usually notice. Mountains grow and shrink, plains are suddenly flooded, earthquakes re-shape the terrain ahead. Although travellers know the landscape is not completely stable, they

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J.A. Athanasou, R. Van Esbroeck (eds.) *International Handbook of Career Guidance*,

© Springer Science + Business Media B.V. 2008

tend to behave as if it is. Landscape shapes travellers' behaviour, yet travellers' behaviour can also alter the landscape, as well as moving them into new landscapes.

This chapter will cover the nature of the landscapes in which careers are enacted and their effects on the career traveller. It will describe some significant features of recent and current landscapes and the ways in which they are changing. It will speculate briefly about the future careers landscape. It will look only at the industrialised countries.

Structure Versus Agency

In the large and wide-ranging literature that relates to careers, two major competing frameworks present themselves, which may be labelled *social structure* and *individual agency*; or, abbreviated, *structure* and *agency*.

Structure represents the explanatory framework of the sociologists (Johnson & Mortimer, 2002). In this view careers are structured by forces such as economic development, legislation, institutional requirements, educational and professional bodies and credentials, labour markets, social class, gender, and ethnicity (Johnson & Mortimer, 2002). Such forces constitute the landscape of the metaphor.

In this view it appears that careers are best seen as minor, individual-level by-products of macro-level forces – the context. The context is implicitly considered beyond individual control, and against its powerful societal forces, career actors can influence their careers in only minor ways. If this is truly the case, then career guidance is a hopeless practice of seeking to empower the chronically powerless, and offering direction toward goals that individuals can reach only fortuitously. Individual improvement in career opportunities and outcomes is possible only through higher-level change in societal and structural conditions, for example by political action.

Agency is "active operation" (Allen, 1990). In this chapter, it represents the contrasting position of the career development movement, in which responsibility for career events and outcomes is believed to be in the hands of the "agent" – the individual career actor. It is recognised that careers are constrained by structural barriers that limit free choice in careers, but giving primacy to agency emphasises that individual people are the key determiners of their careers. Indeed, some theorists maintain that individuals enact their careers on to wider social structures and thereby influence and change the context within which they work (Giddens, 1984; Weick, 1996).

From the agency perspective, careers are best seen as expressions of personal identity and purpose, individually driven lifelong projects through which individuals control their destinies. If this is truly the case, then career guidance is a valuable practice of education and empowerment of career actors largely free to impose their careers, as they choose, on the contexts in which they live.

Like other authors in this book, the authors of this chapter take a position that might be termed "agency informed by structure." That is, they accept the assumption of agentic human action and self-responsibility on which modern career guidance

is based, but seek to take proper account of the limiting structural forces of the contexts (landscapes) in which people enact (travel) their careers.

What sort of structures are meant? Political, economic, social and technological forces can be identified as very important shapers of society and individuals in society. Political, economic, social and technological power have also been concentrated in the hands of elites in different societies, so that the interaction of these forces is part of the picture.

Underestimating Structure

The authors believe that career actors and to a lesser extent career counsellors often underestimate both the constraining and the opportunity-creating effects of contextual structures.

In an extreme example, in a television "soap" – Coronation Street – presented a storyline in which a teenage trainee hairdresser wanted to hold on to her boyfriend, an apprentice footballer who she was confident would one day be a star. But her friends pointed out that "football stars only want to go out with someone famous." Pondering the problem, she hit on the obvious solution: "That's it – I'll become famous." She decided that TV weather-girls were famous, and that "it's easy – anyone can do it." She gave up her hairdressing job and began to practise. The notion of structural constraints such as required qualifications, experience and accent, lack of labour market demand and massive labour oversupply, simply did not occur to her. It did not take much contextual experience of the labour market for weather-girls to drive her back to hairdressing.

There is a tendency for career actors to ignore or underestimate contextual realities. Consider, for instance, the operation of the labour market and the need to navigate a career through its opportunity structures. An example of this is the case of an immigrant to the West from the collapsing Soviet Union (where, in a regulated labour market she had had routine but secure employment as directed by the State) worked diligently to acquire a doctoral qualification in a very specialised area of research. When it became clear that there were no jobs available in the field she had set her heart on, she was amazed and angry that the State would not create an opportunity for her. Her experience in Soviet Russia had been a classic example of the imposition of structural constraints, in the form of a crushing authoritarian State bureaucracy, over her career self-expression. Yet she also found in the supposedly "free" West, that career choices were structurally constrained there as well, this time by the operations of the labour market.

Many career actors are similarly cavalier about their career contexts. A modern dancer complained about the lack of government subsidies for dance: she evidently believed it was a function of society to support her career in her chosen art-form. An accountant failed to notice the transformation wrought on his profession by IT, multi-skilling and customer service, and found, at age 45, that his career had come to an end because his specialist skills were no longer relevant. In such cases the

opportunity structures through which careers are progressed are predictable from known external conditions and trends, yet career actors choose to focus only on their own skills and wishes.

An opinion on their predicament might have been given nearly 100 years ago by the father of vocational guidance Frank Parsons, who in 1909 published *Choosing a Vocation*. Parsons advocated that people should (a) understand themselves, (b) understand the requirements and other conditions of different "lines of work", and (c) use "true reasoning" to find a match between the two. Even if people master (a), where the emphasis in career guidance is most frequently put, they often neglect (b), or limit their attention to superficial features of particular jobs and occupations, limiting the opportunity of (c). In travelling one's career journey and in advising others how to travel theirs, it pays to attend to the landscape and to predict and prepare for changes.

Classic theories of career also appear to neglect context. The "big five" career theories (see Chapter 5), all focus on the internal psychology of the individual. Super's (1990) career development theory is a theory of individual development and choice processes which pays relatively little attention to the wider context. Person-environment fit theory (Dawis & Lofquist, 1984) and vocational personality theory (Holland, 1992) encapsulate context as job and occupation respectively, seeking to understand better the psychodynamics of the individual's congruence to that context, but failing to consider wider aspects. Gottfredson's (1981, 2002) theory of circumscription, compromise and self-creation again focuses internal processes including the individual's *perception* of context (mainly in terms of occupations) rather than the reality of such phenomena. Social cognitive career theory acknowledges "many environmental influences" (Lent, Brown, & Hackett, 2002, p. 277) but again focuses mainly on internal psychological mechanisms and individual choices.

In contrast, Vondracek, Lerner, and Schulenberg (1986) provide a theory of career development based on "developmental contextualism" in which "there is a stress on the active organism in an active world and on the relationship between the developing organism and its changing context" (p. 30). Context is also conceptualised as a set of key arenas for career in Patton and McMahon's (1999) systems theory of careers and in Young, Valach, and Collin's (2002) contextualist theory of careers. Business-school based theories of career also show appreciation of contextual forces such as global competition, technological development and organisational restructuring (e.g., Arthur & Rousseau, 1996; Peiperl, Arthur, Goffee, & Morris, 2000).

The career development movement perhaps needs to pay more attention to such outwardly focused approaches. Careers counsellors are busy people with here-and-now concerns to help their clients, and may lack an appreciation of the myriad economic, political, demographic, technological and other factors which affect the "lines of work" of which Parsons talked. The problem is compounded by the inherent longevity of careers, which may last for 50 years: the context that must be considered is complex enough in the present, but becomes even more so when extended far into the future.

Stability and Change

Parsons (1909) was writing in an ostensibly stable environment. The landscape on which to enact a career changed relatively slowly. Yet within 5 years of *Choosing a Vocation* a World War had broken out which radically changed technology, methods of manufacturing, occupations for women and the demographic make-up and structure of most industrialised societies. Then a world-wide influenza epidemic killed millions of people, creating labour shortages and new opportunities for many. The effects of these changes were the equivalent of a rapid and traumatic geological upheaval in the landscape.

Over the next 80 years the application of technology to industry led to an acceleration of large scale manufacturing operations, yet automation and other technological developments simultaneously stripped jobs out of them. For example, in the UK a million coal miners' jobs disappeared in a 40-year period from 1945. From the time of the Great Depression a fashion for economic protectionism and Welfare States protected many careers from unemployment and uncertainty. Bureaucratic institutions provided more and more longitudinal organisational careers (Whyte, 1956), but since the 1980s the security of organisational careers has been damaged by the forces of globalisation, free-market competition and organisational restructuring. Modern times have seen an acceleration of change and an exponential expansion of life-changing and society-changing technology. The belief in stability has diminished. Change has become the new status quo.

In the beginning of the twentieth century, the concept of career – confined to an elite, because ordinary people merely had "jobs" – was as a linear progression anchored in an occupation or an organisation through which the individual moved steadily onwards and upwards. Careers were enacted not in the rural and pastoral landscapes of yore but in the urban landscapes of office and factory. During the past 100 years these landscapes have changed both incrementally, and – as with the advent of the micro-computer – abruptly. The new social and technological sophistication – for example the creation of new occupations, the opening-up of the world through mass transport and mass education – has dramatically extended the landscapes available for travel. Mobility – between jobs, occupations, organisations, industries, geographical locations, and even countries – has become an established feature of career behaviour.

Field and Habitus

The different types of structural constraint that apply to careers can be demonstrated by Pierre Bourdieu's concepts (Bourdieu, 1977; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Bourdieu talked about two critical concepts: *field*, and *habitus*, which have been effectively applied to career phenomena by Mayrhofer, Meyer, Steyrer, Maier, and Hermann (2004):

1. Fields are the social spaces (or landscapes) in which people live their lives. They are complex and hierarchical, and are apparent in education, religion, working life, etc., where a person faces many constraints such as rules, procedures, boundaries, and institutional requirements. Fields can be used by dominant individuals and institutions to control others. Fields limit individuals' action but challenge dominant persons to preserve field characteristics and less dominant ones to subvert or overcome them.
2. Habitus is the system of internal, personal, enduring dispositions through which people perceive the world. Each person acquires habitus through individual or shared experiences in predominant social groups, including family. Thus people internalise the external constraints and opportunities that they encounter, and over time develop their habitus from new experiences. Habitus is the vehicle in which internal characteristics such as values, interests, ideas, and motivations are incorporated.

Field and habitus are intimately related to each other. According to Wacquant (1998)

> As the mediation between past influences and present stimuli, habitus is at once *structured*, by the patterned social forces that produced it, and *structuring*: it gives form and coherence to the various activities of an individual across the separate spheres (fields) of life. (p. 221)

Consider, for example, how the recent liberalisation of the economy in the Russian States has dramatically changed the fields in which careers are enacted. Career moves which were once allocated by central authorities and organisations (field) now allow new freedoms of choice (Khapova & Korotov, 2007; Skokirov & Vondracek, 1993). But choice now is limited by habitus. In the communist system, systems of advancement were corrupt, and those advancing in their careers were considered contemptible. So the recent attempts to liberalise management practices and encourage proactive individual career behaviour, are hampered by individuals' inability or unwillingness to change their entrenched negative attitudes (habitus). Skorikov and Vondracek (1993, p. 315) criticised the error of "a personological focus that neglects social and cultural factors in career development".

The idea of field and habitus has been specifically applied to careers. Thus:

> A field is a patterned set of practices which suggests competent action in conformity with rules and roles as well as a playground or battlefield in which actors, endowed with a certain field-relevant capital, try to advance their position … habitus is an ensemble of schemata of perception, thinking, feeling, evaluating, speaking and acting that preformates all the expressive, verbal and practical manifestations of an actor … Although the primary socialisation is of great importance, the development of habitus cannot be restricted to that period. Habitus is constantly reinforced or modified by further experience … In order to understand and explain the action of players in the field, one needs information about their dispositions and competence – their habitus – and about the state of the game as well as the players' individual location in the field. (Mayrhofer, Iallatchich, et al., 2004, pp. 872–873)

Of interest here is the metaphor of *players* in a *game* that takes place in a *battlefield*. The notion of battlefield transforms the "landscape" metaphor, and contrasts with the popular democratic concept of *level playing field*, a notional open space on which different individuals have equal chances to impose their careers. The playing

field and battleground metaphor on the other hand emphasises that careers are competitive.

Social Structure Constraints on Career

The world of work in which careers are enacted is overlaid with other key societal structures, and career outcomes of individuals are affected by, for example, social class, gender, educational and ethnic structures – key features in the field – and related attitudes of employers, decision makers and career actors themselves, embodied in their habitus. Can, say, the publicly educated daughter of a West Indian immigrant labourer living in a housing development in Birmingham, England, expect as good career outcomes as a white stockbroker's son living in a rich suburb of London and attending Eton College, even if she matches him in talent and potential? Here field is clearly structured in the stockbroker's son's favour, and habitus will most likely follow it, extending structural segregation into a new generation.

Social class differences in wealth, power, prestige, and opportunity, systematically favour some individuals and marginalise others, thus affecting career opportunities. Class is career-related: sociologists have long used occupation as a proxy for social class (e.g., Goldthorpe, Lewellyn, & Payne, 1980).

The social class or status of an individual at the start of his or her career is likely to play a major part in the occupation that he or she gravitates into and the final level reached. Middle-class parents' money, lifestyle and contacts can buy their children a superior education, a good starting job or even a business. Such backgrounds also provide valuable knowledge, insight, communication skills and aspirations for personal achievement, which can be passed on to children. Gottfredson (2002) described how children develop individual concepts of a "zone of acceptable alternative" occupations defined in terms of prestige.

Another class-based factor affecting careers is education (Johnson & Mortimer, 2002). From the first grade, children from higher socioeconomic groups perform better (Entwisle & Alexander, 1993), and these early differences may increase over time due to continuing differences in quality of education (Kerckhoff, 1995).

Social Class and Mobility

Of special importance for career studies is the notion of *inter-generational mobility* – the change of social class from one generation to the next. In the past, most people died in roughly the same social position that they were born into. Geography, social status, economic resources and political power continued from generation to generation. In contrast, a popular view is that as society has become more egalitarian and/or more meritocratic, social class has become less important and intergenerational mobility has increased.

The position is complicated by changing occupational patterns and class structures. Many manual jobs have been automated and restructured out of existence. New skilled occupations, particularly those connected with telecommunications, information technology, and professional and personal services have grown rapidly; ever-higher proportions of the population have undertaken tertiary education; and the average income and level of affluence have increased. This *structural mobility* changes the class structure over time: upward intergenerational mobility becomes more likely, and downward mobility less likely (Featherman & Hauser, 1978).

Social Class and Identity

Careers are individual expressions of identity (Hall & Associates, 1996). Social comparison processes (Buunk & Musswieler, 2001; Festinger, 1954) are critical, and in this respect the career of each individual is part of the context of the careers of other individuals. Personal identity (a sense of who one is) is substantially determined by birth, station in life and occupation. These things only mean something if people compare themselves with others, who thereby become part of the landscape they perceive and are in any case part of the real landscape that they travel through.

Travellers look at features of the landscape, work out where they are with respect to them, and so navigate more successfully. In thinking about their careers people take bearings on other people and work out who they are and where they are in society. They look at lawyers and doctors, and at labourers and checkout operators, and compare themselves to them. Probably they know they are somewhere between the two. Educated might mean more educated than their parents and less than their children. They gradually build a set of social coordinates – an internalised map of the social context comprised by occupations and their associated lifestyles, providing context to the identity with which they live. For example, Gottfredson (1981) provided maps of occupations located according to occupational prestige and sextype. Many careers are motivated by "status anxiety" (De Botton, 2004) – the desire to be perceived as socially equal or superior to others, and to be in a better place in the landscape.

Ethnicity

Another structural factor affecting career opportunities, is ethnicity. For example, in the USA over double the proportion of African Americans are unemployed as whites. Internationally, there is good evidence that immigrants, even those with good qualifications and career backgrounds, are often employed to fill relatively unskilled and casual positions in the secondary labour market. Employment discrimination against particular racial groups clearly exists, however there is debate as to whether the failure of certain racial groups to advance is due mainly to their

race, or mainly to the commonly associated feature of their typically lower class status, which might apply whatever their race (Wilson, 1981).

Gender

In industrial societies, paid work has historically been done by mainly by men, while women supported them and their families through unpaid domestic labour. Women could be employed as paid workers in certain occupations, for example, low-skilled factory work, retail and domestic service; and for the small numbers of better educated women, nursing and teaching. Married women and women with children have traditionally been expected to devote their working hours to the unpaid work of caring for their husband and family. Therefore, a typical female career might consist of a few years' work in a relatively junior capacity, followed by a lifetime as a "housewife." Women who never married might pursue careers in paid work, but could expect promotion only in exceptional cases. If social class set major limits on the careers of many men, the combined effects of social class and gender were a veritable straitjacket to independent-minded women (Jackson, 2003).

In the latter stages of the twentieth century, what has been termed a "gender-quake" took place (Wolf, 1993). There was too much work to be done for men alone to do it. Manufacturing – traditionally largely staffed by men – declined, and service work – where women have greater interest and skills – increased. Women increasingly entered the workforce. From being perhaps 20% of the total U.S. workforce in 1900 and 30% in 1950, by 2000 they had reached an estimated 48%, (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2000). Dual-career couples and families, working solo mothers, and multiple-career reconstituted families have become common. In that sense, women are no longer constrained to the extent they once were from pursuing a full career.

What has changed less, however, is the segregation of jobs, occupations, and therefore careers, into "men's work" and "women's work. This gender segregation has two dimensions – horizontal and vertical:

1. Horizontal segregation divides work occupationally. Thus, in developed societies over two-thirds of engineers, computer programmers, warehouse staff, police officers, medical doctors, lawyers, managers, skilled trade workers, and truck drivers are men. But most primary schoolteachers, nurses, midwives, sewing machine operators, checkout operators, secretarial and clerical workers, and retail shop assistants are women. In some of these occupations, the dominating gender may have over 90% of the jobs.
2. Vertical segregation divides work hierarchically, into the more senior, responsible and better-paid jobs, and the more junior, less responsible and worse-paid jobs. Typically, men occupy the former types of job and women the latter. Some maintain that there is a "glass ceiling", such that women can see what goes on at the top of the organisations that employ them, they are unable to reach such positions

(Morrison, 1992). Men also enjoy much higher earnings than women, according to one estimate a third higher on average (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2000).

The combination of horizontal and vertical segregation gives rise to stereotypical authority relationships: the male manager dictating to the female secretary; the male doctor being assisted by the female nurse; the male lawyer giving instructions to the female legal assistant (Kanter, 1977). Barriers to occupation can lead to women consistently underestimating their career potential, and men failing to consider "female" occupations. Gender segregation and stereotyping does however appear to be declining. There has, for example, been a huge growth of the numbers of women who have become entrepreneurs (Weiler & Bernasek, 2001).

The Wider Careers Landscape

Much of the careers landscape is created by the political and economic forces shaping the institutions in which work is conducted. These contextual factors creating structures of career opportunity includes political, economic, technological, demographic, labour market, institutional, organisational, and international. It is important to consider not just the factors impacting on careers but the way in which these factors are trending over time. A table from a recent publication summarising such changes is shown below (Table 4.1).

Economic Development

Careers are massively affected by economic developments and the cultural and institutional forms that such development takes. As an example, consider the recent economic history of Japan.

In the years following World War II this ancient agriculture-based civilisation industrialised rapidly, allying national virtues of hard work, stoicism, collective loyalty, and service to the local community with imported notions of efficient organisation and quality. On this base Japan built industries in shipbuilding, car manufacture, electronics and other sectors that were superior to their counterparts in Western countries which had held an apparently unassailable lead. From 1950 to 1990, Japan's per capita GDP grew at a much greater rate than its competitors (Guisán Seijas, Cancelo Márquez, & Aguayo Lorenzo, 2001), unemployment was relatively low (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), 2004) and the career opportunities available to ordinary Japanese reached unanticipated heights.

At the apex of the Japanese industrial system, the great manufacturing companies such as Toyota and Matsushita were able to offer employees "lifetime employment" such that a prosperous and advancing career in a successful paternalistic corporation could be anticipated with apparently absolute security (Ouchi, 1981).

Table 4.1 Late twentieth-century trends and their effects on career (Reprinted with permission from Inkson, 2007)

Nature of change	Effect on careers
"Welfare state", protectionist and full employment policies of many countries, 1940–1980	Considerable career security for many people
Organisations becoming larger and more complex (up to 1980)	Availability of loyalty-based "organisational careers" providing steady advancement in large organisations
Market-oriented economic policies of many countries from 1980	Higher unemployment, exposure of careers to economic cycles
Organisations restructuring for lower costs and greater efficiencies	Layoffs, unanticipated transfers and career destabilisation, "McJobs"
Mechanisation – less manual work, more service and managerial work	Changed occupational structures – move from "physical" jobs to "knowledge" jobs
"Aging" society – greater longevity	People stretching their careers beyond age 65
Emancipation of women, trends to two-income households	Enlarged labour pool; changes in traditional "male" occupations; dual-career couples
Greater affluence, more discretionary spending	Growth of industries such as luxury goods and hospitality, with new career opportunities
Professionalisation of specialist occupations	Structuring and protection of professional career paths through required qualifications
Growth of information technology	New occupations, organisations and careers in I.T.; major changes in the work in other jobs
Globalisation – multinational organisations relocating business for lowest cost	Displacement of manufacturing and some service jobs to third-world countries; beginning of global careers

But the effects of context can spread far: in Glasgow shipyards and West Midlands manufacturing plants, laid-off local workers, managers and professional support staff trooped to the unemployment offices to collect dole payments, their careers fractured.

"Lifetime employment" in Japan was always no more than a minority indulgence (Hirakubo, 1999). "Lifetime" meant only until compulsory retirement at age 55 or 60, and the security of the "salarymen" in the large corporations was made possible only through the insecurities of the millions of temporary workers in smaller organisations, many of them suppliers. By the early 1990s other countries had learned enough from the Japanese to mount major competitive counter-offensives. Employment growth in the USA, other OECD countries and Asian developing economies overtook Japan's in the 1990s as the inefficiencies and rigidities of many Japanese organisations became apparent. Lifetime employment declined. Japanese unemployment rose to 3% for the first time in 1995, and to 5% for the first time in 2001 (OECD, 2004). So-called lifetime employment has lost its gloss (Hirakubo, 1999). Nowadays, the country struggles to make the structural reforms

necessary for it to recapture its former glories. The landscape faced by its career travellers is uncertain.

Globalisation

Globalisation is an increase in the permeability of traditional boundaries, including physical borders such as nation-states and economies, industries and organisations, and less tangible borders such as cultural norms or assumptions (Parker, 1998). This increase in permeability is the result of shifts in technological, political, and economic spheres. Free trade areas have reduced traditional economic boundaries between countries.

Non-global careers are also affected by globalisation. In modern multinational corporations seeking to capitalise on location-specific advantages, functions such as research, finance, production, sales and marketing, and administration, might all be located in different countries, thereby altering the structure of career opportunities available to local workers. The globalisation of product and service markets is accompanied by a globalisation of the internal company labour market and the external labour market, so that career contexts change dramatically, and global careers have become more prevalent (Inkson, Lazarova, & Thomas, 2005).

Politics

Political policies also affect careers. For example there is little doubt that without the Civil Rights legislation of the 1960s the career prospects of African Americans – still much lower that those of their white counterparts – would be even worse. On a broader scale the "free market" political policies popular in many countries in the 1980s dramatically altered career opportunities and outcomes of many of their citizens. Subsidies and protections were abolished, competition increased, and customers gained power to influence the careers of workers merely by the product choices they made. Reductions in tariffs and trade controls combined with globalisation and low-cost Third World factory sites to move jobs away from the developed economies.

Another political factor influencing the career contexts of some countries is privatisation. Governments in many developed countries have sold or are selling state owned business to private investors at an increasing rate. Because these enterprises have often been non-competitive, privatisation had a dramatic effect on the work life and career prospects of employees. National and local policies on regional development, unemployment benefits, medical and accident insurance, pension provisions, accreditation of qualifications, industry incentives and a host of other issues impact daily on people's careers. Counsellors need to be well-read and aware, not just about immediate local provisions but about long-term trends and possibilities.

Industry and Occupation Structures

In developed countries, mechanisation and affluence have inexorably changed employment structures. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the vast majority of workers were employed in primary industries, mainly agriculture, and in manufacturing. By 2004, only 6% of OECD civilian employment was in primary industries (down from 9% in 1994), only 25% in manufacturing (down from 28%), and 69% in services (up from 63%) (OECD, 2004). Recent years have seen a growth in areas such as education, health, community services, and property and business services. Leisure and entertainment industries have also grown faster than other areas.

The U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics publishes statistics and predictions charting numerical changes in the labour force in different occupations and industries. The projections are reasonably accurate in terms of predicting trends (Alpert & Auyer, 2003). Summaries of recent data provided by Reardon, Lenz, Sampson, and Peterson (2006) based on these data showed a number of clear trends. High growth industries are health (including nurses, nursing and home health aides, medical assistants, health information technicians, physical therapists, dental hygienists and assistants); information technology (including software engineers, systems analysts, and database and information systems managers); consulting (including management, scientific and technical) and a host of other services including community care and employment services.

A study of the numbers employed in various occupations 1960–1990 according to their primary Holland RIASEC codes showed rapid growth in S (social), E (enterprising) and I (investigative) occupations. R (realistic) occupations declined dramatically while still remaining the single largest type (Reardon, Vernick, & Reed, 2004). Career travellers who care to consult such oracles can target occupations with high employment numbers and growth projections, high salaries, and strong projected growth (Reardon et al., 2006). Similar data are available in other countries and provides interesting occupation and industry maps, though of course such maps cannot take account of factors such as the skills and qualifications required or the labour market competition for such opportunities.

The Knowledge Economy and Education Requirements

Drucker (1969) used the now common term *knowledge economy* as early as 1969, implying that in advanced industrial nations knowledge has become the central factor of production. Consciousness of the rise of the knowledge economy has triggered major growth in education in many countries. Yet Felsted, Gallie, and Green (2002) claimed that in the UK in 2001, 37% of workers were overqualified academically for their jobs, up from only 30% in 1986. There is evidence (Cully, 2002) that changes in jobs are leading to an “hour glass” or “hollowed out” shape to the labour market. A growth in information technology has brought about an increase

in the number of skilled and more senior roles, yet at the same time simple unskilled service jobs (for example, data entry, fast-food service) have also increased, while intermediate occupations have declined.

One reason may be that IT leads to major changes in the way work is organised. In the past the role of middle managers was to collect, sort, sift and sanitise information. Now information gathering is easy, immediate and cheap, and the vertical structures of the past can be replaced by decentralised decision making and flatter structures that enhance flexibility and process innovation, and replace vertical controls with horizontal communication. As an example, Cully (2002) cited the example of the loss of the jobs of middle ranked bank managers. In the past the manager would make assessments of whether an individual is a suitable risk for a housing mortgage loan. Nowadays the decision parameters have been codified and the decisions are made by a computer. There is more need for the higher order skill of codifying decision criteria, and for lower level data entry operators, but less need for a manager. The middle level that provided a step in a career hierarchy has disappeared. The leap from bank clerk to senior manager is almost impossible to cross.

The Organisational Landscape

Career opportunity structures are also affected by the context of policies, strategies and structures in employing organisations.

Since the 1980s the globalisation of business, the threat of increased competition, and the desire of many organisations to reduce costs and increase flexibility has led to major changes in the strategies and structures of most employing organisations, thereby putting pressures on the careers of employees and the opportunities available to outsiders. Restructuring usually involves a net loss of jobs within the organisation. Different but often overlapping strategies may be used, the main ones being downsizing, de-layering, core-and-periphery models, and outsourcing.

Downsizing, involving a direct reduction in the corporate head-count, has been a strategy favoured by many companies (Littler & Innes, 2004; Mishra & Spreitzer, 1998). However, downsizing, while dramatic, takes place mainly in the manufacturing sector and often masks ongoing gradual long-term employment increases in downsizing organisations (Baumel, Blinder, & Wolff, 2003). Continual downsizing reduces the locations in the landscape for organisational careers. On the other hand employment growth is created in growing smaller organisations in expanding industries.

Delayering is a process of removing entire hierarchical levels of organisations, making them "flat" rather than "tall", and has continued to be popular (Littler, Wiesner, & Dunford, 2003). The fewer people there are to supervise, the fewer levels will be needed in organisations. This change is aided by technology that makes intermediate level positions unnecessary, as in the bank manager example above (Cully, 2002). Career progression is much more difficult in a delayered organisation.

Outsourcing is the delegation, to a specialist supplier, of services that are not central to an organisation's functioning (Espino-Roderiguez & Padron-Robaina, 2006). Service departments and production facilities can be outsourced. Outsourcing increases within-the-organisation specialisation and frequently has dramatic effects on the careers of workers whose work is outsourced, often to a distant geographical location.

The core and periphery model of flexible organisation was first suggested by Atkinson (1984). In recent years there has been a change from organisations based on permanent full-time jobs to those with a core of key employees – guardians of the organisation's strategic direction, core competencies and institutional memory, surrounded by a periphery of people with short term contracts, job sharers and part time workers. Further out from the core are agencies providing temporary contractors, consultants and other (outsourced) services, benefiting the organisation through their greater flexibility. In seasonal and business downturns or changes of organisational strategy, peripheral workers can be easily disposed of. The career landscape of the core is relatively secure and certain, but that of the periphery is insecure and ambiguous.

The organisational control of careers is an idea central to the "resource based view of the firm" (Boxall & Purcell, 2003). This view stressed the significance of human resources as sources of competitive advantage and the consequent need to attract, retain, develop and motivate these resources. Large organisations often develop sophisticated system to process and direct the combined resources that are embodied in employees' careers, thereby providing staff with internal career development opportunities (Baruch, 2004). Organisations need to encourage loyalty, particularly among their core staff, and reinforce it with attractive arrangements for remuneration, development, security, promotion and a strong appealing culture. As a counterpoint to the downsizing-disloyalty syndrome, some organisations are developing High-Commitment Human Resource Management practices to encourage long-term organisational careers by offering superior security, conditions and development to high-value employees (Pfeffer, 1998).

New Forms of Employment

Career studies often makes the implicit assumption that a career consists of a succession of permanent, full-time, 5-day-a-week, nine-to-five jobs. But continuity of full-time job has always been unavailable to some workers, and alternatives such as casual, temporary, and contract employment, shift-work, part-time employment, self-employment and multiple job-holding – voluntary or involuntary – have been their lot. The changes signalled in the previous section have increased the proportions of such workers (Kalleberg & Schmidt, 1996). This is called "non-standard work" or "contingent work" (meaning that continuing employment is contingent on there being continuing work available for the worker to do).

Many industries (for example fresh food processing) tend to be seasonal in nature, while others are inherently based on projects of finite duration (for example the construction and film industries). These interrupted industries create their own career patterns and problems. In New Zealand, the authors' country, the huge scale and fabulous success, in the early 2000s, of the *Lord of the Rings* movie trilogy, created myriad opportunities for local people to commence new careers or re-energise old ones. But unless the industry can continue indefinitely in the same country, in the same manner, on the same scale (an impossibility), the project work generated leads to start-stop careers and the plugging of career gaps with inferior casual work.

There is evidence that temporary, part-time and casual forms of work may be "crowding out more stable forms of employment" and "increasing labour market dualism between workers finding stable full-time careers and those who fail to do so" (OECD, 2002a, p. 127). According to Watts (2001), over 70% of the employment growth of the 1990s was in casual work. In the OECD, part-time employment increased by a third between 1990 and 2003, was focused more on female than on male workers, and ranged from 2% of all employment in the Slovak Republic to 34% in the Netherlands (OECD, 2004). The trend in self-employment was less clear, but this form of employment averaged about 15% across the OECD in 2003. If we add perhaps 15% of the workforce in the developed world who are part-time to 15% who are self-employed to perhaps 7% who are unemployed and an unknown number who are of working age but not in the workforce, and recognise that these four conditions will strike different individuals at different times, it becomes apparent that the notion of full-time permanent careers may be less common than we might think.

Commentaries on the trend to temporary work stress its precariousness, marginalising effect, and lack of career progression (Hardy & Walker, 2003; Rogers, 1995). These contrast with assumptions of continuity and incremental development that underlie many models of career. On the other hand, some studies show that it is possible for skilled temporary workers to utilise their marginal status in the organisation to develop a better work-life balance, educational development, a *portfolio* career involving additional opportunities, or enhanced career versatility (Alach & Inkson, 2004; Inkson, Heising, & Rousseau, 2001). The task of understanding the complexities of career development through such uncertain employment opportunities is a major task for more and more careerists and their advisors.

Flexible Working refers to special patterns of working location and hours that are required or made possible by new technology and structural arrangements. For example, telecommuting began in California in response to traffic problems and the cost of using office buildings. Estimates of how widespread this phenomenon may become vary from 15 million up to 57 million in the USA (Kurland & Bailey, 1999). The UK Labour Force Survey (U.K. Office for National Statistics, 2002) identified 7.5% of the workforce as teleworkers, and 48% of organisations already allowed remote working. The United Kingdom Chartered Institute of Personnel Development (CIPD) listed current (2006) flexible working arrangements and added to those we have mentioned; job sharing and flexitime.

The Labour Force

A key part of the landscape is the nature of the other travellers – for example their diversity, gender, age, and education. Career travelling in the industrialised world is competitive: jobs go to those who it is thought will provide the highest performance, the optimum organisational efficiency, the greatest profitability.

Labour Force Aging

In the industrialised countries, social forces are leading to major demographic changes in the workforce. On the one hand, late twentieth-century trends to women's participation in the workforce and advances in birth control have led to childrearing being undertaken at a later age and families becoming smaller. In many industrialised countries, reproduction does not even reach replacement level and these countries' populations and workforces can grow only through net immigration. At the other end of the age spectrum, advances in healthcare lead to better health and fitness among the over-50s, and the possibility of workers extending their active careers beyond normal retiring ages.

The ratio of elderly inactive members of society compared to active members of the workforce is steadily increasing in all developed countries, and the proportion of young people in the workforce is shrinking. The proportion of the workforce in industrialised countries who were aged 15–24 shrunk from 21.4% in 1980 to 16.8% in 2000 and is predicted to shrink again to 14% by 2015. (International Labour Office, 2004). These workers also have an unemployment rate much higher than that of their older counterparts, 13.4% versus 5.7% in 2003. The aging of the population and of the workforce is however a trend which has only just begun, and which is likely to have more dramatic effects on careers in the years ahead. In the section on "The Future of Work" below, we provide some statistics and further thoughts.

Labour Turnover

Another relevant variable is labour turnover and the patterns of opportunity thereby created. These changes may be more frequent than many may think. One longitudinal study in the USA looked at men between the ages of 18 and 38 between 1978 and 2002 and concluded that in their 20-year period, men made an average of 10.4 new job starts and women 9.9 (U.S. Department of Labor, 2006). Frequency of change tended however to decline with age, from approximately .8 starts per person in the late teens, to .2 in the late 30s. It is suggested that such figures are at odds with the long-term, person-to-job congruence perspective adopted by many careers professionals.

Migration

Many career travellers migrate, mostly in search of better economic opportunities. As they do so, they not only respond to contextual cues, they also alter not only their own contexts but those of career travellers in the places to which they move. Some of this migration is within countries, for example the massive flows from rural to urban areas which characterised the industrialisation phase of the developed countries and created the great cities. More noticeable nowadays however is *international* migration. For example, according to the International Organization for Migration (IOM) nearly 10% of Germany's 82 million population consists of foreign people, while the USA now has 35 million people who were born outside its borders, up from 10 million in 1970 (International Organization for Migration (IOM), 2005). In the OECD, net migration accounted for a net population growth of 3.7 per 1,000 in 2003, compared with only net .4 per 1,000 through births and deaths (IOM, 2005).

Migrants are increasingly concentrated in developed countries. They typically experience major problems of discrimination and acculturation in their new countries (Berry, 2001), as well as disruption to their careers (Stephan, Ybarra, & Bachman, 1999), while others – typically educated professionals – are "highly skilled globetrotters" (Mahroum, 2000) selling scarce and valuable expertise on a receptive international market. Migrants thus alter the context, and role model new forms of career, for local workers.

Migration is particularly important when it affects – and captures – the careers of the more educated, skilled, and economically valuable members of the population. Globally, countries and organisations have become involved in a "war for international talent" (OECD, 2002b). The so-called Brain Drain, whereby valuable or potentially valuable members of economically deprived countries migrate permanently to more prosperous countries, is an increasing concern for many countries (e.g., Crush, 2004; Gamlen, 2005). For example, according to the European Commission, three-quarters of European graduates who go to the USA for doctoral study subsequently stay on and join the American workforce (Cohen, 2003). The U.S. information technology industry, too, is substantially sustained by large numbers of smart, highly trained professionals recruited from the Indian sub-continent.

Culture and Values

The milieu of culture, values and ideas in which individuals first grow up and then develop their careers is itself part of the landscape and exerts influence on other parts. For example, Hofstede's (1980) classic description of variation in cultural values across 52 countries intersects with conventional career theory and research. The dimensions of culture he described – individualism/collectivism, power distance, tolerance of ambiguity and masculinity – have major potential effects on

both the culturally based, institutions that are part of the career context (field), and individual orientations to careers (habitus) (Thomas & Inkson, 2007). In the individualistic West, career is typically seen as a long-term individual project, an exercise of personal agency in pursuit of personal goals, whereas notions of collective experience of careers, or collective criteria for career success, appear little in the literature. The low power distance of many advanced nations creates an ethos of egalitarianism and compared with high power distance societies discourages the maintenance of traditional hierarchies and status barriers to career advancement. The low uncertainty avoidance of the West enhances possibilities of career resilience (London & Stumpf, 1982) and career adaptability (Savickas, 2005) in a rapidly changing career landscape. And masculinity–femininity frames possible career goals in terms of, say, achievement versus relationships or balance.

Individualism and the Pursuit of Success

Modern industrial societies are the home of individualistic values and high levels of achievement motivation (Yang, 1988). These encourage career ambition, with hierarchical organisations supporting status advancement. But the central place of work in confirming identity and giving meaning to life has been changing. The decline of Christian faith in the western world and the rise of global media have tended to change expectations concerning what really matters in life. There is an increasing emphasis on immediate consumption. Role models are young, sexy and well endowed with personal technology and label products. They are pictured by the media as being hedonistic and individualistic (O'Shaughnessy & O'Shaughnessy, 2002; Ryckman & Houston, 2003). Contextual cues such as these trigger ambitious, individualistic career behaviour: money and status but also leisure time become key attributes of the supposedly satisfying career.

In contrast, there are demands to balance work and the whole of life. Singh (2001) wrote of individuals and couples carefully choosing employers who can offer them balanced careers. Those who cannot find balance, especially women, are opting to walk away from their commitment to career success, and are instead "downshifting" (Ghazi & Jones, 2004). In the west, the working week has been reducing, the number of holidays and holiday periods is increasing, and the number of annual hours worked in industrialised countries has decreased by about 100 over last 15 years (International Labour Office, 2004). It seems that both individuals and societies are willing to reduce their commitment to work.

Family Life

For centuries the extended family was a basic unit of Western civilisation. The industrial revolution separated home and production, and increased the role of

individuals at the expense of families. Many came to believe that the separation of work and home is essential. There was a "golden age" of marriage and nuclear family across many Western nations from the 1950s to 1970s. In these years the dominant pattern and model of domesticity was a heterosexual couple with perhaps two children living together. Commonly the male was the breadwinner and the female the home nurturer, who abandoned a career, or at least put it off, to fulfil the role.

That era is apparently over (Kiernan, 2004). In recent decades, moves to later and serial marriages, and the rise in cohabitation and divorce have made partnerships between men and women more diverse and fragile. Children are increasingly born and reared outside marriage. The number of single parent families continues to grow (Federal Interagency Forum on Child and Family Statistics, 2005) with only 68% of American children living in two-parent families in 2004 as compared to 77% in 1980.

Within a partnership it had been possible for one individual (sometimes two) to pursue a career while their partner carried most of the child caring burden. Carrying sole responsibility for a child or children makes a career difficult for most single parents, because family rearing has become their central preoccupation. On the other hand, government policies on childcare and leave provision and taxation may combine with labour shortages to encourage individual carers to take up part-time or even full-time work and develop their careers as best they can according to changing family circumstances.

The Future of Work and Careers

When people try to predict the future they often look at the recent past and present, and then project what they see into the future. Some commentators have the uncanny knack of bring able to see into the future. Re-reading Alvin Toffler's (1980) ideas in 2006 is very informative. His "Third Wave" speaks of a new wave of change for industry and society. He wrote prophetically of disseminated workplaces, electronic cottages, telecommuting replacing cars, and new organisational structures. He suggested the new society would bring with it a genuine new way of life.

For the future, the authors see a number of current and emergent trends. Demographic trends will continue to determine the workers available to enact career journeys. The people in the landscape will be older, which will allow and perhaps require an increasingly aged participation in the workforce. Karoly and Panis (2004) predicted an almost nil growth (.04%) in the U.S. workforce in the period to 2010 and .03% in the decade to 2010. Decline will be prevented only by new immigrants in the workplace cohort. The same picture is true of the majority of the developed countries in the OECD. The OECD projects that over the next 25 years around 70 million people will retire in OECD countries. The over-65 population is anticipated to rise from 15.4% of the EU population in 1995 to 22.4% by 2025 (Geddes, 2002).

Such changes alter career opportunities for many, for example when workers' earnings are more heavily taxed to pay for the care of the older generation, when the qualifying age for a pension is increased to encourage older workers to extend their careers, and when a burgeoning aged-care industry provides both new career opportunities and ghettoes of routine low-paid jobs.

One likely outcome of this reduction in the supply of workers in the OECD is that the search for employees will become more international. The effective labour market will be global, and migration policies will become more open and more competitive. Those who are active in the careers landscape will be increasingly mobile geographically and globally with a wider view of where they can journey across the landscape. It is likely that as a result workforce diversity will increase in terms of ethnicity, culture, and language.

It is also likely the workforce will be increasingly feminised as a result of labour shortages in the developed countries. Karoly and Panis (2004) showed a declining male participation rate in work and a rising female participation rate bringing the workforce to a gender balance. This will lead employers in the competitive environment help employees (particularly women) to balance the role of work in their lives. It is likely that women will increasingly colonise former occupational bastions of male privilege (e.g., law, accounting, engineering, finance, higher management, corporate governance).

Another feature of the landscape will be increased technological change. Karoly and Panis (2004) suggested the pace of change – whether through advances in IT, biotechnology or other emerging technologies such as nanotechnology will almost certainly accelerate in the next 10–15 years, with synergies across technologies and disciplines generating advances in research and development, production and the nature of products and services. IT developments may include the development of real time speech recognition systems and intelligent robotics. Already nanotechnology and genetic profiling are presenting interesting synergies that are bringing challenges to ethicists and politicians, challenges that again may determine career opportunities far into the future.

A preoccupation with continuous learning of skills will continue to develop. In the UK a National Skills Task Force (NSTF) (2000) identified a wide range of general skills that can be transferred between occupations, including problem solving, communication, literacy and numeracy. These skills are becoming the key to flexibility for individuals and employability, and more important than occupation-specific skills. In general NSTF believes the level of skills of jobs are increasing. The landscape will require increasingly skills and moves and experiences that enhance employability will be a priority.

As early as 1989 Charles Handy described a future in which traditional employees, who have worked for a single employer, in the employer's premises for a given wage or salary are replaced by freelancers and portfolio workers. He argued that tomorrow's highly skilled technicians and professionals will be enabled through technology to engage in work through fluid networks, rather than the rigid hierarchies that defined the conventional job. Jeremy Rifkin (1995) was more pessimistic

and foresaw mass unemployment, the increasing casualisation of work, or the division of the workforce into a core of skilled, well compensated employees, and a low-skilled part-time or temporary periphery – a further development of the "hollowing out" effect already noted.

Conclusion

Each person is an individual traveller who navigates his or her career in a personal context. To complete the journey satisfyingly and successfully, they need to know their own capabilities and have the capability to build their resources. But equally they need to be able to perceive, understand and anticipate the landscape, to know the opportunities it presents, the dangers it displays or conceals, and the changes it is likely to undergo within the space of their careers. They need, as it were, to be able to "see round corners."

The good news is that even though everyone's landscape is personal, they have much in common, and that much about them is known, and can be predicted for the future with reasonable accuracy. The demographic shape of the workforce and the shifts to new industries, occupations, and forms of employment can be anticipated and planned for. The areas of opportunity and threat for tomorrow's careerists can be delineated, at least in general terms. Against that are the short-term uncertainties that many of these apparent certainties bring, for example the fact that in these landscapes the new careers journeys will most likely require a new flexibility, improvisational skills and tolerance of ambiguity from tomorrow's workers (Arthur, Inkson, & Pringle, 1999). Furthermore, no analysis can adequately prepare them for the possibilities of war, terrorism, tsunami, and pandemic global disaster which can convulse careers in the future as they have in the past.

The authors hope, however, that they have shown how vital it is that career counsellors as consultant navigators to the careers of others, accompany their sophisticated methods of mapping the psyches of their client travellers, with up-to-date atlases of current and coming career landscapes. Within the limitations of this chapter the authors have been able to do no more than sketch preliminary outline drawings: today's and tomorrow's travellers will need much more informative maps, and a willingness and capability to research and prepare their own maps, if they are to survive and thrive in the wider but more challenging vistas that they traverse in their life journeys.

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Part II
Theoretical Foundations

Chapter 5
HELPING PEOPLE CHOOSE JOBS: A HISTORY OF THE GUIDANCE PROFESSION

Mark L. Savickas

Role transitions prompt individuals to reflect on where they have been in order to consider where they wish to go. Educational and vocational guidance experts aid these individuals to clarify what is at stake and which decisions must be made. In a parallel process, cultural transitions prompt vocational guidance experts to reflect on where they have been in order to consider where they will take their profession. With the rapid economic changes brought by information technology and the globalisation of the economy, the profession of vocational guidance must reconsider the current relevance of its model, methods, and materials. This challenge requires that the profession again address a major cultural transition in a way that best assists individuals adapt to the personal transitions that they face. Thus, the profession of guidance must examine how well its 20th century theories and techniques meet the needs of 21st century clients. The present chapter contributes to this reflection by considering the history of the guidance profession, especially the origins and development of its four main methods for helping people choose jobs.

My thesis is that each time the social organisation of work changes, so does society's methods for helping individuals make vocational choices. Thus, the chapter explains how, during four economic eras, four distinct helping methods evolved in the following sequence: mentoring, guiding, counselling, and constructing. The dominant helping method of a prior era never completely disappears; instead, it fades in popularity as the new model gains adherents. So for example, when guiding replaced mentoring as the dominant model, mentoring still remained a viable strategy for helping. Today, all four helping methods are currently in use, with preference for a model being determined by the developmental status of the economy in which it is applied.

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J.A. Athanasou, R. Van Esbroeck (eds.) *International Handbook of Career Guidance*,

© Springer Science + Business Media B.V. 2008

Mentoring in Agricultural Communities (1850–1899)

Vocational assistance emerged as an activity during the second half of the 19th century when economies were based on agriculture. Most people lived on farms, where there were no specialised jobs. Everybody performed various chores all day long. During the Victorian era in England and the Biedermeier period in Germany, individuals and communities encountered the beginning of modernity as scientific and political changes threatened the traditional social order. Agricultural communities were unified by personal relationships and collectivist values. The community emphasised a social ecology in which the moral order around people was engraved upon their minds. Individuals defined self by social function and the way in which they contributed to the shared social order. This social arrangement sought a uniform goodness expressed in hard work and ethical behaviour. The view of self emphasised during this era was called *character*. People were to strive to develop a good character. It was the family's and the community's job to inculcate or stamp this character onto each member of the group. To do this, the community enforced social norms and rules for moral conduct according to which all men and women were to act.

Choosing a life's work was not a problem for very many people because traditional societies offered few occupational choices. Essentially, individuals were assigned their work role. A predominant social norm for work assignment was called the *law of primogeniture*, meaning the right of the eldest child to inherit the entire estate. When applied to craftspeople, it became the notion of occupational inheritance, in which children inherit their parents' craft. This social system was a way of insuring for the community that the services provided by the parent would be continued by the children. Thus, the problem of choosing a vocation was not experienced by many young people. Starting at age six, most children performed chores on the farm or worked in the town as an apprentice. In a sense, the young person's work met the needs of the community. They contributed their work to the good of all. The impersonal economic forces of modern culture after the rise of science and machines challenged communal values and, in due course, brought an isolated individualism, but we are getting ahead of the story.

The transformation from agricultural collectivism to industrial individualism accelerated with the movement of workers from the farm or village to the city. When people moved to the city, they had to choose one major work activity, not do the variety of chores as they had done at home. Choosing this one activity was a new problem generated by reorganisation of the social order. Thomas Carlyle was among the first to write about this problem. He was a Scottish scholar who forged a new tradition of Victorian era criticism that addressed the problems of the new social order. Carlyle (1833/1884) wrote an influential book, *Sartor Resartus*, on the problem of young people "getting under way" during a period when a culture was reconstructing itself. In his *The Tailor Re-tailored*, Carlyle formulated what, in the next century, would be called the person-environment fit paradigm.

> To each is given a certain inward Talent, a certain outward Environment of Fortune; to each, by wisest combination of these two, a certain maximum Capability. But the hardest problem were ever this first: To find by study of yourself, and the ground you stand on, what your combined inward and outward Capability specially is. (p. 92)

With the increase in occupational alternatives for some youth, society devised a mechanism to help youth choose among the alternatives. To assist individuals make vocational choices, society offered mentoring provided by *friendly visitors* (USA) and *voluntary visitors* (England). These supportive volunteers eventually became organised within community and social welfare organisations as the profession of social work emerged to address the ills of the city.

The change in population distribution caused by the movement to commercial cities led to problems such as unemployment, vice, alcoholism, delinquency, and crime. In 1844, twelve salesmen in a London dry goods store founded the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) to improve the spiritual condition and mental culture of young men engaged in drapery and other trades (Hopkins, 1951). To assist young men, working youth, and apprentices, YMCAs opened libraries and offered courses in reading, spelling, grammar, history, geography, the Bible, writing, and arithmetic.

The first YMCA in the USA opened in Boston in 1851. Additional YMCAs followed the well-established routes of transportation as they spread quickly to other urban centres. The first world conference of YMCAs was held in Paris in 1855. As part of its relief work in the USA, YMCAs opened employment bureaus in response to Civil War veterans' need to find jobs. The need intensified with the recurrent depressions that followed the Civil War. For example, in 1866 the Chicago YMCA hired a man to start an employment bureau and he did placement work there for the next 16 years. Records of the Chicago bureau indicate that in 1875 alone he assisted 4,000 people obtain jobs. The Boston association hired an employment officer in 1872, and he placed 700 people during his first year (Hopkins, 1951). The individuals who staffed the YMCA employment bureaus engaged in mentoring as part of their employment programs.

During this period, the YMCA movement added a new mission to its goal of helping young workers. It began to concentrate on helping boys, accelerating a trend that had started in the 1870s when the YMCAs tried to improve conditions for poor urban children (P. Super, 1929). The concentration on boy's work soon spread to helping immigrants and rural youth who had moved to the city, and even college students. "When a feller needs a friend" became the catch phrase that captured the purpose of the friendly visits between boys and YMCA volunteers.

Around 1901, the YMCA formally committed to boy's work on a large scale, profoundly influenced by the newly emerging field of child development (Davidson & Benjamin, 1987), as well as by sociological treatises on street boys, newsboys, delinquents, and boys working in coal mines (Levine & Levine, 1992). Based on its program of character education using principles of the new educational psychology, YMCAs pioneered offering vocational advice to youth. The YMCAs of this period considered advising an important adjunct to their educational programs because they realised that they were in a strategic position to provide mentoring services. Of course the bulk of this mentoring involved placement work performed in conjunction

with vocational training programs and other educational programs. The natural mentoring that occurred during friendly visits became institutionalised in the cities in 1910 when the Big Brothers organisation was founded in Cincinnati, Ohio. The work of Big Brothers and Sisters to this day resembles the friendly visits of the agricultural era when a responsible adult offered character education and vocational advice to youth in need of a friend.

The early informal guidance programs of the YMCAs later became systematised with the emergence of C.C. Robinson's (1912, 1922) *Find Yourself* program. Robinson called his approach to vocational mentoring a friendly method because advice was provided as a friend, not as an expert, would do it. This sympathetic approach was to be offered to every boy who entered a YMCA program. Placement services along with character education in the YMCAs reached their zenith in the 1920s and 1930s. When YMCA educators and social workers promoted character education, they meant building self-discipline and habits of responsibility and morality (P. Super, 1929). The pseudo-science of characterology – the use of phrenology, physiognomy, and palmistry to assess character – was applied to vocational choice and selection by leading exponents including Richards (1881) who proposed a new profession that would help youth make vocational choices. While the practitioners of characterology recognised the principle of matching people to positions, their bases for matching were character readings done by judging bodily appearance – a procedure analogous to "judging a book by its cover." The helping hand offered by friendly volunteers, even with the assistance of characterology, soon proved ineffective in meeting the needs of city youth.

Vocational Guidance in Industrial Cities (1900–1949)

The second phase of the industrial revolution, spanning the years 1871–1914, was propelled by the electrical motor and the internal combustion engine. The technology enabled by electricity and engines replaced the labour of marginal workers. This technology also prompted the crystallisation in the early 20th century of the social invention called *jobs*. When on the farm, individuals did not actually have a job, they simply performed a variety of chores. However, individuals who lived in commercial cities were assigned just one task in an industry. They repeatedly performed this one task, which became known as their job. They were instructed to do that job "the one best way" following the prescriptions of Taylor's (1911) scientific management and Frank and Lillian Gilbreth's (1911) work design method.

Industrial society's modern arrangement of work differed fundamentally from that of the feudal system. The feudal system allowed people to pursue activity whereas the modern system forced them to pursue consumption and accumulation. The feudal system and later the agricultural economy severely limited social mobility yet they offered freedom of activity and the joys of craftsmanship. Social critics such as Carlyle noted that urban living allowed more mobility yet it forced people into unnatural activities. Carlyle asserted that the feudal system was better at

assigning individuals an activity and then granting them the freedom to pursue that activity in a manner they found pleasing rather than forcing men and women to serve the standardised job by doing it the one best way.

The social arrangement of modern work into jobs and then jobs into occupations led to the growth of cities and urban living. For example, by 1910 half of the population of the USA lived in cities. Today only 2.5% of the USA population lives on farms. Vocational guidance in the USA originated in Massachusetts where 75% of state's population lived in cities or towns and 75% depended on wages owning neither factory, farm, nor shop. This movement or immigration from provinces to cities was also evident in cities such as Paris, London, Brussels, Petersburg, and Vienna. For example, the population of London in 1800 was one million. By 1850, the population had grown to 2.3 million and by 1900 to 6.48 million. This population growth rate was just slightly faster than that of Paris.

Those individuals who moved from a homogeneous community to a heterogeneous city encountered clashing cultures and foreign languages that dissolved feelings of community and instilled feelings of isolation. Of course, these urban populations were living in compact surroundings. Cramped quarters led to the qualitative reorganisation of life with new architecture and transportation systems. The literature of that era referred to cities as a harem of opportunity, brilliant emporium, brawling marketplace, exotic wonderland, battlefield, and inferno. Fragmentation of experience became an essential element of city living during these turbulent times. Many people were simply lost in the city as they experienced disorientation, disjunction, discontinuity, dissonance, and disorganisation. The incessant shower of unrelated experiences, along with the lack of a stable community to absorb these shocks led to the growth of urban ills, especially among youth. It is no wonder that on September 1, 1910, the Vatican in Rome introduced a compulsory oath against modernism to be taken by all Catholic priests upon ordination.

As Virginia Woolf (1924) observed, "On or about December 1910, human character changed". That date marks the time when the industrial economy began to overwhelm the agricultural economy and city living began to overshadow country living. Woolf rightly observed that a new sense of self was needed for the industrial era, one to replace the Victorian sense of self known as character. The modern sense of self came to be known as personality, another social invention and one that eventually became linked to the other social invention we discussed, namely jobs. *Persona* means the roles that one assumes and implies that these roles change according to situation and context. Instead of having a fixed character stamped on them, individuals living in the city were to implement life-style preferences and adapt their image or social facade to fit the roles that they chose to play. Self-expression would best be fostered by having the *persona* play fitting roles, thus the goal of matching personality to suitable occupations and fitting jobs.

The problems of the city, including youth choosing and finding a job, overwhelmed amateurs and required the attention of experts. Individuals with a special interest in helping youth to resolve the problems arising from poverty, vice, and alcoholism quickly professionalized the practice of benevolence by constructing scientific models and methods (Todd, 1919). These specialists viewed science as

the panacea for society's ills, an objective method with which to advance social and political reform. The science of helping soon came to celebrate the idea of individual differences in abilities and personalities, in contrast to the Romantic quest for uniformity of character. Rather than encouraging all people to develop good character and high morals, the new order promoted expressive individualism.

The growth of cities, along with the belief that education of all children is a public duty, had forced the recognition of individual differences. Traditional schoolroom teaching methods were designed for a select group of children who were uniformly taught the classics. These uniform methods failed when applied to a more varied population. The heterogeneous school populations in city schools included a wide distribution of economic groups and classes with great variation in pupils. School personnel soon concluded that variety was one of the chief characteristics of human nature. This recognition prompted the child study movement (Davidson & Benjamin, Jr., 1987) and led to the conceptualisation of a new life stage called adolescence (Hall, 1904). One consequence was that school personnel and social workers in many countries around the world needed to design an innovative model for helping adolescents make vocational choices. Thus, in most countries vocational guidance's early development, especially from 1880 to 1920, typically arose from within either the educational system or social welfare organisations. For example in Belgium, Germany, and the United Kingdom, vocational guidance was developed outside the school system. In countries such as the United States, vocational guidance was quickly assimilated into the schools. Yet in other countries, vocational guidance services remained entirely outside the educational system. For example, vocational guidance in Belgium remained independent of the schools until 1947 (Sacré, 1993). Regardless of whether the initiative arose in the educational or social welfare system, pioneers in each country used science to devise vocational guidance as a new mechanism for assisting youth to choose among their occupational alternatives.

The earliest antecedents to the eventual formation of modern vocational guidance that I could locate occurred in the last quarter of the 19th century. In 1871, Cestari working in Venice published a classification of occupations, occupational information, and a procedure for evaluating individual aptitudes. Lysander Richards of Massachusetts, in his 1881 book entitled *Vocophy, The New Profession: A System Enabling A Person to Name the Calling or Vocation One is Best Suited to Follow*, described a new profession to help youth choose jobs. In 1893, Marcotti working in Florence published a *Practical Guide for Choosing a Profession* that described the aptitudes and knowledge useful in different occupations and identified the best schools for preparing for a specific occupation. From 1898 to 1907, Jesse B. Davis (1956) provided education and vocational guidance to students in the 11th grade at Central High School in Detroit, Michigan. In 1907, he became principal for a high school in Grand Rapids, Michigan where he required English teachers to have students in the seventh grade write weekly reports on their occupational interests in hopes that these compositions would also develop character.

At the dawn of the new century, organised vocational guidance began to take shape. An auspicious beginning to organised vocational guidance occurred in

Switzerland when employers, union officers, welfare workers, and school personnel formed an association to coordinate their efforts in orienting youth to the work world. Formed in 1902, the Association of Employers of Apprentices changed its name in 1915 to the Swiss Association for Vocational Guidance and Apprentice Welfare (Keller & Viteles, 1937). In Paris, Lahy (1905) published a study of the vocational aptitudes required for success in stenographic work. In Japan, the first example of vocational guidance as a public activity occurred in 1906 when a labour exchange office was established at the headquarters of the Salvation Army.

The actual conception of *modern* vocational guidance around the globe may be considered 1908 because of events that year in Scotland, Germany, and the USA. Dr. Ogilvie Gordon of Aberdeen, Scotland – a palaeontologist and a civic leader – initiated modern vocational guidance services in Scotland and in England (Bloomfield, 1914). Gordon pioneered what she called "educational information and employment bureaus." During a Glasgow lecture in March, 1904 Gordon suggested that school boards establish bureaus to guide boys and girls into suitable employment after they leave school as well as supervise their careers as far a possible with "after-care." With the collaboration of social workers from Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Dundee, Gordon in 1908 published *A Handbook of Employment for Boys and Girls* which became a model for other countries. Also in 1908, Scotland passed an Education Act that prepared the way for vocational advisory services and organised employment and information bureaus in close coordination with schools. That same year, the Edinburgh School Board funded a bureau to guide and advise young people regarding their future careers (Gordon, 1911). In 1909, Winston Churchill, then President of the Board of Trade, addressed the House of Commons on Labour Exchanges (Peck, 2004), which he conceived as cooperating with the vocational bureaus opening in Scotland and England to guide youth into suitable, promising, and permanent employment.

In Germany, Dr. Wolff opened a department for vocational counselling, with the aide of one assistant. On his own initiative, Wolff in 1908 notified the schools that he was willing to consult with information seekers, doing so at night in his office at the Halle Bureau of Statistics which he directed. He may have been the first to conduct follow-ups because he had his secretary record the advice given and check the progress of the youth he had guided. Wolff consulted with 27 individuals in 1908, 54 in 1909, 79 in 1910, and 104 in 1911 (Keller & Viteles, 1937). He is credited with initiating Germany's movement for organised vocational guidance, which spread quickly to Munich, Pforzheim, and Düsseldorf. In 1913, the bureaus in Frankfurt and Berlin presented public motion picture shows about various occupations to prompt boys and girls to think about their future occupations, maybe the first use of audiovisual materials in vocational guidance.

One of the best documented stories of the origins of modern vocational guidance also began in 1908 (Brewer, 1918). A Boston social reformer named Frank Parsons believed that the "City of Future" required specially trained personnel to help youth make vocational choices. He was supported in bringing this idea to fruition by a social worker named Meyer Bloomfield, a department store owner named Lincoln Filene, and a wealthy benefactor named Pauline Agassiz Shaw. Rather than using the

mentoring techniques of a friendly visit, Parsons urged that science be applied to the problem of self-assessment. Parsons coined the term "vocational guidance," using it in a report that he presented on May 1, 1908 about the systematic guidance procedures he had used to counsel 80 men and women in Boston. However, the profession of vocational guidance marks its origin not to that report but to 1909 with the posthumous publication of Parsons' influential book entitled *Choosing a Vocation*.

While practitioners in other countries had started earlier, Parsons is widely recognised around the world as the progenitor of the vocational guidance movement because his book stated the modern paradigm for vocational guidance, a paradigm that would eventually become the foundation of person-environment psychology. To this day, the paradigm for vocational guidance consists of the same three essential steps. First, individuals increase their self-knowledge using scientific tests; second, they gather occupational information; and third, they apply "true reasoning" in comparing self and occupations to make a realistic vocational choice. While not that different from Carlyle's formula, Parsons secured credit for initiating the modern movement for organised guidance by using the phrase "true reasoning" and emphasising the importance of scientific methods in self-analysis. For Parsons and his devotees, guidance occurs when science touches the individual. Of course, the paradigm for guidance was quickly applied to selection of sales clerks for department stores and later to classify soldiers into positions during World War I. These three services – vocational guidance, personnel selection, and military classification – were provided by the same personnel so that advances in one domain improved practice in the other two domains.

To make the first two steps of his paradigm more scientific, Parsons consulted with leading psychologists of his day, including Munsterberg, (1910) about using psychometric measures and rating scales to study self and occupations. The key type of psychological test that sustained early vocational guidance as a science were measures of individual differences in ability, prompted by Binet's success in constructing an intelligence test for French school children. At first vocational guidance relied on these measures to profile the aptitudes or ability level required in particular occupations and trades. Early practitioners of guidance and selection in the USA, particularly those working at Carnegie Tech in Pittsburgh, contributed their expertise to development of paper and pencil ability tests for military classification of armed forces personnel in World War I. When these applied scientists returned to civilian life, their successful experiences in the war effort blossomed into an industry of making and selling ability and aptitude tests. Interest inventories began to be included in their assessment batteries when research on job satisfaction blossomed. The central idea was, and continues to be, that a fitting match of individual ability to job requirements leads to occupational success; while a fitting match of interests to job rewards leads to work satisfaction; and finally, that success and satisfaction combine to promote job stability or tenure. Success, satisfaction, and stability became the hallmarks of occupational adjustment and the criteria for evaluating the outcomes of guidance, selection, and classification. Today vocational guidance remains closely associated with tests, its main technique being test interpretation.

The epitome of this guidance technology is Holland's (1997) theory of vocational personality types and work environments.

While tests and their interpretation characterise the dominant model of vocational guidance, there have always been critics and alternative practices. For example, Harry Dexter Kitson at Columbia University and John Brewer at Harvard University put more store in Parsons' second step of gathering occupational information. They criticised over-reliance on test interpretation because of their concern about the weak predictive validity of ability tests and interest inventories. They encouraged the profession to produce high quality occupational information resources and urged clients to engage in exploratory behaviour. Ultimately, they believed that vocational guidance personnel could help clients create interests through learning how various occupations enable them to express themselves and meet their needs. Kitson and Brewer asserted that guidance personnel should assist youth create vocational interests through social interaction and environmental exploration, not discover their interests by way of interest inventories. Theirs was an educative rather than a psychological perspective on guidance practice.

In the 21st century, vocational guidance remains a highly effective helping model for modern industrial societies that call for matching an individual's ability to job tasks. However, as should by now be clear, vocational guidance is unnecessary in an agricultural economy and, as will be made clear, insufficient in a high modern economy.

Career Counselling in Corporate Societies (1950–1999)

After World War II, many modern societies again broke with prior forms, as they had done in moving from agricultural to industrial economies. Although in comparison the tear in the social fabric was not quite so complete. Thus, the period from 1950 to 1999 is referred to as high modernity. While modern industries and their employees remained in the city centres, large numbers of workers moved to the suburbs from where daily they commuted to work. In addition to the emergence of suburbs, high modernity was characterised by growth of national and even multinational corporations. These hierarchical corporations distributed their labour force in the shape of a pyramid: picture a large number of labourers at the base, a substantial number of managers and white collar workers in the middle, and a small number of executives at the apex. With this hierarchical structure came the image of the corporate ladder, each step up a rung involving more responsibility and pay. Rather than having one job for life, there arose the possibility of advancement and progressive improvement along an established job path. Climbing the ladder became the metaphor for career and career itself became the value that accompanied the bureaucratic form of hierarchical corporations. Following the conceptualisation of career as a value within a hierarchical society, Super's construct of work values and Maslow's hierarchy of needs emerged as signal constructs in vocational decision making.

The shift from company to corporation foreshadowed the shift in vocational intervention models from guidance to counselling. Guidance concentrates on matching person to position based on individual differences. Rather than differences between individuals, counselling concentrates on differences within an individual across time. Rogers (1942) led the charge in shifting from directive guidance to non-directive counselling, later called client-centred counselling, and now called person-centred counselling. Centring on the person illuminated changes in people as they develop over the lifespan; while of course the tasks of a job remain pretty much the same. As a person changes, she or he may move to a better fitting job, and later yet move to still another job. Sociologists denoted such a sequence of positions as career, meaning all the positions that an individual occupies from school leaving to retirement. After WWII, industrial sociologists such as Miller and Form (1951) studied these sequences in the lives of a large number of people. They identified seven fairly common combinations, which they called career patterns. These patterns became important in formulating a response to a vocal critic of vocational guidance at mid-century.

An economist named Ginzberg (Ginzberg, Ginsburg, Axelrad, & Herma, 1951) criticised vocational guidance personnel for not having a theory and merely using a statistical technique for matching abilities and interests to occupational requirements and routines. Ginzberg's critique ushered in a theory building era in vocational intervention, one that replaced the empirical era of the first half of the 20th century. Two major theories were prompted by Ginzberg's apt criticism, that of Holland and of Super. Holland's (1959) theory transformed the psychology of individual differences focused on traits to one focused on types. Holland's six types (Realistic, Investigative, Artistic, Social, Enterprising, and Convention or RIASEC for short) are each composed of a syndrome of related interests, values, and abilities. Both individuals and environment can be assessed as to how closely they resemble each type. Matching vocational personality to work environment is eased by having both coded in the identical RIASEC language. So today, assessment for vocational guidance relies heavily on assessment of RIASEC type.

The second major theory prompted by Ginzberg's (Ginzberg et al., 1951) critique was proposed by Super who in 1953 published his theory of vocational development and career patterns. Super continued his theory building with a major treatise called *The Psychology of Careers*, published in 1957. Super often contrasted his book with Roe's *The Psychology of Occupations* published in 1956. He used the contrast to compare her focus on occupations to his focus on careers. The differences included a concentration on the individual rather than the tasks. More fundamentally, it concentrated on the process of developing a career rather than on the content involved in matching oneself to a fitting occupation. Combining Super's career model with Roger's client-centred counselling techniques, vocational guidance experts who provided orientation to the lost were soon to become career counsellors who served as process consultants and empathic mirrors to the anxious.

Super shifted attention away from occupations and which people fit them to a focus on careers and how people develop them. This shift moved from concentrating on stability (of interests, abilities, and job tenure) to mobility. In other words, while

jobs may be stable, people change and develop. Vocational guidance is rooted in psychology, particularly the stability of personality traits and abilities. The goal of guidance is to match people to tasks that enable them to adjust. In comparison, career counselling is rooted in a psychosocial view of people. The goal of career counselling is to help people progress through a series of positions in a patterned way that enables them to implement their self-concepts and manifest their life themes.

Guidance and counselling offer two different models for different contexts. The models concentrate respectively on fidelity and flexibility. Together they account for how people remain the same and how they change. The models may be used separately, sequentially, or integratively (D. E. Super, 1983). They provide two perspectives on the person. For example, guiding views interests as stable traits within the person. In comparison, counselling views interests as a relation between the person and environment, going to the root meaning of *inter esse* which in Latin means *to be between*. For guidance personnel, interests reside within the person and these interests can be measured. For counselling personnel, interests are created by psychosocial interactions; they do not exist within the person as much as they emerge in interactions between the person and the situation. Another example is the difference between vocational education and career education in the schools. Vocational education focuses on learning the content of a trade, for example, automobile mechanics. Career education focuses on learning the process of developing one's career, for example, the attitude of planfulness and the competency of decision making. Thus vocational guidance focuses on content of occupations whereas career education focuses on the process of development.

Later in the period of high modernity, theoretical developments focused on the self in career theory and practice. In 1963, Super formulated a self-concept theory in which he conceptualised occupational choice as implementing a self-concept, work as a manifestation of selfhood, and vocational development as a continuing process of improving the match between the self and situation. In 1981, Hackett and Betz formulated a self-efficacy theory of career development, subsequently elaborated in 1993 by Lent, Brown, and Hackett into a social-cognitive theory of interests, choice, and performance. The three major theories at the close of high modernity each are rooted in distinct psychological domains, with Holland's springing from individual differences psychology, Super's from developmental psychology, and Lent's from learning theory.

Career development slowly emerged during the second half of the 20th century to become the dominant helping model in vocational intervention. The availability of electronic, high-speed computers enabled specialists to automate many guidance functions, especially provision of occupational information and administration and interpretation of interest inventories. Holland (1971) even produced a freestanding and highly effective *Self-Directed Search* that mimics the interventions of a live counsellor in allowing individuals to benefit from do-it-yourself vocational guidance. The focus on developing careers also led to research programs on counselling process (Whiston, Sexton, & Lasoff, 1998). Whereas for vocational guidance, the person-environment fit model of test interpretation and occupational information provision could even be performed by paraprofessionals and computers, counselling

requires more expertise. This expertise was examined and identified in extensive research on career intervention (Ryan, 1999). As a symbol of the transformation from guidance to counselling, a leading US journal called the *Vocational Guidance Quarterly* changed its name to the *Career Development Quarterly*, yet not without objections from guidance specialists (Baer, 1987; Weinrach & Holland, 1987).

Careers in the second half of the 20th century remained possible because while individuals changed and developed, the medium in which they developed, namely occupations and corporations, remained stable. However, in the 21st century, the bureaucratic medium for career development has become unstable as large corporations downsize and restructure in reaction to the movement from the high modern corporate age to the post-modern information age. Post-modern organisations have made it difficult for people to enact a 30-year career of progressive improvement within one corporation. For people who work in the globally integrated economy, the career metaphor of climbing the corporate ladder has been replaced by the metaphor of career as riding the waves.

Self-Construction in a Global Economy (2000–2050)

As a society moves from high modernity to post-modern times, existing theories of vocational help do not adequately account for the uncertain and rapidly changing occupational structure. Guiding and counselling both remain useful in many circumstances, yet they are incomplete models for use in information societies. Post-industrial societies are now in the midst of the most rapid transformative moment in economic history. Of course, change has been a constant throughout history. It is not change that is new, it is the rapidity of change that is new. The rate of economic change during the corporate era of career development was quite slow compared to the rapid change during the new millennium.

There is again today a social fracture, one that in many ways resembles the fault line of 1910 when industry overwhelmed agriculture. The forces that propelled modernity were from agriculture to industry, from communities to cities, and from stability to immigration. Today the parallel processes are from industrialisation to digitalisation, from urbanisation to globalisation, and from immigration to migration. The digital commerce enabled by the internet has made information the new steel. The distribution of work around the globe has prompted migration of world workers to where they can find employment. They are less likely to immigrate and stay in one country for the remainder of their lives.

Also, the melting pot metaphor of taking heterogeneous immigrants and melding them into a homogenous cultural group has given way to the metaphor of the salad bowl in which diverse ingredients each make their own contribution while retaining their individual identities. Thus, the advantages of multiculturalism, cultural competence, and domestic diversity are widely accepted.

To cope with the rapidly changing world, companies maintain their flexibility by downsizing, outsourcing, flattening, and restructuring. In the new millennium

organising replaces organisations, networks replace bureaucracies, connections replace rank, leading replaces managing, and developmental relationships replace mentoring. Wealth creation no longer springs from manufacturing; it now arises from distribution and financing.

Jobs are no longer viewed as the best way to get work done because they are uniform, content-based clusters of similar tasks. Today's projects and assignments are process-based clusters of diverse tasks, making "multitasking" the new watchword. Bridges (1995) concluded that jobs are disappearing because jobs impede responsiveness and flexibility, encourage hiring, discourage accountability, obscure the big picture, and promote rigid and fragile identities. In contrast, assignments require that employees do the work that needs to be done and concentrate on outcomes. In fact, job descriptions are being replaced by agreed upon outcomes. So, workers must fulfil the needs of customers, not of their own jobs. Whereas jobs are centralised in corporate headquarters in major cities, assignments are distributed and coordinated by information technology.

This is not to say that agricultural chores and industrial jobs have completely disappeared. Actually, in the USA today, 13% of positions are in the agricultural sector, 35% in the industrial sector, and 50% in the information and service sectors. During the high modern era, the pyramid stood as the symbol of labour distribution. In the 21st century the middle of the pyramid has collapsed as computers replaced middle management and white collar jobs. Some observers fear that post-industrial societies will disperse the middle class, resolving to a situation in which there are only two classes, one with high skills and one with low skills.

In the first decade of the 21st century the bull's-eye serves as the symbol for labour distribution. The centre ring is populated by internal workers, proportionately about 40%, who do the organisation's core work and have tenure. The outer ring of the bull's-eye contains about 20% of external workers who perform outsourced tasks. Between internal workers at the core and outsourced tasks at the boundary reside the remaining 40% of workers who are contracted to do temporary assignments for the organisation. These temporary employees are viewed as contingent, causal, and part-time workers who sell their services on short-term contracts or freelance agreements. They experience permanent job insecurity as well as lack the opportunities for training, development, and advancement formerly offered by organisations. Consider just one statistic that reflects the extent of insecure workers engaged in atypical employment. Individuals born in the USA between 1957 and 1964 have already held an average of ten jobs from age 18 to age 38 (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2004). Of jobs started by workers between the ages of 33 and 38, 39% ended in less that year, with 70% ending in fewer than 5 years. So, for many workers assignments have replaced jobs. They now must self-manage a portfolio or composite career composed of multiple part-time assignments.

Success for job occupants depends on mastering a uniform body of knowledge. In contrast, success for contract workers rests on their ability to learn how to learn to do the tasks that need doing. Contract workers develop their portfolio careers through life-long learning that maintains and enhances their employability. The contract worker must be emotionally intelligent, attuned to the dynamics of a temporary

work group, sensitive to cultural differences, and flexible in satisfying diverse and sometimes competing demands within cross-functional and self-directed teams that navigate broad organisational networks. As a result of the move from a modern isolated individualist doing the job to the post-modern contingent worker temporarily performing an assignment, there has been a shift in Parsons' (1909) venerable paradigm of person-job fit in which worker abilities fit job requirements. The revised paradigm is called person-organisation fit and the central criterion is correspondence of a potential employee's values to the organisational culture in general and the project team in particular.

The emerging social arrangement of work for the post-modern era has been reflected in career theories by the conceptual move from career development to career management. Without the stable organisation and bureaucratic form to sustain predictable career paths, it is difficult to believe in career stages. Thus, the construct of stages as developmental periods has been replaced by learning cycles. Rather than developing in a stable medium, workers must now actively plan and implement self- management behaviours in a lifelong quest to construct their best possible future. These self-management behaviours essentially consist of learning and becoming rather than deciding. Workers now must assume greater personal responsibility for understanding their own needs, determining their goals, and managing their careers.

The career theories formulated for high modernity do not adequately account for managing careers in the uncertain and changing occupational structure of post-modernity. New career models of self-construction and identity formation must address emotions of uncertainty and anxiety because workers are no longer enfolded in a corporation, one that serves as a holding environment that grounds and develops their work lives. Mammoth corporations and meta-narratives are gone. With their demise, established paths and identifiable scripts are disappearing. Industrial psychologists describe the new employment contract as leading to boundaryless, protean, and intelligent careers characterised by constant adaptation and personal responsibility. It is hard to make plans yet individuals are expected to construct their own lives, manage their own careers, and make their own success. They are now in business for themselves as CEOs of their own careers in a free agent nation.

In essence, information societies are evolving a new model of the self for the post-modern age. Recall that self for the 19th century was one of character. This model of self as character was replaced in the 20th century by self as persona. This transition involved movement from a subjective self of character to an objective self of personality that could be measured in terms of its traits and types. Self for the 21st century is neither character nor personality, it is identity. As a relational term, identity includes how we identify ourselves to others and how others recognise us. Identity is a view of self conceptualised as an emergent quality that is narrated by language, historically situated, socially constituted, and culturally shaped. It does not unfold from within; instead, identity is constructed. The identity view of career sees an individual's work life as a story, one that carries meaning. Through work, an individual constructs a self, and then holds that self in place with a life story that provides a sense of inner passion and outer direction. The self in this story is the source

of biographical reasoning that enables the individual to impose unity of purpose on transitions so as to turn jarring juxtapositions into coherent syntheses.

Career problems in the information age are vague and uncontrollable, leaving adolescent students and adult workers feeling uncertain and confused. Thus, career service providers are formulating models of self-construction and work identity that directly address the mobility and uncertainty of protean and boundaryless careers. A new metaphor of career as story, rather than career as path, proposes that personal narratives structured around life themes may provide a stabilising core for internal guidance and self-direction. Thus, career specialists in the post-modern era seem to be moving toward constructivist epistemologies and narrative theories, with meaning being made in relationships through language (Young & Collin, 2004).

As usual, these major innovations in theory have responded to innovations in practices. Practice drives theory because practice is a direct response to the concrete needs of society. Many career counsellors are innovating their practices by shifting concentration from fostering career development to fostering human development through work and relationships. This shift has been prompted by changes in the social organisation of work and occupations. To respond to these changes wrought by the globally integrated economy, some counsellors have turned to narrative counselling models and methods (Maree, 2007). These approaches emphasise life planning rather than occupational choice, relationships over reason, constructs rather than concepts, perspectives rather than facts, particulars rather than principles, and invention of meaning rather than discovery of truth. Narrative theories of vocational intervention view lives as novels being written and attend to the themes that activate and characterise individuals at work and in relationships. The narrative approach to self-construction enables clients to fit work into their lives, rather than fit themselves into jobs. In moving from match-making to meaning-making, the goal of self-construction becomes mattering, not congruence. Counselling and coaching for self-construction aims to help clients articulate a personal mission statement that gives them a beacon with which to define who they are, set priorities, and stay on course (Savickas, 2005).

Conclusion

Contending effectively with the ambitions of diverse workers in a globally integrated economy requires that the career services profession understand its own ambitions. The future of educational and vocational guidance as a profession rests on its ability to help students and clients adapt to the challenges inherent in the new organisation of work that is evolving in information-age societies. The profession has successfully met this challenge before in devising youth mentoring for agricultural communities, vocational guidance for industrial cities, and career counselling for corporate societies. To remain relevant and useful in the 21st century, the profession is again reinventing its theories and techniques, this time to concentrate on self-construction within an information society.

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Chapter 6
THE BIG FIVE CAREER THEORIES

S. Alvin Leung

Career guidance and counselling in the western world, most notably in the United States (USA), has developed a comprehensive system of theories and intervention strategies in its more than 100 years of history. It began in the years of Frank Parson as a trait-factor approach in the early twentieth century (Betz, Fitzgerald, & Hill, 1989; Zunker, 2002), and slowly evolved to become a rather mature discipline today in the twenty-first century with a strong theoretical and empirical base, with the potential to further develop into a more "global" discipline in the years ahead. Indeed, vocational and career related issues are salient across different cultures and nationalities (Hesketh & Rounds, 1995; Leung, 2004). In an age of economic globalisation, all individuals are affected by an array of work related concerns, some of these concerns are unique to certain cultures, but others are common to many cultural groups. The search for life purposes and meanings, the journey to actualise oneself through various life and work-related roles, and the efforts by nations to deal with problems of employment and unemployment, are examples of universal issues that seem to affect many individuals from diverse cultures. Under the theme of career development, there are experiences, concerns, and issues that we could share, explore, and discussed at a global stage (Richardson, 1993; Lips-Wiersma & McMorland, 2006).

The development of career guidance and development into a global discipline requires a set of theoretical frameworks with universal validity and applications, as well as culture-specific models that could be used to explain career development issues and phenomenon at a local level. The focus of this chapter is on the five theories of career development that have guided career guidance and counselling practice and research in the past few decades in the USA as well as internationally. These five theories are (a) Theory of Work-Adjustment, (b) Holland's Theory of Vocational Personalities in Work Environment, (c) the Self-concept Theory of Career Development formulated by Super and more recently by Savickas, (d) Gottfredson's Theory of Circumscription and Compromise, and (e) Social Cognitive Career Theory. Given that the "big-five" theoretical models were developed by scholars in the USA, most of the existing reviews and summaries covering

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J.A. Athanasou, R. Van Esbroeck (eds.) *International Handbook of Career Guidance*,

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these frameworks (e.g., D. Brown & Associates, 2002; S. D. Brown & Lent, 2005; Swanson & Gore, 2000) have drawn from the literature in the USA. To augment the literature, this chapter will adopt an "international" perspective and will seek to selectively review studies conducted in regions around the world. With that as a backdrop, this chapter aims to achieve three objectives. First, to review the core conceptual propositions and the evolvement of the "big five" career development models, and discuss specific components of these models that are attractive to international career guidance professionals. Second, to review recent international empirical work (that is, studies conducted outside of the USA) that has been done in relation to the "big five" career development models. Third, to discuss directions that researchers and practitioners could take to advance and "indigenous" the big five career theories in their own cultural regions.

Theory of Work Adjustment

The Theory of Work Adjustment (TWA) (Dawis, 2002, 2005; Dawis & Lofquist, 1984) is a class of theory in career development that is anchored on the individual difference tradition of vocational behaviour (Dawis, 1992) called person-environment correspondence theory, viewing career choice and development as continual processes of adjustment and accommodation in which: (a) the person (P) looks for work organisations and environments (E) that would match his/her "requirements" in terms of needs, and (b) E in turn looks for individuals who have the capabilities to meeting the "requirements" of the organisation. The term satisfaction is used to indicate the degree that P is satisfied with E, and satisfactoriness is used to denote the degree that E is satisfied with P. To P, the most central requirements to meet from E are his/her needs (or reinforcers), which could be further dissected into categories of psychological and physical needs that are termed values. To E, however, the most central requirements are abilities, which are operationalised as dimensions of skills that P possesses that are considered necessary in a given E. Overall, the degree of P's satisfaction and E's satisfactoriness would jointly predict P's tenure in that work environment.

Recent formulations of TWA speculated on the effects of diverse adjustment styles that could be used to explain how P and E continuously achieve and maintain their correspondence (Dawis, 2005). Four adjustment style variables are identified, which are flexibility, activeness, reactiveness, and perseverance. Flexibility refers to P's level of tolerance to P-E dis-correspondence and whether he/she has a tendency to become easily dissatisfied with E. Activeness refers to whether P has a tendency to actively change or act on E to reduce dis-correspondence and dis-satisfaction. Reactiveness, conversely, refers to whether P would resort to self-adjustment in order to deal with dis-correspondence without actively changing or acting on E. Meanwhile, perseverance refers to P's degree of resolve and persistence to adjust and accommodate before choosing to exit E. Similar adjustment styles also influence E's approach to deal with dis-correspondence and dis-satisfactoriness.

Career choice and development is thus conceptualised as a continual process or cycles of work adjustment initiated by dis-satisfaction and dis-satisfactoriness.

A major strength of TWA is that a battery of measures has been developed to measure the various variables associated with the theory, including measures on satisfaction, needs and values, skills and abilities, satisfactoriness, and indexes of correspondence (Dawis, 2005). A large number of research studies have been conducted in the last few decades to examine the propositions derived from TWA, especially on the linkage between needs/abilities and satisfaction/satisfactoriness, and between work adjustment and tenure (Dawis, 2005).

International studies examining the TWA propositions yielded mostly mixed results. In a study by Tziner, Meir, and Segal (2002), Israeli military officers were administered measures of personality, general ability, and vocational interest. Measures of congruence were also computed based on the degree of match between interest and participants' field of job in the military. Ratings of performance from supervisors and peers were obtained and used as dependent variables. Overall, it was found that extroverted personality style and congruence were related to a higher level of performance ratings, which was consistent with TWA predictions. Contrary to expectation, general ability was not found to be a significant predictor of performance ratings. In another study by Feij, van der Velde, Taris, and Taris (1999), data were collected from Dutch young adults (ages ranged from 18 to 26) in two time points. Findings supported the linkage between congruence (defined as the match between vocational interest and perceived skills) and job satisfaction. However, contrary to TWA prediction, there was no significant difference between persons experiencing incongruence and persons experiencing congruence in their tendency to change jobs. Finally, consistent with TWA's assertion that vocational interest would become stable dispositions in adulthood, it was found that the congruence between interest and perceived skills among participants increased over time to become a stable pattern of interest.

An important direction for future research on TWA is the role of the adjustment styles in moderating work adjustment (Dawis, 2005). This was done in a study by Griffin and Hesketh (2003) with research participants from two organisations in Australia. Exploratory factor analysis was performed on two sets of items related to (a) supervisor's ratings of employee's adaptive performance, and (b) employee's ratings of work requirements biodata (i.e., perceptions of required adaptive behaviour at work) and self-efficacy for behaving adaptively. The results yielded a clear proactive factor and a reactive factor, according to TWA propositions, but a tolerant factor did not clearly emerge from the data. It was also found that adaptive performance was related to self-efficacy for adaptive behaviour. In one of the organisations, work requirements biodata and adaptability-related personality were predictive of adaptive performance, consistent with the prediction from TWA.

Taken as a whole, TWA seeks to explain career development and satisfaction in terms of person-environment correspondence, and it offers career guidance professionals a template to locate entry points to assist individuals with career choice and adjustment concerns. Meanwhile, the TWA propositions are testable in cross-cultural settings, even though many of the instruments developed to operationalise

the TWA variables were developed in the USA and should be validated in other cultures before being used for hypothesis testing.

Holland's Theory of Vocational Personalities in Work Environment

In the past few decades, the theory by Holland (1985, 1997) has guided career interest assessment both in the USA and internationally. The theory by Holland offers a simple and easy-to-understand typology framework on career interest and environments that could be used in career counselling and guidance. Holland postulated that vocational interest is an expression of one's personality, and that vocational interests could be conceptualised into six typologies, which are Realistic (R), Investigative (I), Artistic (A), Social (S), Enterprising (E), and Conventional (C). If a person's degree of resemblance to the six vocational personality and interest types could be assessed, then it is possible to generate a three-letter code (e.g., SIA, RIA) to denote and summarise one's career interest. The first letter of the code is a person's primary interest type, which would likely play a major role in career choice and satisfaction. The second and third letters are secondary interest themes, and they would likely play a lesser but still significant role in the career choice process.

Parallel to the classification of vocational interest types, Holland (1985, 1997) postulated that vocational environments could be arranged into similar typologies. In the career choice and development process, people search for environments that would allow them to exercise their skills and abilities, and to express their attitudes and values. In any given vocational environment, there is a tendency to shape its composition so that its characteristics are like the dominant persons in there, and those who are dissimilar to the dominant types are likely to feel unfulfilled and dissatisfied. The concept of "congruence" is used by Holland to denote the status of person-environment interaction. A high degree of match between a person's personality and interest types and the dominant work environmental types (that is, high degree of congruence) is likely to result in vocational satisfaction and stability, and a low degree of match (that is, low congruence) is likely to result in vocational dissatisfaction and instability. The person-environment congruence perspective in Holland's theory is quite similar to TWA's concept of correspondence

The six Holland interest typologies are arranged in a hexagon in the order of RIASEC, and the relationship between the types in terms of similarities and dissimilarities are portrayed by the distance between corresponding types in the hexagon. The concept of consistency is used as "a measure of the internal harmony or coherence of an individual's type scores" (Spokane & Cruza-Guet, 2005, p. 24). Accordingly, types that are adjacent to each other in the hexagon have the highest degree of similarity in terms of their personality characteristics and vocational orientations, types that are opposite in the hexagon have the least degree of similarity, and types that are separated by one interval have a moderate degree of similarity. A simple way to determine the consistency of an interest code is to

look at the distance between the first two letters of the code in the Holland hexagon (high, moderate, or low consistency).

In addition to congruence and consistency, another major concept in Holland's theory is differentiation. Differentiation refers to whether high interest and low interest types are clearly distinguishable in a person's interest profile. An interest profile that is low in differentiation resembles a relatively flat line in which high and low interest types are not distinctive. In contrast, a differentiated interest profile has clearly high and low scores, suggesting that the crystallisation of interest might have occurred, and readiness for career choice specification and implementation.

Holland's theory has an enormous impact on career interest assessment and research (Spokane, Meir, & Catalano, 2000). In the 40 years since Holland's theory was proposed, hundreds of research studies have been published to examine Holland's propositions and the validity of interest instruments that were based on his theory, including some studies using international samples. A major area of investigation among cross-cultural studies was whether Holland's proposed structure of vocational interests was valid across cultures (e.g., Rounds & Tracey, 1996). For example, Tak (2004) administered the Strong Interest Inventory to Korean college students, and findings from multi-dimensional scaling and test of randomisation suggested a good fit with Holland's circular model of interest, even though the shape of interest arrangement was not clearly hexagonal. In another study by Sverko and Babarovic (2006), a Croatian version of Holland's Self-Directed Search (SDS) was administered to 15–19 years old Croatian adolescents. The general findings using randomisation tests and factor-analytic techniques were supportive of Holland's circular model, even though the degree of fit was higher for older age groups. However, findings from some other international studies suggested that the six interest types tended to cluster in forms that reflect idiosyncratic cultural values and occupational/educational perceptions within a cultural context (e.g., Law, Wong, & Leong, 2001; Leung & Hou, 2005; du Toit & de Bruin, 2002). For example, Leung and Hou (2005) administered the SDS to Chinese high school students in Hong Kong and findings from exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses suggested that there were six first-order factors clustered into three groups, which were Realistic-Investigative, Artistic-Social, and Social-Enterprising-Conventional. Leung and Hou (2005) suggested that the clustering might reflect characteristics of high school curriculum in Hong Kong (that is, the assignment of students into science, arts, and business curriculum), as well as the centrality of social relationships in Chinese culture. In summary, there was mixed support for Holland's structure of vocational interests across cultures. The clustering of the types was affected by specific cultural values and perceptions.

Given the increasing need for vocational interest assessment in different cultural contexts, there is a need to conduct more research studies to examine the cross-cultural validity of Holland's theory and the various interest assessment instruments developed. In addition to studies on vocational interest structure, research studies should examine other aspects of Holland's propositions, such as those related to type characteristics, work environment, and the predictive validity of career interest.

Most important of all, the utility of an interest assessment tool is dependent on whether interest test scores obtained could help a test taker identify directions for occupational and educational exploration. In the USA, occupations and educational opportunities (e.g., college majors) have been translated into Holland codes (e.g., Holland, 1996), and test takers can conveniently locate these codes from readily available printed or internet sources. However, occupational and educational classification resources developed in the USA cannot be adopted in full in another region without adaptation to match with local occupational and educational characteristics. Hence, the challenge for international scholars is not only to develop and adapt instruments so that they are consistent with their cultural contexts, but also to develop occupational and educational codes and resources that could benefit local users (Leung, 2004).

Self-concept Theory of Career Development

Among the many theories of career choice and development, the theory by Super has received much attention in the USA as well as in other parts of the world. Super (1969, 1980, 1990) suggested that career choice and development is essentially a process of developing and implementing a person's self-concept. According to Super (1990), self-concept is a product of complex interactions among a number of factors, including physical and mental growth, personal experiences, and environmental characteristics and stimulation. Whereas Super presumed that there is an organic mechanism acting behind the process of development and maturation, recent articulations (e.g., Herr, 1997; Savickas, 2002) of Super's theory have called for a stronger emphasis on the effects of social context and the reciprocal influence between the person and the environment. Building on Super's notion that self-concept theory was essentially a personal construct theory, Savickas (2002) took a constructivist perspective and postulated that "the process of career construction is essentially that of developing and implementing vocational self-concepts in work roles" (p. 155). A relatively stable self-concept should emerge in late adolescence to serve as a guide to career choice and adjustment. However, self-concept is not a static entity and it would continue to evolve as the person encounters new experience and progresses through the developmental stages. Life and work satisfaction is a continual process of implementing the evolving self-concept through work and other life roles.

Super (1990) proposed a life stage developmental framework with the following stages: growth, exploration, establishment, maintenance (or management), and disengagement. In each stage one has to successfully manage the vocational developmental tasks that are socially expected of persons in the given chronological age range. For example, in the stage of exploration (ages around 15 to 24), an adolescent has to cope with the vocational developmental tasks of crystallisation (a cognitive process involving an understanding of one's interests, skills, and values, and to pursue career goals consistent with that understanding), specification (making tentative and specific

career choices), and implementation (taking steps to actualise career choices through engaging in training and job positions). Examples of vocational developmental tasks in each of the developmental life stages are described in Super (1990). Accordingly, the concept of "career maturity" was used to denote the degree that a person was able to fulfil the vocational developmental tasks required in each developmental stage. Partially due to the mixed results obtained in empirical research studies on career maturity, there have been suggestions to replace career maturity with the concept of adaptability (e.g., Herr, 1997; Savickas, 1997, 2002, 2005).

Whereas the above vocational developmental stages are likely to progress as maxi-cycles in a person's life journey, Super (1990) postulated that a mini-cycle consisting of the same stages from growth to disengagement would likely take place within each of the stages, particularly when a person makes transition from one stage to the next. In addition, individuals would go through a mini-cycle of the stages whenever they have to make expected and unexpected career transitions such as loss of employment or due to personal or socioeconomic circumstances (Savickas, 2002).

The contextual emphasis of Super's (1980, 1990) theory is most clearly depicted through his postulation of life roles and life space. Life at any moment is an aggregate of roles that one is assuming, such as child, student, leisurite, citizen, worker, parent, and homemaker. The salience of different life roles changes as one progresses through life stages, yet at each single moment, two or three roles might take a more central place, while other roles remain on the peripheral. Life space is the constellation of different life roles that one is playing at a given time in different contexts or cultural "theatres", including home, community, school, and workplace. Role conflicts, role interference, and role confusions would likely happen when individuals are constrained in their ability to cope with the demands associated with their multiple roles.

Super was instrumental in developing the international collaborative research work called Work Importance Study (WIS) aiming to study work role salience and work values across different cultures. The WIS involved multiple nations in North America, Europe, Africa, Australia and Asia, and resulted in measures of work roles and work values with similar structure and constructs (see Super & Sverko, 1995 for a summary of the WIS).

Many aspects of Super's theory are attractive to international career guidance professional and researchers, including concepts such as vocational developmental tasks, developmental stages, career maturity and life roles. It offers a comprehensive framework to describe and explain the process of vocational development that could guide career interventions and research. The recent anchoring of the theory on developmental contextualism takes into consideration the reciprocal influence between the person and his/her social ecology, including one's culture. Likewise, the conceptualisation of career choice and development as a process of personal and career construction recognises the effects of subjective cultural values and beliefs in shaping vocational self-concepts and preferences.

A good portion of the international research studies on Super's theory have used career maturity as one of the major variables (see a review by Patton & Lokan, 2001). Career maturity was examined in two recent studies conducted in Australia.

Patton, Creed, and Muller (2002) administered to Grade 12 students the Australian version of the Career Development Inventory (CDI-A) (Lokan, 1984) and a measure of psychological well-being. These students were surveyed on their educational and occupational status 9 months after they graduated. Findings supported the hypotheses that students who proceeded to full-time study would have higher levels of career maturity (operationally defined as having high CDI-A scores), school achievement and psychological well-being while still at school, in compared to students who did not make a smooth transition to work or education after high school. The authors suggested that there was a strong need for school-based intervention to assist students who might not be transitioning to full-time studies after high school. In a different study by Creed and Patton (2003), CDI-A was administered to high school students from Grade 8 to Grade 12, along with several other career-related measures including career decision-making self-efficacy, career decidedness, work value, self-esteem and work commitment. Regression analyses were conducted and it was found that self-efficacy, age, career decidedness and work commitment were the main predictors of career maturity attitudes (CDI-A attitude scales), whereas age, gender, career certainty, work commitment, and career indecision were the main predictors of career maturity knowledge (CDI-A knowledge scales). Differences in career maturity scores were also found among students in different grade levels. These findings were consistent with the developmental assumptions of career maturity.

Repetto (2001) reported a study using a Spanish version of the Career Development Inventory (CDI) to measure the career maturity of high school students (7th grade to 12th grade) enrolled in a career intervention program called *Tu Futuro Professional* (*TFP*, meaning Your Future Career). The intervention was designed according to Super's conceptualisation of career maturity, with the following components: self-awareness, decision-making, career exploration, and career planning and management. A pretest-posttest design was used, and findings from treatment groups were compared to those from control groups. The results suggested that the intervention was highly effective in elevating the career maturity of students in all the grade levels.

In addition to career maturity, there are other aspects of Super's theory that need to be examined across cultures. For example, self concept is a prominent feature of Super's theory, and the implementation of one's interests, values, and skills in a work role is instrumental to vocational development and satisfaction. However, there are cultural variations in the importance of self in decision-making, and in some cultures important life decisions such as career choices are also subjected to considerations that are familial and collective in nature. In order to maximise self-fulfilment and social approval, one has to negotiate with the environment to locate the most acceptable solutions and option (Leung & Chen, 2007). Consequently, career choice and development is not a linear process of self-concept implementation, but a process of negotiations and compromises in which both the self and one's environment have to be consulted. The concept of life role can also be useful in understanding the cultural dynamics involved the career choice process. Values such filial piety, family harmony, and loyalty might influence how the personal self

is constructed, and the salience and importance of different life and work roles as well as their dynamic interactions.

Even though international research on Super's theory is still very much needed, Super's theory will continue to play an important role in career development practice internationally (e.g., Leong & Serafica, 2001; Patton & Lokan, 2001). Super's influence is best illustrated by an article by Watanabe-Muraoka, Senzaki, and Herr (2001) who commented that Super's theory "has received wide attention by Japanese practitioners, not only in academic settings but also in business, as a source of key notions in the reconsideration of the human being and work relationship in the rapidly changing work environment in contemporary Japan" (p. 100).

Gottfredson's Theory of Circumscription and Compromise

In compared to the more established career development frameworks such as Super's and Holland's theories, Gottfredson's theory of career development is a more recent contribution. Gottfredson (1981, 1996, 2002, 2005) assumed that career choice is a process requiring a high level of cognitive proficiency. A child's ability to synthesise and organise complex occupational information is a function of chronological age progression as well as general intelligence. Cognitive growth and development is instrumental to the development of a cognitive map of occupation and conceptions of self that are used to evaluate the appropriateness of various occupational alternatives.

In recent revisions of her theory, Gottfredson's (2002, 2005) elaborated on the dynamic interplay between genetic makeup and the environment. Genetic characteristics play a crucial role in shaping the basic characteristics of a person, such as interests, skills, and values, yet their expression is moderated by the environment that one is exposed to. Even though genetic makeup and environment play a crucial role in shaping the person, Gottfredson maintained that the person is still an active agent who could influence or mould their own environment. Hence, career development is viewed as a self-creation process in which individuals looked for avenues or niches to express their genetic proclivities within the boundaries of their own cultural environment.

In contrast to the established notion that choice is a process of selection, Gottfredson's (1981, 1996, 2002) theorised that career choice and development could instead be viewed as a process of elimination or circumscription in which a person progressively eliminates certain occupational alternatives from further consideration. Circumscription is guided by salient aspects of self-concept emerging at different developmental stages. Gottfredson maintained that the career aspirations of children are influenced more by the public (e.g., gender, social class) than private aspects of their self-concept (e.g., skills, interests). A developmental model was proposed consisting of four stages of circumscription. The first is called "orientation to size and power" (ages 3–5), and the child perceives occupations as roles taken up by big people (adults). The second stage is called "orientation to sex-roles"

(ages 6–8), and in this stage sex-role norms and attitudes emerge as defining aspect of a child's self-concept. The child evaluates occupations according to whether they are appropriate to one's sex, and eliminates from further consideration alternatives that are perceived to be gender inappropriate (i.e., the wrong sex-type). The third stage is called "orientation to social valuation" (ages 9–13) as social class and status become salient to a child's developing self-concept. Accordingly, the emerging adolescent eliminates from further consideration occupations that are too low (i.e., occupations with unacceptable prestige levels) or too high (i.e., high prestige occupations beyond one's efficacy level) in prestige. The fourth stage is called "orientation to the internal, unique self" (ages 14 and above), in which internal and private aspects of the adolescent's self-concept, such as personality, interests, skills, and values, become prominent. The young adolescent considers occupations from the remaining pool of acceptable occupations according to their suitability or degree of match with one's internal self.

Another career development process is compromise. In response to external realities and constraints such as changes in the structure of the labour market, economic depression, unfair hiring practices, and family obligations, individuals have to accommodate their occupational preferences so that their eventual choices are achievable in the real world. Compromise is a complex process in which compatibility with one's interest is often compromised first so as to maintain a greater degree of correspondence with one's preference for prestige and sex-type.

Since its inception in 1981, Gottfredson's theory has only received limited attention in the empirical literature. Almost all the published research studies examining Gottfredson's theory have used samples in the USA, and a search of the literature using PSYINFO yielded no research studies with international samples. Gottfredson's theory is difficult to test empirically mainly because (a) most of the hypothesised variables, such as sex-type, prestige, circumscription, and compromise, are difficult to operationalise, and (b) the hypothesised developmental process should ideally be tested via longitudinal research design requiring substantial time and resources. In a review article of major career development theories, Swanson and Gore (2000) commented that Gottfredson theory "is one of the few attempts to study specifically the period corresponding to Super's growth stage. However, it essentially remains quite difficult to test the theoretical propositions, and unfortunately, an untestable theory is not particularly useful" (p. 243).

Nevertheless, the theory by Gottfredson still offers unique perspectives to career guidance professionals internationally. For instance, in many cultures life accomplishment is measured by successes in education and public examinations and attainment in career positions that have high social status and influence. Likewise, gender stereotype is also a part of many cultures (e.g., Asian cultures), and individuals are encouraged to pursue occupations that are perceived to be compatible to their gender (Leung, 2002). Hence, Gottfredson's theory offers a framework in which the influence of prestige and sex-type could be understood in diverse cultural contexts.

Meanwhile, as career guidance interventions are becoming more central in primary and secondary schools around the world (Gysbers, 2000), the theory by Gottfredson could be used as a conceptual guide to program development. Gottfredson

(2005) outlined a model of career guidance interventions aiming to reduce risk and enhance development, encouraging positive adaptation in relation to cognitive growth, self-creation, circumscription, and compromise. The model consisted of counsellor strategies and tools that could be used to optimize (a) learning and the use of complex occupational information, (b) experience and activities that allow children and adolescents to understand their career-related personal traits, (c) self-insight to construct and conceptualise a future career path that is realistic and feasible, and (d) wisdom in self-investment to elevate the odds of successfully implementing preferred career options. These broad strategies are applicable to a variety of cultural contexts in which opportunities exist for career interventions in school settings.

Social Cognitive Career Theory

Social Cognitive Career Theory (SCCT) (Lent, Brown, & Hackett, 2002; Lent, 2005) is anchored in Bandura's self-efficacy theory (1977, 1997), which postulated a mutually influencing relationship between people and the environment. SCCT offers three segmental, yet interlocking process models of career development seeking to explain (a) the development of academic and vocational interest, (b) how individuals make educational and career choices, and (c) educational and career performance and stability. The three segmental models have different emphasis centring around three core variables, which are self-efficacy, outcome expectations, and personal goals.

Lent (2005) defined self-efficacy as "a dynamic set of beliefs that are linked to particular performance domains and activities" (p. 104). Self-efficacy expectations influence the initiation of specific behaviour and the maintenance of behaviour in response to barriers and difficulties. Consistent with early formulation by Bandura (1977) and others (e.g., Hackett & Betz, 1981; Betz, Borgen, & Harmon, 1996), SCCT theorised that self-efficacy expectations are shaped by four primary information sources or learning experiences, which are personal performance accomplishments, vicarious learning, social persuasion, and physiological and affective states. Lent (2005) suggested that of the four sources of information or learning experience, personal performance accomplishments have the most powerful influence on the status of self-efficacy.

Lent, Brown, and Hackett (2002) defined outcome expectations as "personal beliefs about the consequences or outcomes of performing particular behavior" (p. 262). Outcome expectations include beliefs about extrinsic reward associating with performing the target behaviour, self-directed consequences, and outcomes derived from task performance. Overall, it is hypothesised that an individual's outcome expectations are formed by the same information or learning experiences shaping self-efficacy beliefs.

Personal goals refer to one's intention to engage in certain activity or to generate a particular outcome (Lent, 2005). SCCT distinguished between choice content goals, referring to the choice of activities to pursue, and performance goals, referring to the level of accomplishment or performance one aims to attain. Through

setting personal goals, individuals could persist in tasks and sustain their behaviour for a long time in the absence of tangible external rewards or reinforcement.

Self-efficacy, outcome expectations, and personal goals served as core variables in the interest, choice, and performance models of SCCT. The interest model specifies that individuals would likely develop interest in activities that (a) they feel efficacious and (b) anticipate that there would be positive outcomes associated with the activities. The dynamic interaction among interest, self-efficacy, and outcome expectations would lead to the formation of goals and intentions that serve to sustain behaviour over time, leading to the formation of a stable pattern of interest in adolescence or early adulthood.

The SCCT choice model views the development of career goals and choices as functions of the interaction among self-efficacy, outcome expectations and interest over time. Career choice is an unfolding process in which the person and his/her environment mutually influence each other. It involves the specification of primary career choice or goal, actions aiming to achieve one's goal, and performance experience providing feedback to the individual on the suitability of goal. In addition, SCCT posited that compromises in personal interests might be required in the career choice process due to contextual immediate to the person (e.g., cultural beliefs, social barriers, lack of support).

An "ability" factor, defined as one's achievement, aptitude, and past performance, was highlighted in the performance model of SCCT. Ability serves as feedback from reality to inform one's self-efficacy and outcome expectation, which in turn would influence performance goals and levels. Lent (2005) suggested that incongruence between efficacy and objective ability (e.g., overconfidence, under-confidence) would likely lead to undesirable performance (e.g., ill-prepared for task, performance anxiety). An optimal point is a slightly overshot self-efficacy which would promote further skills utilisation and development.

SCCT offers a comprehensive framework to understand the development of career interest, career choice, and performance that is grounded in self-efficacy theory. In the past decade, SCCT has generated a large number of research studies, including some studies conducted with international samples (e.g., Arulmani, Van Laar, & Easton, 2003; Hampton, 2005; Patton, Bartrum, & Creed, 2004). For example, a study by Nota, Ferrari, Solberg, and Soresi (2007) used a SCCT framework to examine the career development of Italian youths attending a university preparation program in Padua Province. The authors found a positive relationship between the career search self-efficacy of participants and family support, and a negative relationship between career search self-efficacy and career indecision. For male students, the relationship between family support and career indecision was partially mediated by career search self-efficacy. These findings were consistent with the general SCCT career choice models, and illustrated the importance of social support to career decision and efficacy.

Findings from a study by Creed, Patton, and Prideaux (2006) on high school students in Australia were less supportive of the process model of SCCT. Eighth graders were administered measures of career decision-making self-efficacy and

career decision and then again on Grade 10. Contrary to theoretical expectations, changes in career decision-making self-efficacy over time were not associated with similar changes in career indecision, and vice versa. The authors suggested that a causal linkage between the two variables as hypothesised by the SCCT process model might not exist and that early self-efficacy status might not buffer a person from future career decision-making conflicts.

Overall, SCCT offers international career guidance practitioners and researchers an overarching framework to guide practice, as well as tangible propositions and hypotheses that could be tested empirically. In addition to hypotheses testing, efforts are needed to develop or adapt existing instruments so that variables associated with SCCT could be tested via measures that are valid and reliable across cultures.

Indigenisation of Career Theories

The big five career theories are all developed in the USA but as evident from the review above, they have served to guides career guidance practice and research internationally. Even though the big five theories have been revised and updated in response to emerging research evidence and social changes, they are still conceptually and empirically anchored in the social and occupational contexts of the USA, and career guidance practitioners and researchers should be careful not to transport these theories to their own contexts without cultural adaptation and modifications (Leung, 1995).

A review of the conceptual literature in career development suggested that very few career development theories have emerged from regions outside the USA. In order to advance the career guidance discipline worldwide, there should be more "indigenous" efforts to develop theories and practice that would meet the idiosyncratic needs in diverse geographic regions. Indigenisation of career and guidance theory and practice should aim to identify the universals as well as the unique experience, constructs and practice that are specific to particular culture groups.

The conceptualisation on indigenisation by Enriquez (1993) could be used to guide the indigenisation of career development theories. Indigenisation of the career guidance discipline could take the route of *indigenisation from within* and *indigenisation from without*. Indigenisation from within refers to the derivation of career theories, concepts, and methods from within a specific culture, relying on indigenous sources of information as the primary source of knowledge. This process would result in career development concepts that have specific meanings within a culture (e.g., the effects of filial piety on career choice in Asian cultures), and career guidance and counselling methods that are grounded on specific cultural features, practice, and beliefs (e.g., application of instruments with culture-specific dimensions). On the other hand, indigenisation from without involves modifying existing career theories and practice (e.g., big five career theories) to maximise their degree of fit with local cultural contexts. Hence, the main objectives would be to identify aspects of these

theories that are relevant/irrelevant and valid/invalid for specific cultures, and to articulate on necessary cultural adaptations both conceptually and in practice.

Three steps can be identified that should be taken to indigenise career development theories from without. First, international scholars in career guidance should examine how culture might intervene, moderate, or mediate the hypothesised career development and choice process. This would involve critically evaluating these respective theories to determine (a) how the target variables (e.g., work adjustment, interest, compromise, life roles, and self-efficacy) are being understood in a particular cultural context, and how such understanding is similar to or different from those proposed by the theory, (b) if the relationship among the hypothesised variables are valid in that cultural context, and how cultural beliefs, values, and practices might influence the process, yielding a different set of propositions or configuration among the variables, and (c) if there are indigenous, culture-specific variables that could be integrated into the career development frameworks that would increase the explanatory power and comprehensiveness of theories. In conducting research studies related to the above themes, divergent research methodologies should be considered, including quantitative and qualitative methods. Qualitative methods are particularly meaningful as they would likely yield rich, comprehensive, and in-depth data that could lead to theory building and the development of indigenous conceptual frameworks (e.g., Morrow, Rakhsha, & Castaneda, 2001).

Second, career guidance scholars should develop instruments and measures that are reliable and valid for diverse cultures. The big five career theories were developed in the USA and naturally most of the measures associated with these theories were based on the US cultural, social, and occupational characteristics. In order to examine the validity of career theories across cultures, as a first step, cross-cultural researchers should develop instruments that are valid in their social and vocational contexts. Cross-cultural researchers have to make a choice between developing their own measures from scratch, or to adapt existing measures developed in the West (Leung, 2002). Developing a measure from scratch is often an expensive and time-consuming endeavour, and adapting existing measures seems a most viable option. The goal of adaptation is to eliminate culture-based biases that might threaten the validity of instruments (Van de Vijver & K. Leung, 1997), including biases related to how vocational constructs are expressed and defined, response style, and item-content (Leung, 2004). Essentially, the adaptation of career measures for a particular cultural group should involve one of the following levels of modifications: (a) adopt an established measure with only minimal modification, mainly to establish language equivalence through using a back-translation strategy to translate the items into the language of the target culture (e.g., Goh & Yu, 2001), (b) conduct psychometric evaluation of the target measures to decide if the structure and properties of the instrument correspond to those reported in the literature so that cross-cultural equivalence of scales could be established (e.g., Creed, Patton, & Watson, 2002; Tien, 2005), and if necessary, the content and structure of the measure would be modified based on empirical findings, and (c) revise and adapt the target measure, incorporating key cultural elements into the measure that are core to the concepts being measured in the local context, and conduct psychometric

evaluation of the modified measure. The development of culturally valid measures is an important pre-requisite toward cross-cultural testing of career development theories.

The third step to indigenise career theories from within is the development of theory-based career guidance interventions in cross-cultural settings, incorporating cultural adaptations that are based on local social, cultural, and occupational features (e.g., Repetto, 2001). It is important for the adaptations to be clearly documented so that further refinements and modifications could be done in future cycles of interventions and evaluation. The outcomes of these interventions would shed light on the usefulness and relevance of various cultural adaptations, and would provide important clues to the cross-cultural validity of career theories.

Summary and Conclusion

In this chapter, the central tenets of the "big five" career theories and selected international research studies are reviewed. The big-five theories offer career guidance professionals worldwide a set of principles and concepts that they could use to communicate about practice and research. Locating the universals of career guidance and development across culture is indeed important, yet career guidance practitioners and researchers should critically evaluate the cross-cultural limitations of these theories and to identify points of divergence, including the cultural relevance of theoretical constructs, assessment methods, and the content and design of career interventions based these theoretical perspectives.

There should be more international collaborations to further develop the big five career development theories, both in research and practice (Leung, 2003). Long-distance international collaborations, such as collaborative data collection, theory-based interventions, and documentations of cross-cultural research and practice initiatives, were difficult to accomplish because of tangible social, political, and geographic barriers. However, with advances in communication technology and the emergence of the internet platform (Friedman, 2006), it is considered that such collaborations are now much easier to implement. The big-five career theories offer international career guidance professionals a collection of frameworks on which they could anchor and advance the career guidance discipline locally and globally.

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Chapter 7
RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN CAREER THEORIES: THE INFLUENCES OF CONSTRUCTIVISM AND CONVERGENCE

Wendy Patton

The current literature in career theory reflects two key themes: the influence of constructivism and the ongoing drive for convergence of career theories. This chapter briefly overviews the history of career theories, and within the context of the need for a shift in philosophical underpinnings of career theory describes the core principles of constructivism and its role in the focus on convergence in career theory. Second, it explores two recent theoretical contributions which reflect developments in both integration and in the influence of constructivism in career theory. For the purpose of comprehensiveness, the influence of constructivism on the role of these influences in a number of emerging theoretical discussions is also reviewed.

The traditional approach to career needs to be understood in the context of an era in the world of work when vocational guidance was applied to decisions about jobs for life, usually at school leaving age. Indeed, knowledge about the world of work in order to facilitate career decisions at this time ensured that career counselling was largely seen as an objective cognitive problem solving process where matching knowledge about self and knowledge about the world of work was thought to result in a sound career choice. However, world of work changes have changed our understanding of career and career development. While the elements of the systems of influence on individual career behaviour are the same, their nature and their relevance to the individual and his/her career behaviour at different points throughout life are different. Career theories have broadened, new theories have been proposed, and the world of work has undergone dramatic and irreversible change (Amundson, 2005; Brown & Associates, 2002; Patton & McMahon, 2006). In today's world, people change jobs several times in a lifetime, and occupational choice is only one aspect of a broad array of career challenges to confront. Career theories need to be appropriate for the complexity of individuals living in a complex world.

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J.A. Athanasou, R. Van Esbroeck (eds.) *International Handbook of Career Guidance*,
© Springer Science + Business Media B.V. 2008

However, the changes in the context of career and the broadening of the concept of career development have far outpaced the development of theory to account for it. Traditional career theories have been challenged as being too narrow, although the more narrow theories have attempted to acknowledge the influence of elements of the broader system in their revised formulations. Theoretical frameworks have been proposed to encompass elements of the social system and the environmental-societal system, and the potential for integration and convergence of theories has been explored (Chen, 2003; Patton & McMahon, 1999, 2006; Savickas, 2005; Savickas & Lent, 1994). Proponents of moves toward convergence in career theory (Chen; Patton, & McMahon; Savickas & Lent) have emphasised the importance of viewing the whole of career behaviour and the relationship between all relevant elements in the career decision-making process to each other and to the whole. In doing so, it is important that contributions from all theories are considered in exploring an individual's career decision-making processes. Thus the theoretical map underpinning our understanding of career behaviour in the 21st century is markedly different from that which existed with the first publication of Parsons in 1909. Indeed Amundson (2005) asserted that recent advances in constructivism, systems theory, action theory and paradoxical theory have emerged to support individuals and counsellors in constructing personal development in a world of unprecedented and ongoing rapid changes occurring within the workplace and in individual careers.

The last decade has seen the most active growth in the development of theories about career behaviour since the decade following World War II. Patton and McMahon (1999, 2006) presented an historical overview of major theories of career development by using a content/process heuristic based on the work of Minor (1992). Early theories focused on the *content* of career choice, such as characteristics of the individual and of the workplace evolved and became known as trait and factor theories (e.g., Holland, 1985). Subsequent development in these theories based on the acceptance of greater individual and environment connection led to modified person-environment fit theories (e.g., Walsh & Chartrand, 1994). Theories which placed more emphasis on the stages and *process* of career development were proposed and became known as developmental theories (e.g., Super, 1957, 1990). Theoretical work first published during the 1980s and early 1990s focused on both *content and process*, including the interaction between these and the role of cognition in the process (e.g., Lent & Hackett, 1994; Lent, Brown, & Hackett, 2002; Peterson, Sampson, & Reardon, 1991; Peterson, Sampson, Lenz, & Reardon, 2002). More recently, theorists have focused on constructivist influences in career theory and on approaches to convergence of the many career theories, with the field of career development theory continuing to proffer flexible and adaptive theory. In a recent overview, Guichard and Lenz (2005) identified three main characteristics evident in the international career theory literature: "(a) emphasis on contexts and cultural diversities, (b) self-construction or development emphasis, and (c) a constructivist perspective" (p. 17).

Philosophical Underpinnings of Career Development Theory

Before focusing on constructivism in detail, it is important to explore the philosophical underpinnings of career theory. Traditional theorising about career has focused on identification of various relevant constructs and attempts to relate them to career behaviour, for example the role of interests (Holland, 1997) and self-concept (Super, 1990) in career choice. More recent approaches have emphasised that "the complexities that occur within and among the intrapersonal traits and interpersonal interactions are simply too complicated to understand and therefore, we should stop trying to do it, except on an individual basis" (Brown, 2002a, p. xii). Such difference in theoretical perspectives may be accounted for by the philosophical positions or worldviews that underpin them. For most of its history, career development theory has been influenced by the logical positivist worldview which emphasises rationality based on an objective value free knowledge; objectivity over subjectivity, facts over feelings. Core assumptions of logical positivism include the notion that individual behaviour is observable, measurable and linear, that individuals can be studied separately from their environments and that the contexts within which individuals live and work are of less importance than their actions (Brown, 2002a). The trait and factor theories are illustrative of the assumptions of logical positivism.

More recently, there has been a rise in the influence of the constructivist worldview. Constructivists argue against the possibility of absolute truth, asserting that an individual's construction of reality is constructed "from the inside out" through the individual's own thinking and processing. These constructions are based on individual cognitions in interaction with perspectives formed from person-environment interactions. Constructivism views the person as an open system, constantly interacting with the environment, seeking stability through ongoing change. Mahoney (2003) presented five basic assumptions which can be derived from theories of constructivism: active agency, order, self, social-symbolic relatedness, and lifespan development. Active agency implies that individuals are actively engaged in constructing their lives. Constructivism emphasises the proactive nature of human knowing, acknowledging that individuals actively participate in the construction of their own reality. Whereas realism asserts an objective valid truth, constructivism emphasises the viability of an individual's own construction of a personal reality on the basis of its coherence with related systems of personally or socially held beliefs. "From a constructivist viewpoint, human knowing is a process of 'meaning making' by which personal experiences are ordered and organized" (Mahoney & Patterson, 1992, p. 671). The second assumption identified by Mahoney (2003) emphasises the ordering processes, that is the patterning of individuals' experiences to create meaning. The third assumption is that this ordering of personal activity is mainly self-referent, that the focus is on personal identity, with the fourth assumption being that this development of self is embedded in the social and symbolic systems or contexts within which the individual lives. A final core assumption of constructivism is that the activities of the previous assumptions are embedded in an ongoing developmental process that emphasises meaningful

action by a developing self working towards a homeostasis. Mahoney and Lyddon (1988) emphasised this change and stability notion as follows: "Embedded with self-change is self-stability - we are all changing all the time and simultaneously remaining the same" (p. 209).

In discussing the complexity of the notion of constructivism, Young and Collin (2004) referred to the term "constructivisms". Part of the complexity of this literature is that constructivism draws its key components from related theories. For example, the notion of proactive cognition is derived from motor theory which asserts that the mind is an active system which has the capacity to produce its output in addition to the input it receives. The individual is always interacting with the environment while simultaneously internally construing and constructing meaning about it. Knowledge is an interactive process and motivated through feedforward and feedback mechanisms. Hence rather than reacting to external stimuli, the human mind actively constructs reality through internal sorting and processing of stimuli. In addition, constructivism asserts that deep cognitive structures function at tacit and unconscious levels and that these tacit ordering rules govern the individual's cognitive processes.

Systems theory has also contributed to key components of constructivism, in particular in relation to the notion that individuals are self-organising and that all learning and knowing is comprised of complex dynamic processes through which the self organises and reorganises to achieve equilibrium. The human system is viewed as purposive, ever-evolving, and self-perpetuating. The process is interactive, and the human system operates interdependently with other systems (e.g., family, workforce). "Life is an ongoing recursion of perturbation and adaptation, disorganisation and distress, and emerging complexity and differentiation" (Granvold, 1996, pp. 346–347). The following description by Ford and Ford (1987) illustrates the systems theory contribution to this aspect of constructivism, as well as the integration of a range of interconnected theories in understanding human behaviour:

> The Living Systems Framework (LSF) is designed to represent all aspects of being human, not merely a particular facet of behavior or personality… It describes how the various "pieces" of the person - goals, emotions, thoughts, actions, and biological processes - function both semi-autonomously as a part of a larger unit (the person) in coherent "chunks" of context-specific, goal directed activity (behavior episodes). It also describes how these specific experiences "add up" to produce a unique, self-constructed history and personality (i.e., through the construction, differentiation, and elaboration of behavior episode schemata), and how various processes of change (self-organization, self-construction, and disorganization-reorganization) help maintain both stability and developmental flexibility in the organized patterns that result (steady states). Thus the LSF cannot be easily characterized in terms of traditional theoretical categories. Rather, it is a way of trying to understand persons in all their complexly organized humanness. (pp. 1–2)

As constructivism represents an epistemological position that emphasises self-organising and proactive knowing, it provides a perspective from which to conceptualise changing notions of career in post-modern society. These changing notions include the importance of individuals becoming more self-directed in making meaning of the place of work in their lives and in managing their careers (Richardson, 1993, 1996, 2000). Savickas (2000) attributed the influence of

constructivism to the change in the structure of work and the emphasis on individuals becoming agents in their own lives and careers as it provides an alternate perspective from which to conceptualise careers in post-industrial societies. Constructivists assert that individuals actively construct their own reality, and are able to actively construct a meaningful position within the work context.

Constructivism and the Moves Toward Theory Integration

The emphasis of constructivism on individual meaning-making shifts the focus from the theory to the individual for understanding the complexity of career behaviour. It is within the individual that the theories make sense and where construction of meaning around the multiple influences which are relevant to career development occurs. Thus constructivism has been of major significance in developments in the career theory literature in the previous two decades, in particular in moves toward integration or convergence in career theory.

Super (1990) commented on the understandable segmental nature of much theory development in the area of career psychology, "in view of the size of the problem" (p. 221). He acknowledged that theories which attempt to encompass too much may suffer from superficiality, and that future theories of career development "will be made up of refined, validated and well-assembled segments, cemented together by some synthesizing theory to constitute a whole which will be more powerful than the sum of its parts" (p. 221). In adding to this discussion in 1992, Super commented that no theory in itself is sufficient, and that in order to adequately address the complexity of career development, contributions from each of the major theories are necessary.

Patton and McMahon (1999, 2006) presented an extensive review of the theoretical journey toward integration, and identified the range of efforts theorists have made to integrate a range of theoretical perspectives. This section of the chapter will provide a brief historical overview of these theoretical discussions in order to provide a background to understanding the iterative nature of advances in the integration of career theories.

Attempts at integration of career theory constructs have been located from as early as the 1950s when Blau, Gustad, Jessor, Parnes, and Wilcock (1956) recognised the importance of contributions from psychology, economics and sociology in understanding career choice, and developed an inclusive conceptual framework that included a comprehensive outline of relevant schema, drawn from the three disciplines, which are relevant to the process of career choice. The conceptual framework of Blau et al. (1956) was important for its inclusion of psychological and contextual antecedents in career choice.

Other examples of attempts at interdisciplinary integrative frameworks included the work of Van Maanen and Schein (1977) which represented an important precursor to an integration between the psychological differential, developmental and organisational theorising about career development, as well as sociological theorising.

These authors noted how the two frames of reference "have remained remarkably independent" (p. 44) and proceeded to develop an interdisciplinary framework. Their interactional schema was underpinned by the importance of perceiving career development in its total context, within the life-space of each individual.

In searching for a framework for vocational psychology, Hesketh (1985) emphasised the complexity of career behaviour and the improbability of any one theory being able to adequately explain it. She advocated the generation of empirically testable specific theories, or microtheories, and the development of a conceptual framework that provided a structure to integrate findings from research. She identified the following three themes which underlie existing theory in vocational psychology: intervening factors; the role of the individual (how active the individual is); and the degree of emphasis on content or process. She called for a greater integration of the content and process of career development and highlighted the "dynamic active and reactive modes on the part of individuals and organisations" (p. 28).

Also in 1985, Pryor proposed what he termed a composite theory of career development and choice. He commented on the separateness of theorising in vocational psychology from other fields in psychology, emphasising that "Dividing the person up into bits and theorising separately about each piece is a fundamental denial of the totality of the human being …" (p. 226). He therefore attempted to integrate this theory with Gottfredson's (1981) circumscription and compromise theory to formulate a "composite theory", proposing that an integration of the two theoretical formulations would give a more complete account of career development and choice.

Sonnenfeld and Kotter (1982) presented an expansive integrative framework. These authors identified four waves in the evolution of career theory, including the social structure approach, where career outcomes were set from birth as a result of parent's social class; the connection between individual traits and career choice; a developmental focus on the stages; and the lifecycle or life course approach, where the focus was on the interrelationships between career and other areas of an individual's life. A picture of considerable complexity was emerging with the increasing number and array of variables relevant to career choice. Sonnenfeld and Kotter (1982) therefore advocated a fifth approach, an attempt to integrate all factors and show how they contribute to a bigger picture. They developed a two dimensional model, with life-space on one axis and time on another, to illustrate the interaction between occupational, personal and family factors in career development. Nine major sets of variables operating within the two axes included educational environment, the individual's personality, childhood family environment, adult family/nonwork history, adult development history, work history, current work situation, the individual's current perspective, and current family/nonwork situation. While the model serves an illustrative purpose, it offered little in the way of theoretical underpinnings.

Within the context of increasing complexity, a number of theorists have attempted to integrate additional components into their original theories. For example, as previously discussed, Super (1990) had often referred to his theory as segmental as he focused on specific constructs such as self-concept, career maturity, and work values. In a 1992 article entitled "Toward a comprehensive theory of career development", he acknowledged the need for "Not two, but three…" (p. 59)

models to explain career development. These included the life-span, life-space model depicted in the Rainbow, and the determinant/choice model depicted in the Archway. Super indicated that these two models also need a decision-making model to form an integrated theoretical approach.

Gottfredson's (1981, 2002) approach integrated a social systems perspective with psychological approaches. Gottfredson's (1981) theory "accepts the fundamental importance of self-concept in vocational development, that people seek jobs compatible with their images of themselves. Social class, intelligence and sex are seen as important determinants of both self-concepts and the types of compromises people must make" (p. 546). In focusing on developmental stages, Gottfredson also acknowledged the importance of the concepts of time and context to career development, and illustrated the integration of concepts from disciplines such as sociology and psychology.

The concepts of time and context are also recognised in the developmental-contextual approach of Vondracek, Lerner, and Schulenberg (1986). These authors stress that their approach to career development is not a theory but a general conceptual model. Importantly, they firmly linked career development within the field of human development. Second, they argued that it is essential to view the contextual (socioeconomic and cultural) influences on career, and their ever changing nature. Finally, an important concept within the model is the embeddedness of human life within multiple levels of analysis, for example biological, individual-psychological, organisational, social, cultural, historical levels, and the ongoing dynamic interactions between the individual and these areas of context. According to this approach career development is facilitated by the interplay between an active organism and an ever changing environment.

Bridging Frameworks

In addition to individual theorists working to develop an integration and comprehensiveness in theories, the literature on convergence has also focused on broad theoretical areas which may serve as bridging theories, or provide structures for an overarching framework. Savickas (1995) identified six bridging frameworks which have been identified as being applicable to this purpose: developmental-contextualism; learning theory; person-environment transaction; work adjustment theory; developmental systems theory; and systems theory. Patton and McMahon (2006) added social cognitive theory, action theory, and Savickas' (2005) use of social constructionism as a metatheory. This section of this chapter will review each of these briefly.

Developmental-Contextualism

The developmental-contextualist perspective is derived from both the developmental organic perspective and the contextualist perspective. Vondracek et al. (1986) acknowledged two limitations of pure contextualism in the formulation of their

career theory framework based on developmental-contextual theory. First, contextualism emphasises the dispersive nature of life. Believing that development must be more than mere change, and that "a worldview that stresses only the dispersive, chaotic, and disorganized character of life would not readily lend itself to a theory of development" (p. 24), Vondracek and colleagues combined two perspectives in their formulation of developmental-contextualism. Second, contextualism emphasises the current event, stressing the importance of the relation between the elements. A developmental analysis emphasises the changes that exist in the relation among elements over time.

Developmental-contextualism therefore emphasises ongoing change both within the organism and within the environment, and in the interaction between the two. Further it acknowledges the internal stability of the organism, and the dual nature of influence between the organism and the context. Vondracek et al. (1986) also emphasised the self-determinism and agency of the individual. The developmental contextual approach holds that the environment engenders chaotic and reflexive changes in an individual's behaviour, however it also notes the influence of the individual in facilitating or constraining the environment. Within the model, the individual is an active organism operating in a constantly changing environment, hence the concept of dynamic interaction. An individual's career development is a reflection of the continuous interplay of person and context at all possible levels. Thus this approach has the capacity to include elements of content and process as identified earlier in this chapter.

More recently, Vondracek and Porfeli (2002b) have emphasised the potential for an integration of lifespan psychological and sociological life course approaches to our understanding of career development, in children (Hartung, Porfeli, & Vondracek, 2005) and adults (Vondracek & Porfeli, 2002a). Vondracek and his colleagues have drawn heavily on advances in life-span development theory (Baltes & Baltes, 1990; Baltes, 1997; Baltes, Lindenberger, & Staudinger, 1998) to present their discussion of an updated integrated perspective.

Learning Theory

Most theorists have championed learning theory as being crucial to any integrated theory as it is such an important underpinning of individual behaviour. For example, Holland (1994) suggested that "The most promising integration would be to insert the Krumboltz learning theory into every other vocational theory" (p. 45). Earlier frameworks (e.g., Pryor, 1985) also highlighted the value of merging learning theory with other theories. Super (1990) referred to learning theory as the cement that bonded the segments of his archway, and Subich and Taylor (1994) referred to it as "a central glue in explaining the learning processes underlying other career theories' core constructs" (p. 171). However, Savickas (1995) asserted that its value lies more in providing a more fine grained analysis of existing constructs than in providing a framework for an overarching intertheory analysis.

Person-Environment Transaction

A number of authors have identified person-environment (P-E) transaction as a central unifying principle for converging theories (Rounds & Hesketh, 1994; Spokane, 1994; Walsh & Chartrand, 1994). However, these authors also acknowledged that P-E is defined differently across related theories and that this definition needs to be sharpened before any convergence work is undertaken. Savickas (2002) drew on the distinction of person and environment transaction in structuring aspects of his discussion of a developmental theory of vocational behaviour (discussed in more detail later in this chapter).

Theory of Work Adjustment

The Theory of Work Adjustment (TWA) was conceived as useful in integration of career theory as early as 1985 (see Hesketh, 1985 earlier in this chapter). As Dawis (1994) has stated, TWA was initially constructed to integrate several related concepts from different areas in psychology: ability, reinforcement, satisfaction, and person-environment correspondence. As such, it was initially constructed as an early example of convergence. Dawis (1994) illustrated the already strong correspondence between TWA and Holland's (1985) theory. The only major difference is the focus of Holland's work on career choice and of TWA on work adjustment. As both TWA and Krumboltz's (1994) theory are closely based on learning theory, there are already points of convergence. More recently Dawis (1997) noted that Roe's theory of personality development and career choice could be productively incorporated into the Theory of Work Adjustment "to yield hypotheses about the functioning of need structures in organizational settings and the development of need structures as a result of early childhood experience" (p. 295).

Developmental Systems Theory

Vondracek and Kawasaki (1995) have further developed the developmental contextual model using the Living Systems Framework (LSF; Ford & Ford, 1987). This framework furthers our understanding from the description of human behaviour to an understanding of the underlying processes – the "how and why of the behaviours that determine the work lives of individuals" (Vondracek & Kawasaki, 1995, p. 118). Vondracek and Kawasaki (1995) illustrated the value of both Developmental Systems Theory (DST; D. Ford & Lerner, 1992) and Motivational Systems Theory (MST; M. Ford, 1992) to furthering our understanding of adult career development in particular. At this stage, however, the principles of these theoretical frameworks have not been incorporated by these authors into a comprehensive overarching theoretical framework for career theories. Rather, they have shown how DST and MST can be used to understand the vocational behaviours of adults.

Systems Theory

Both Blustein (1994) and Bordin (1994) acknowledged the value of systems theory as a basis for a convergence framework. Similarly, Krumboltz and Nichols (1990) applied the LSF to provide an inclusive "map" for specific career decision-making frameworks, its value being in its ability to integrate all of the determinants of human development, and specifically career choice and career development. Krumboltz and Nichols (1990) commented that the LSF expands the conceptual areas that have traditionally been considered in current theories of career behaviour. While Krumboltz and Nichols believed that existing career theories could be embedded within the overall living systems framework, there has been no further development of this work by these authors.

The Systems Theory Framework (McMahon & Patton, 1995; Patton & McMahon, 1997, 1999, 2006) was the first attempt to comprehensively present a metatheoretical framework constructed using systems theory. The STF is not a theory of career development; rather it represents a metatheoretical account of career development that accommodates career theories derived out of the logical positivist worldview with their emphasis on objective data and logical, rational process, and also of the constructivist worldview with its emphasis on holism, personal meaning, subjectivity, and recursiveness between influences. Indeed, one of the advantages of the STF is that it values the contribution of all theories. This framework will be discussed in more detail in the next section of this chapter.

Other systems theory approaches which have attempted to integrate the complex array of career development influences and processes include the ecological approaches of Szymanski and Hershenson (1997) seeking to represent people with disabilities, and Cook, Heppner, and O'Brien's (2002a, 2002b) ecological systems representation of women's career development.

Social Cognitive Career Theory

Lent and Hackett (1994) viewed their emerging Social Cognitive Career Theory (SCCT) as a model of convergence through its integration of existing theoretical constructs. Their model focuses on a number of constructs which exist in other theories (e.g., types in Holland's theory; role salience in Super's work) and brings them together within the framework of Bandura's (1986, 1997) theory. Lent et al. (2002) asserted that "SCCT was designed … to help construct useful conceptual bridges, to identify major variables that may compose a more comprehensive explanatory system, and to sketch central processes linking these variables together" (p. 257).

Contextual Explanation of Career

Young, Valach, and Collin (1996, 2002) proposed a framework for understanding key aspects of many contextual approaches to career. Further, they proposed

action theory as a means of integrating aspects of contextualism. These authors defined the basis of contextualism as "the recognition of a complex whole constituted of many interrelated and interwoven parts, which may be largely submerged in the everyday understanding of events and phenomena" (Young et al., 1996, p. 479). Context consists of multiple complex connections and interrelationships, the significance of which is interpreted according to an individual's perspective. Young and colleagues identified several aspects of the contextualist metaphor crucial to their contextual explanation of career, including the goal directed nature of acts, acts which are embedded in their context. Change is integral within this perspective, and "because events take shape as people engage in practical action with a particular purpose, analysis and interpretation are always practical" (Young et al., 1996, p. 480). Young and Valach (2000, 2004) emphasised that the action theory of career serves as an integrative approach to career theory in that it not only integrates social-contextual and psychological perspectives, but also "explicates social perspectives that have the effect of moving (the theory) beyond traditional career approaches and linking it directly to constructionism" (Young & Valach, 2004, p. 501).

More recently, Savickas (2001, 2002, 2005) has presented career construction theory, a developmental theory of career construction wherein he has proposed a further integration of the segments of Super's theory of career. Savickas accessed social constructionism as a metatheory, and then drew on McAdams' (1995) framework for organising personality theories as a framework for incorporating "into one overarching theory the three classic segments of career theory: (1) individual differences in traits, (2) developmental tasks and coping strategies, and (3) psychodynamic motivation – or, for short, the differential, developmental and dynamic views of careers" (Savickas, 2005, p. 42–43). Career construction theory will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

Summary

It is clear that the developing worldview of contextualism, and the development of constructivism in cognitive psychology, have been important influences in the move toward the integration and convergence of career theories. Savickas (1995, p. 29) called for a "sophisticated framework" that could adequately deal with the diversity of epistemological and theoretical groups within vocational psychology. In their view to the "future of career", Collin and Young (2000) emphasised the importance of two crucial issues – the construction of individual identity and the importance of regarding the individual in his or her context, spatial and temporal. Collin and Young were calling for theories of career that would provide a new framework for the postindustrial world and relate to the epistemological root metaphor of contextualism (Collin, 1997; Collin & Young, 1986; Lyddon, 1989). This chapter will now describe in detail two theoretical frameworks which have attempted to address both these calls, the Systems Theory Framework and Career Construction Theory.

The Systems Theory Framework

The Systems Theory Framework (STF; Patton & McMahon, 1999, 2006) was first presented in 1995 (McMahon & Patton, 1995) and was significantly formulated by 1997 (Patton & McMahon, 1997). The STF contributes to the development of theory of career in two key ways. According to the spirit of convergence and transtheoretical integration previously discussed, the STF is presented as a metatheory of career. It also operates as a vehicle to operationalise constructivist and social constructionist theories of career (i.e., constructivisms, Young & Collin, 2004). It is constructivist because of its emphasis upon the individual. It represents as social constructionist because of its location of the individual within myriad social influences. Its focus on process influences, in particular *recursiveness*, and the role of *story*, emphasise the centrality of the individual actively construing the meaning of his or her life within multiple content and process influences. Brown (2002b) noted, in his perspective on the convergence of career theories, the emergence of the STF as a possible integrative framework for career theory. Amundson (2005) also acknowledged STF and its role in the new global context of career.

Assumptions of systems theories. Patton and McMahon (1999, 2006) identified a number of key features of systems theory that were influential in their formulation of the STF. These included:

1. Wholes and parts, a concept which emphasises that each element of a system or subsystem is interdependent upon other elements and that these elements should not be considered in isolation. Hence a systems approach is holistic.
2. Patterns and rules, emphasising that relationships exist within and between elements of a system which emerge as patterns within the system. Rules are special types of patterns formed by human systems and vary across different systems.
3. Acausality, emphasising the multiplicity of relationships between elements, and thus the inherent difficulty in reducing and isolating simplistic causal linear relationships.
4. Recursiveness, a concept which describes non-linear, multidirectional feedback amongst all elements of a system. It implies a dynamic, fluctuating process within the system as each element communicates with others in an ongoing manner.
5. Discontinuous change, emphasising that a system is always in flux, albeit balanced by internal homeostatic processes. The term discontinuous emphasises the unpredictability or suddenness of internal or external changes.
6. Open and closed systems. A closed system has no relationship to the environment in which it is positioned, whereas an open system communicates with its environment. Its openness to its context is necessary for its regeneration.
7. Abduction, a concept which stresses the importance of abductive reasoning which is concerned with the emergence of patterns and relationships, and lateral thinking. Deductive and inductive reasoning are linear and therefore limited as processes.
8. Story. It is through story that the whole accounts of relationships and patterns within systems are recounted.

The Systems Theory Framework (Patton & McMahon, 1999, 2006) describes influences in terms of *content* and *process* and positions those influences at (and across) the levels of the *individual system* and the *contextual system*, which is conceptualised as the *social system* and the *environmental-societal system*. These authors acknowledged the influence of the systems of Bronfenbrenner (1977, 1979) in the construction of the STF. Thus the social system of the STF is representative of the microsystem, and the STF environmental/societal system is representative of the exosystem and mesosystem. While Patton and McMahon acknowledged the pervading influence of a macrosystem of broader attitudes, values, cultural influences and major societal systems as identified by Bronfenbrenner, within the present framework these were viewed as pervading each of the other systems rather than as a system which can be identified separately. Such an approach was seen to be more in keeping with the recursiveness, or recurring interaction, between the systems. The influences identified in the STF are depicted in Fig. 7.1 (for further detail of their relationship to the extant body of career theory, refer to Patton & McMahon, 1999, 2006).

The individual system. The individual is conceived of as an active, participative, unique being and is at the centre of the STF. The individual is not defined in terms of reduced and isolated elements (e.g., abilities, traits), but as a whole. The individual system includes the following: gender, values, health, sexual orientation, disability, ability, interests, beliefs, skills, personality, world-of-work knowledge, age, self-concept, physical attributes, ethnicity and aptitudes.

The social system refers to the proximal social system through which the individual interacts with other people systems. The social system comprises the following influences: family, peers, community groups, education institutions, media, and, workplace.

The environmental-societal system. The environmental-societal system of influences consists of the following: political decisions, historical trends, employment market, geographic location, socioeconomic status, and globalisation. While these influences are distal to the individual, they are crucial to the social construction of context.

Process influences identified in the STF include recursiveness, change over time and chance. The STF adopts the notion recursiveness because it implies multiplicity of influences, and dynamics of nonlinearity, acausality, mutuality, and multidirectionality across past, present and future. The influence of constructs changes over time and in interaction with other influences in the whole system and subsystem. The openness of the influences to the effects of others and for them to affect others, was described by Patton and McMahon with reference to the permeability of open systems and is graphically represented as broken lines in Fig. 7.1.

The notion of influences changing over time within a recursive framework is central to the STF. Discontinuous change within an individual's career, the nonlinearity of a person's career over time, is represented in the STF's circular depiction of the system. The notion of nonlinearity supports the social constructionist challenge to stage-based explanations of career.

The inclusion of chance as a key feature of the STF emphasises the unpredictability of influences within each of the systems and has been formulated as a source for naturally occurring chaos within an individual's career and life, reflecting a growing literature around this notion (e.g., Bloch, 2005; Bright, Pryor, & Harpham, 2005; Chen, 2005; Mitchell, Levin, & Krumboltz, 1999). Chance, or unpredictability, now seem to be inherent in the post-industrial world-of-work and need to be accounted for by theories of career. Chance is depicted as random flashes in Fig. 7.1.

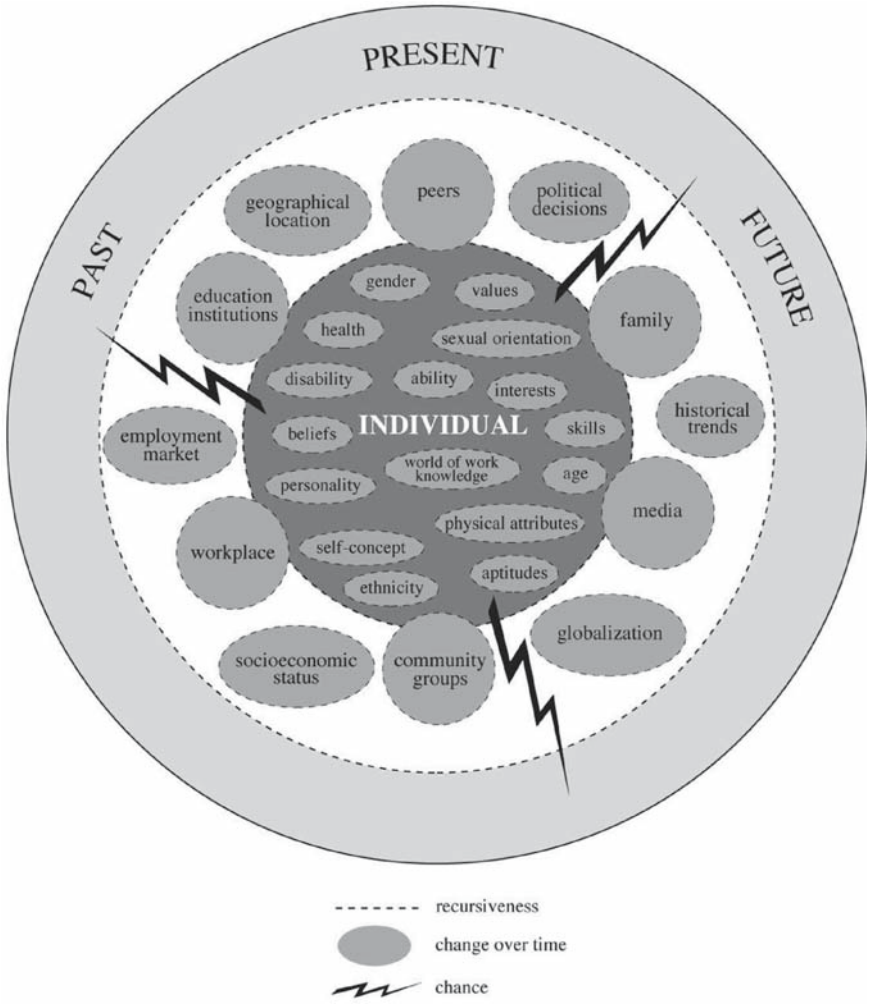


Fig. 7.1 The Systems Theory Framework © Patton & McMahon (1999)

Career Construction Theory

Career construction theory (Savickas, 2001, 2002, 2005) has contributed significantly to our understanding of the roles of both integration and constructivist influences in career theory development. Savickas identified this work as being positioned within the metathory of social constructionism, commenting that career construction theory addresses "how the career world is made through personal constructivism and social constructionism" (2005, p. 43). This notion was further emphasised in the following definition of career:

> individuals construct their careers by imposing meaning on the vocational behaviour and occupational experiences. ….. the subjective definition [of career] is not the sum of work experience but rather the patterning of these experiences into a cohesive whole that produces a meaningful story. [Career] denotes a subjective construction that imposes personal meaning on past memories, present experiences, and future aspirations by weaving them into a life theme that patterns the individual's work life. Thus, the subjective career that guides, regulates, and sustains vocational behaviour emerges from an active process of making meaning, not discovering pre-existing facts. It consists of biographical reflexivity that is discursively produced and made "real" through vocational behaviour. (Savickas, 2005, p. 43)

Savickas (2002) distinguished between the objective and subjective career. For career construction theory, the term "career" signifies *subjective reflection* upon an individual's vocational activity, that is, reflection on the objective career, such as occupations, tasks, and duties. The reflective process can also focus upon the meaning ascribed to career events, that is, the "subjective career".

Career construction theory has been formulated over time and this process will now be described. Initially, Savickas (2001) advanced the life-span/life-space aspect of Super's developmental theory through the integration of theoretical constructs from personality, developmental and motivational psychology. This work was built upon the three-tiered model of personality proposed by McAdams (1995, 1996) who suggested that the personality could be conceptualised at three levels which allow for the determination of differences amongst individuals: (a) dispositional signatures: personality traits; (b) contextualisation of lives: personal concerns; and (c) the problem of identity: personal narratives. Savickas advanced McAdams' framework by adding a fourth level relating to development.

Savickas' proposition of a comprehensive model of careers therefore included four propositions. At the first level of analysis, personality was conceived in a traditional sense as broad descriptors of individual differences around extraversion, neuroticism, openness to experience, conscientiousness, and agreeableness. McAdams (1995) asserted that traits were not sufficient to differentiate individuals because they lacked the ability to identify the uniqueness of individuals. Within this analysis, "the emergence of the RIASEC structure of personality as a precondition for adaptation" (Savickas, 2001, p. 314) emerges, with Savickas noting that personality traits "frame how adaptation takes place" and "give(s) the individual a sense of continuity and coherence, as well as provide coping processes to master developmental changes and to adapt flexibly to changing circumstances" (Savickas, 2001, p. 314). The second

proposition, based on McAdams (1995, 1996) "personal concerns", draws on a range of personality constructs (e.g., motives, coping styles, life tasks, values). Exploring these constructs provides further information with which to differentiate the uniqueness of individuals. This second proposition suggests that a secondary system of self-regulation emerges with personality self-organisation, and that these self-regulatory mechanisms mediate an individual's adaptation.

The third proposition, career narrative, is drawn from McAdams' conception of personal narratives. It is within these narratives that the story of an individual resides, wherein an individual "seeks to specify the actual processes of continuity and change in career adaptation" (Savickas, 2001, p. 315). Savickas (2001) proposed an additional fourth level or proposition to account for action in the process of career development, the processes of learning, cognition, and decision-making.

Savickas (2002) clearly indicated that the theory of career construction was closely linked to developmental theory, further advancing Super's (1957, 1990) work. In addition, the 16 propositions presented which underpin the theory of career construction identify a connection with other theories as Savickas subdivided the propositions according to the categories of developmental contextualism, vocational self-concepts, and the developmental tasks as the core of individual career construction.

More recently, Savickas (2005) presented the more developed "theory of career construction" as a framework consisting of three broad components, the what, how, and why of career: vocational personality, career adaptability, and life themes. In this later revision, Savickas subsumed mechanisms of development into a broader conceptualisation of career adaptability at level two.

Vocational personality. This aspect of career construction theory integrates aspects of Holland's (1997) work on interests in relation to individuals' subjective explanations of career, with Savickas (2005) commenting that the theory focused upon the "implementation of vocational self-concepts, thus providing a subjective, private, and idiographic perspective for comprehending careers to augment the objective, public, and nomothetic perspective for understanding occupations" (p. 44). Social construction theory views interests and other related traits as dynamic and evolving, and Savickas emphasised that interest inventories and related measures need to offer suggestions of possibilities rather that predictions when used with individuals. Vocational personality incorporates the level one proposition discussed earlier, and constructivist thinking in the emphasis upon subjective implementation of self-concepts as distinct from the understanding oneself from the perspective of shared, public forms (i.e., traits) is evident.

Career adaptability. Savickas (2005) defined career adaptability as "a psychosocial construct that denotes an individual's readiness and resources for coping with current and imminent vocational development tasks, occupational transitions, and personal traumas" (p. 49). He positioned developmental tasks and stages within career adaptability, noting that it "deals with how an individual constructs a career whereas vocational personality deals with what career they construct" (p. 48). Savickas emphasised the career construction theory does not focus on the P or the E with respect to the P-E fit abbreviation; rather it focuses on the dash (-). This position indicates the theory's assumptions that the construction of a career is a

psychosocial process through which self and society are synthesised. He argued that developmental tasks served as indicators of social relativity through which individuals could construct their sense of self and career. At a higher conceptual level, Savickas posited developmental tasks in a theme of grand narrative about socially expected life development.

The stages and developmental tasks of Super's (1990) theory are a feature of career adaptability across the lifespan. The stages of growth, exploration, establishment, management, and disengagement may be regarded as a maxicycle across an individual's career. However, they may also be regarded as minicycles "around each of the many transitions from school to work, from job to job, and from occupation to occupation" (Savickas, 2005, p. 50). Individuals may recycle through minicycles in each of the many transitions they may experience across the lifespan. The stages represent a structural account of career adaptability.

The component of career adaptability comprises four dimensions: concern, control, curiosity, and confidence. These dimensions represent resources and strategies available to an individual for their management of critical moments, periods, or events (e.g., transitions) present throughout life. Savickas (2005) incorporated specific attitudes, beliefs and competencies within each and indicated that these would influence an individual's coping behaviours used to deal with tasks, transitions, and trauma. Individuals may develop each dimension at different rates and phases of their life, and disequilibrium amongst the four dimensions may produce variations in patterns of development; disharmony may indicate developmental problems. Savickas (2005) conceptualised an "adaptive individual" as one who is:

1. Becoming *concerned* about their future as a worker
2. Increasing personal *control* over their vocational future
3. Displaying *curiosity* by exploring possible selves and future scenarios
4. Strengthening the *confidence* to pursue their aspirations (p. 52) [original italics]

"Career concern makes the future feel real ….. Thinking about his or her work life across time is the essence of career because a subjective career is not a behaviour; it is an idea—a reflection on the self" (Savickas, 2005, p. 54). As with career concern, career control comprises cognitive and affective features. Savickas (2005) described it as being a belief and a feeling that one is responsible for constructing one's own career. Lack of career control is conceived as career indecision. The dimension of career curiosity refers to inquisitiveness about occupational information and, moreover, learning how one goes about integrating into the world-of-work. This may entail researching career-related information and investigating occupational situations or tasks. The final dimension of career confidence relates to 'feelings of self-efficacy concerning the individual's ability to successfully execute a course of action needed to make and implement suitable educational and vocational choices' (Savickas, 2005, p. 56). Career confidence is underpinned by the development of efficacy in broader life experiences and challenges. These are described in detail in Savickas (2005).

Life themes. The third component of career construction theory, life themes, is a narrative component that focuses on the why of career behaviour. Savickas (2005)

suggested that to study vocational personality and career adaptability separately does not adequately take into account the dynamic nature of career construction and the integration of these other components into a whole. In his early work, Super (1957) introduced the idea that life themes were important in the overall development of an individual's understanding of his or her career. Savickas' theoretical work around life themes has been influenced by this early work of Super and the work of Csikszentmihalyi and Beattie (1979). The theory of career construction (Savickas, 2005) advanced the idea of life themes at the level of personal narrative and subjective career, following on from his acknowledgement of the importance of narrative, life theme, and career theme in his earlier work (Savickas, 1992, 1993) in facilitating clients developing their own stories and subjective career.

Savickas asserted that life stories are the crucial threads of continuity that make the elements of vocational personality and adaptability meaningful. Moreover, life stories identify the unique subjective individual as opposed to the stranger (McAdams, 1995), who is conceptualised as a composite of traits and other objective features. Career stories "tell how the self of yesterday became the self of today and will become the self of tomorrow" (Savickas, 2005, p. 58). While stories may appear as discrete, life themes pattern across stories to reveal a degree of continuity that may unify them; "pattern is the primary unit of meaning" (p. 58). Stories play a role in the action of an individual's career adaptation by evaluating resources, limitations and using traits and abilities to work through tasks, transitions, and trauma.

Reflections on the Systems Theory Framework and Career Construction Theory

The theoretical developments of Patton and McMahon and Savickas exemplify the influences of constructivism and convergence within the career theory literature. Despite his emphasis upon developmental tasks, Savickas (2005) has clearly linked his theory of career construction to constructivism in the leading sentence: "The theory of career construction explains the interpretive and interpersonal processes through which individuals impose meaning and direction on their vocational behaviour" (p. 42). Career construction theory is an example of one of the final stages of science which Savickas identified in 1995, unification. Unification involves a synthesis which uses a new "superordinate umbrella, coherent theoretical gestalt, metatheoretical framework or conceptually superior theory" (Beitman, Goldfried, & Norcross, 1989, p. 139). Savickas' (2005) use of "social constructionism as a metatheory with which to reconceptualise central concepts of vocational development theory" (p. 42) is also an example of use of metatheoretical framework. Savickas' most recent conceptualisation of career construction theory moves toward being an example of a conceptually superior theory. He derives key concepts and processes from other career theories (e.g., the work of Holland and Super), in addition to concepts and processes from other theoretical areas, for example personality theory, action theory and developmental-contextualism, and locates them under the umbrella of social construction theory.

The Systems Theory Framework (Patton & McMahon, 1999, 2006) is an example of unification via a metatheoretical framework. As an overarching framework focusing on all the parts as well as the whole, the STF is able to continually include constructs and process elements of new or revised theoretical developments. It represents a conceptual move to provide a metatheoretical framework for integrating existing theories, and theory and practice, and offers a framework for the blending of what different disciplines can bring to career theory, and a congruence between theory and practice applicable to all individuals which did not previously exist. With the individual as the central focus, constructing his or her own meaning of career, constructs and processes of existing theories are deemed relevant as they apply to each individual. The STF encourages pluralism as each individual's career is the prime concern. Finally, the framework also allows for relevant constructs and meanings from other disciplines.

There are other similarities and differences between these two recent developments in career theory. Career construction theory, while developed under the metatheory of social constructionism, is presented as a theory with descriptions of content and processes, the what, why and how of career development. As discussed, a significant number of theoretical propositions have been formulated. The STF is constructed as a theoretical framework wherein understandings of systems theory are applied to the content and process of career development. It differs from the work of Savickas in that the STF facilitates the inclusion of relevant aspects of multiple existing theories within an integrated framework, wherein relevance and meaning is decided upon by each individual. Specific theoretical propositions have not been formulated – the principles and processes of constructivism are seen as important in the individual's enactment of the theory-practice connection. Savickas asserted that an individual's career story is the crucial site of connection between the elements of vocational personality and adaptability. Similarly, Patton and McMahon emphasise that the application of the STF in integrating theory and practice is located within the crucible of the individual.

The Position of Career Theory: Today and Tomorrow

It is clear that the field of career development theory is dynamic and undergoing change, with major impetus being provided by the influence of theoretical convergence and constructivism. While a number of other theories have attempted to provide integrative frameworks (e.g., Lent & Hackett, 1994; Lent et al., 2002) and have emphasised relationships with existing theoretical constructs (e.g., Peterson et al., 1991, 2002), the two theoretical positions presented in the present chapter are the only two wherein both influences are evident.

Other integrative frameworks have been proposed in recent years, some more well developed than others. Drawing on the criticisms related to the lack of attention paid to relevant input from other disciplines (Collin & Young, 1986; Lent, 2001; Sonnenfeld & Kotter, 1982; Van Maanen & Schein, 1977), Blustein (2001) proposed an inclusive and integrative psychology of working, emphasising that much of our

work has been developed in relation to understanding work lives of a small proportion of the population, those that live in relative affluence. His inclusive integrated framework emphasises that vocational psychology must draw upon theories of sociology as well as "theoretical ideas emerging in other domains of psychology outside of the traditional purview of vocational psychology" (p. 177) through studying work in a range of contexts, including organisations, home, and culture.

Chen (2003) proposed a bridging of the gap between objectivist/positivistic and constructivist approaches as a strategy for theoretical integration. He suggested three themes under which theoretical integration could occur, namely career self-realisation, career as a reflection of growing experiences, and career as context conceptualisation. His discussion of each of these themes draws from a range of existing theories, and Chen suggested that these themes "attempt to 'integrate' rather than 'converge' tenets from different theoretical approaches and models" (p. 213). However he suggested that this integration "proposes a flexible and eclectic relationship between theories, in general, and between the two major schools of thinking – positivism and constructivism – in particular" (p. 213).

Other suggestions for integrative frameworks include Schulteiss' (2003) proposal that relational theory be extended to the career domain to provide a more holistic integrative framework "or meta-perspective" (p. 304) that more fully recognises the relational connectedness in people's lives and the incorporation of career and non-career domains of functioning into our understanding of career behaviour. More recently, Guichard (2005) proposed a general theory of life-long self-construction which articulates propositions from sociological, cognitive and dynamic-semiotic domains. Guichard asserted that such a theoretical approach enables a differentiation between universal processes, specific processes and contents.

Despite Brown's (2002a) assertion that the divide between constructivism and positivism means that "convergence among theories and the development of an integrated theory seems less likely today than ever" (2002a, p. 15), the recent proffering of the two significant frameworks presented in this chapter, and the developing frameworks outlined above emphasises the dynamic nature of theorising in this field, and the ongoing strength of the joint influences of constructivism and convergence. As suggested by Patton and McMahon (2006), a focus on the individual making meaning of his/her own career will continue to encourage a holistic understanding of career and an ongoing drawing on theoretical constructs by each individual as they are relevant to the construction of his or her career.

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Chapter 8
DECISION-MAKING MODELS AND CAREER GUIDANCE

Itamar Gati and Shiri Tal

Career-related choices are among the most important decisions people make during their lifetime. These choices have significant long-term implications for individuals' lifestyles, emotional welfare, economic and social status, as well as their sense of personal productivity and contribution to society. Therefore, it is only natural that individuals at different stages of their lives are preoccupied with career choices (e.g., Campbell & Cellini, 1981; Gati, Saka, & Krausz, 2001; Super, 1980). Moreover, although almost all people make career choices, many people face difficulties in this area (e.g., Amir, Gati, & Kleiman, 2008; Osipow, 1999; Rounds & Tinsley, 1984; Tinsley, 1992).

Although it seems natural to refer to career choices as acts of decision-making, and therefore to examine and analyse them in terms of decision theories, this approach has not been adopted as the dominant framework for career guidance and counselling, for reasons discussed below. Rather, other theoretical approaches dominate the field: (a) career development theories (e.g., Ginzberg, Ginsburg, Axelrad, & Herma, 1951; Gottfredson, 1981; Mitchell & Krumboltz, 1990; Roe, 1956; Savickas, 2005; Super, 1972, 1990), which tend to focus on the developmental circumstances in which decisions are made, including changes that occur in the individual's preferences, career maturity and adaptability, and the effects of these changes on the career decision, and (b) the Person-Environment Fit (P-E Fit) approach (e.g., Dawis & Lofquist, 1984; Holland, 1997), which typically focuses on the congruence between individuals and their environment, that is, on the *outcomes* of the decision-making process.

This chapter explores some of the shortcomings of these two approaches, namely, the lack of reference to the essence of the career decision-making *process*, and suggests ways of addressing these shortcomings by conceptualising career decision making from a decision-theory perspective. It is suggested to adopt the view that the goal of career guidance and counselling is helping clients make better career decisions. To achieve this goal, a theory that focuses on understanding the

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J.A. Athanasou, R. Van Esbroeck (eds.) *International Handbook of Career Guidance*,

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processes involved is essential. This chapter shows the practical importance of designing procedures for making career decisions in *specific* situations requiring choices among alternatives along the developmental continuum described by career-development theories, and demonstrates how the goal of making adequate career choices (that is expected to lead to high person-environment congruence) can be better achieved by using a systematic decision-making model.

Furthermore, the complexities of the twenty-first century's world of work, and the constant changes that characterise it, turn careers into multi-decisional, unpredictable, and unstable paths (Blustein, 2006; Bright & Pryor, 2005; Gelatt, 1989; Krieshok, Black, & McKay, 2006; Mitchell, Levin, & Krumboltz, 1999; Savickas, 2000, 2005; Van Esbroeck, Tibos, & Zaman, 2005). Hence, the empowerment of individuals as autonomous decision-makers is necessary for their career development, and requires that career counsellors help them acquire decision-making skills. By adopting decision theory, after adapting it to the unique features of career decisions, researchers can transform theoretical knowledge into practical interventions, providing career counsellors with tools for assisting deliberating individuals in carrying out the career-decision-making process actively and efficiently.

Indeed, decision theory has been reviewed and recognised as a potential frame of reference for career-decision-making for almost half a century (e.g., Brown, 1990; Gelatt, 1962; Jepsen & Dilley, 1974; Kaldor & Zytowski, 1969; Katz, 1966; Mitchell & Krumboltz, 1984; Pitz & Harren, 1980; Sauermann, 2005). Nevertheless, these theoretical discussions and conceptualisations have rarely been translated into specific practices aimed at guiding counselees towards making effective decisions. Hence, one of the goals of this chapter is to contribute to the continuous dialogue between decision theories and the actual needs of counselees as they emerge from career counsellors' experience.

The first section of this chapter focuses on the unique features of career decisions, highlighting the characteristics of the twenty-first-century world of work and its effect on the complexity of the process and the challenges involved in it. The second section briefly reviews traditional decision-making theories, with their advantages and disadvantages. It is suggested that one of the reasons that decision theory has not been embraced as a framework for career-decision-making research and guidance is that normative decision-making models, which were dominant in decision theories for many decades, are overly rational, as well as too abstract to be applicable to actual, real-life career-decision-making. In the third section it is therefore suggested to adopt prescriptive decision-making models, which minimise the disadvantages and maximise the advantages of decision theory, as a framework for facilitating the career-decision-making process. Then the PIC model (Prescreening, In-depth exploration, and Choice; Gati & Asher, 2001a) is presented to demonstrate the applicability and potential benefit of prescriptive models. The last section addresses the often-heard criticism of decision theories as "too cognitive" by discussing the role of non-cognitive factors in career-decision-making and career guidance. The chapter is concluded by exploring the implications of decision theories for career guidance and counselling.

The Unique Features of Career Decision Making

Decision theories are applicable to situations that are characterised by: (a) an individual who has to make the decision, (b) a set of objectives the individual seeks to achieve, (c) a set of alternatives to choose from, (d) a set of attributes and factors that the individual takes into account when comparing the alternatives, and (e) the necessity of collecting and processing information (often under conditions of uncertainty). Not surprisingly, these features also characterise most career-decision situations (Gati, 1986; Gati & Asher, 2001a; Katz, 1966; Pitz & Harren, 1980). Harren (1979, p. 119) defined a decision-making model as "a description of a psychological process in which one organises information, deliberates among alternatives, and makes a commitment to a course of action." This definition reflects the cognitive, analytical nature of decision models that stands at the focus of this chapter. Nevertheless, the importance of intuition, as well as emotional and personality-related facets of career-decision-making, for arriving at a satisfying and confident choice, has been acknowledged, and much research is now devoted to understanding the importance of these factors for the decision process (e.g., Saka, Gati, & Kelly, 2008), as is explored and elaborated in the last section of this chapter.

From the cognitive viewpoint, decision situations differ in many ways, including: (a) the importance of the decision, (b) the information needed for the decision, and (c) the type of information processing required. This section discusses these characteristics as they bear on career decisions. Characterising the unique features of career choices is of major interest because they contribute to the complexity of this type of decisions and the difficulties involved in making it. These features are also likely to affect the ways these decisions can be facilitated.

The Importance of the Decision

When people make important decisions (e.g., to purchase either a suburban house or a downtown apartment), the consequences associated with the various alternatives may vary significantly, in contrast to relatively small variance of the consequences of the considered alternatives of less-important decisions (e.g., dressing to work in either a blue or a brown shirt). On this continuum, career decisions may be found at one pole, as most career choices affect several aspects of life, including aspects that are not directly related to one's work environment, such as the individuals' relations with significant others, their social surroundings, and so forth.

Post-modern Western culture's emphasis on values such as self-fulfilment and personal satisfaction increases individuals' awareness of the impact of their choices on their general well-being. Similarly, Savickas (2000) referred to the post-modern world of work as a framework for personal meaning-making and self-management.

Finally, the consequences of making an inappropriate career decision may be significant, both financially (e.g., one's investment in the training) and psychologically (e.g., the difficulty of making a change in a significant aspect of one's life and the frustration deriving from an unsatisfying job). Hence, it is not surprising that career-decision-making can become a stressful process for many people, and is often associated with increased levels of anxiety.

The Information Needed for Career Decisions

Information on Career Alternatives

The most prominent characteristic of career choices in today's world of work is the variety of career alternatives from which one can choose. In the twenty-first century, career choice is a lifelong process with many steps and numerous transitions, which are not necessarily focused on a specific goal, but rather on coping with unpredictable changes and opportunities (Blustein, 2006; Bright & Pryor, 2005; Krieshok et al., 2006; Savickas, 2000; Van Esbroeck et al., 2005). While the P-E Fit approach focuses on the fairly static congruence between individuals and their jobs (the outcome of the match), the modern career world requires recognition of the dynamic nature of career decisions (Bright & Pryor, 2005). Therefore, instead of the traditional linear, progressive image of a career path, the post-modern career path can be described as a path with many forks, each offering multiple directions to be considered.

On the one hand, the variety of occupations and jobs gives individuals the freedom to look for the alternative most suitable to their preferences, interests, and abilities, but, on the other, the large number of alternatives and the unpredictability of the changes in the work environment increase the complexity of the decision. Schwartz (2004) described the above paradox as "sometimes more is less". He reviewed studies demonstrating that people are cognitively unable to narrow down a multitude of options by ignoring the surplus alternatives on the list. Thus, instead of benefiting from the abundance of options, they face an overload of choice, requiring high cognitive abilities and a vast investment of effort (Schwartz, 2004).

The large number of potential career alternatives, the nuances distinguishing them, and the frequent changes they undergo require the deliberating individual to collect a vast amount of information on many alternatives. The challenge of dealing with this overload of information is compounded by the within-occupation variance – namely, the significant variations in the attributes of particular jobs in the same occupation. For example, a marketing expert can work at an office analysing consumer markets, or travel and meet customers face to face. Organisational characteristics (e.g., organisational culture) can also significantly affect the characteristics of a specific job (Sauermann, 2005). In addition, most occupational information is "soft" – subjective, vague, and difficult to define or quantify (e.g., the level of prestige of a given occupation or job). The ongoing changes in the world of work, as

well as modifications in the individual's preferences, increase the uncertainty involved in the subjective meaning attributed to the information by the individual (Gelatt, 1989). Finally, the various sources of information (e.g., television, Internet) differ significantly in quality and credibility, which further increases the complexity of using the information.

Information About the Individual's Preferences and Abilities

The aim of career-decision-making is to locate the alternative that best matches the individual's goals and characteristics. Therefore, in addition to collecting occupational information, the process also requires people to clarify and explicate their preferences and capabilities. Defining one's preferences is a challenging task which poses a significant difficulty to many deliberating individuals (Gati, Krausz, & Osipow, 1996b). From a career-counselling perspective, it requires the counsellor to first choose among competing theoretical models describing different ways of conceptualising preferences. Among the terms used for this purpose are vocational interests (e.g., Savickas, 1999), personality types (e.g., Holland, 1997), work values (Katz, 1966; Zytowski, 1970), needs (Dawis & Lofquist, 1984), and career-related or work-aspect preferences (Gati, 1986; Pryor, 1981).

Lack of information about the self, or the difficulty in clarifying one's preferences, is not merely a theoretical issue but one of the major causes of career indecision (Gati et al., 1996b). Unlike occupational information, which can be obtained by exploring the environment, clarifying the individual's career-related preferences requires intensive introspection, and it is rare that individuals begin their career-decision process with a set of well-defined and crystallised career preferences. Indeed, one of the major challenges of career counselling is to help clients define their preferences (Mitchell et al., 1999; Osipow, 1999) by transforming past experiences (successes and failures, satisfying and frustrating experiences) into specific preferences (or dislikes) for work-relevant activities and a self-understanding of one's skills, capacities, interests, and values (Van Esbroeck et al., 2005). Self-exploration is a life-long activity that requires individuals to engage in active experiences through which they develop vocational and self-schemas (Krieshok et al., 2006), thus becoming better informed decision-makers.

Finally, relying on the individual's preferences in the decision-making process is based on the assumption that these preferences are stable and coherent. However, people typically do not have a stable set of dispositions and personality styles, but rather a dynamic, variable system of preferences, interests, values, and beliefs, leading to changes in one's occupational aspirations at different stages of life. Furthermore, people's preferences are constructed at least to some extent, and are highly influenced by situational components (Payne, Bettman, & Johnson, 1993), including the means used for eliciting interests (Crites, 1969) and preferences (Payne, Bettman, & Schkade, 1999).

Sauermann (2005) suggested that individuals' articulated preferences consist of three components (based on Payne et al., 1999): (a) the relatively stable preferences

of the individual, named *core preferences*, (b) the *situational components*, which are the systematic effects of specific contexts on expressed preferences, and (c) *random error*, which can also affect expressed preferences. Although much research on career choices is focused on the first category – core preferences – there is evidence that the situational construction of preferences may also have significant effects on career decisions (see Sauermann, 2005, for an extended discussion).

Acknowledging possible changes in individuals' preferences over time, career-decision theories regard career choices as a series of decisions rather than a one-time classification of the individual into one or more personality types, as is typically done in most P-E Fit models. Thus, while P-E Fit models typically focus on a rather static interest-based match, career decision-making models provide the deliberating individuals with tools for finding the best matches for them at different decision situations in life.

Contextual Factors

Contextual variables can influence individuals' career decisions by shaping their vocational preferences or by impacting on occupational information available for them. Social-learning approaches to career-decision-making emphasise the importance of social variables in shaping one's occupational preferences, as well as limiting one's career opportunities (Krumboltz, 1979). According to Krumboltz's instrumental learning model, individuals learn by noticing the positive or negative consequences generated from their actions, and hence their self-perception and preferences are dependent on the experiences, information, and feedback provided by their societal surroundings (Mitchell & Krumboltz, 1984). Indeed, social constructionism and psychological constructivism have been widely recognised and emphasised in recent career theories (see Chapter 6).

Bright, Pryor, Wilkenfeld, and Earl (2005) demonstrated that four distinct categories capture the factors perceived by individuals as highly influential in their career decisions: media, teachers, family and friends, and unplanned chance events. Their findings support the claim that both proximal and distal contextual factors influence individuals' career decisions. Among the influences of the broader societal setting to which one belongs are social stigmas and biases, which can be a source of perceived and actual social constraints on the individual's career choice. For example, research shows that stereotypic gender roles are still reflected in the differences between the career choices of women and men (e.g., Anker, 1998, 2001; Badgett & Folbre, 2001; Gottfredson, 1981).

On the immediate environment level, significant others (e.g., nuclear family, friends) also have an important impact on the individuals' career choices (Phillips, Christopher-Sisk, & Grauino, 2001). Significant others are the main providers of information for adolescents and young adults regarding occupations in general and specific jobs in particular. The information they contribute may further the decision-making process, but it may also be selective, based on a limited variety of occupations and jobs. This may affect the shaping of the individual's occupational preferences,

and increase the tendency for remaining in one's original socio-economic status (Sauermann, 2005). In some cases, significant others pressure the individual into choosing a certain occupation they think is best (Phillips et al., 2001). In other cases, however, the deliberating individuals themselves might have an excessive need for others' approval, and actively look for their input and guidance in the decision-making process (Sauermann, 2005). This factor highlights the importance of personality variables (e.g., self-efficacy) in career decision-making (Walsh, 2004).

The Nature of the Information Processing Required

Obtaining relevant information is the first step towards making a career-related decision. The next step, processing the information (termed "true reasoning" by Parsons, 1909), is a complex task as well, and a source of difficulty for many deliberating individuals (Amir et al., 2008; Kleiman & Gati, 2004). Increasing evidence indicates that individuals' cognitive abilities for decision-making are constrained in various ways. This phenomenon, termed *bounded rationality* (Simon, 1981, 1990), refers to human beings' limited ability to solve problems, which is manifested in their ability to solve only one problem at a time and process only a limited amount of information, thus leading to perceiving and processing information selectively and in a biased manner (e.g., Kahneman & Tversky, 1984; Tversky & Kahneman, 1974, 1981). These cognitive limitations have a significant effect on the individual's functioning as a decision-maker, especially in complex decision situations (Bendor, 2004), as most career decisions.

One source of complexity involves the process of comparing alternatives, and stems from people's difficulty in characterising occupations. Since occupational alternatives can be characterised along numerous attributes (e.g., level of income, level of physical activity, mathematical ability required, level of independence), and so can the individual's preferences, comparing the alternatives and judging their compatibility with the individual's characteristics is a cognitively demanding task. Decision theories facilitate the task by dividing it into well-defined, concrete steps.

Models of Decision Making

Career choice has often been referred to as a continuous developmental process (e.g., Osipow & Fitzgerald, 1996). Career development theories have tended to focus on the developmental changes in the individual's preferences, self-efficacy perceptions, and decision-skills that occur between decision tasks, and less on the actual processes involved in making a career decision. Career-decision-making models focus on specific decision points along the developmental continuum, providing a well-defined framework for decision-making that can fit any relevant situation. From this perspective, the outcomes of previous decisions and the developmental changes are among the inputs to future decisions.

General decision-theory-based models have been adapted to the unique features of career choices on the basis of the assumption that disassembling the complex decision problem into its basic components enables the individual to focus on each component separately and thus to respond more adequately, leading to a better choice (Pitz & Harren, 1980). Three types of decision-making models have been proposed for this purpose: normative, descriptive, and prescriptive models (Bell, Raiffa, & Tversky, 1988). In this section, the advantages and disadvantages of each type will be discussed in details, suggesting that the inapplicability of the normative models and the perceived lack of relevance of the descriptive ones have been the major reasons for the lack of interest in embracing them as guidelines for career guidance and counselling. However, the third type of decision-making models – the prescriptive models (which have emerged only recently) – circumvent and minimise many of these weaknesses, and hence can serve as a useful framework for decision counselling, leading to better career decision making.

Normative Models

Normative models of decision-making are aimed at developing procedures for making optimal choices. Normative models are based on evaluating each possible alternative according to two variables. The first one is the *subjective utility* (i.e., the value) of the outcomes associated with each alternative in terms of the expected benefits and costs attributed to it in line with the individual's goals and preferences. The second variable taken into account is the estimated *probability* that choosing a specific course of action will lead to a certain outcome (Brown, 1990; Mitchell & Krumboltz, 1984; Pitz & Harren, 1980). Different procedures are used for estimating these two variables and aggregating these estimates to locate the alternative with the highest expected utility. The different procedures share the assumption that the advantages of an alternative can compensate for its disadvantages, a trade-off that led to labelling these models "compensatory models" (e.g., Katz, 1966; Pitz & Harren, 1980; Zakay & Barak, 1984).

There are two widespread compensatory models (Mitchell & Krumboltz, 1984; Pitz & Harren, 1980; Sauermann, 2005). In the Weighted Additive Model, or Multi-Attribute Utility Theory (MAUT), an importance weight is assigned to each of the attributes characterising the different alternatives. The sum of the products of the weights multiplied by the utilities of the attributes represents the overall value of the alternative. In the Subjective Expected Utility (SEU) model, the utilities associated with the alternatives are weighted by the probabilities of achieving these utilities, so as to locate the most rewarding alternative.

Normative models entail not only mathematical assumptions but also significant philosophical and psychological assumptions regarding human nature. Specifically, normative models are based on the assumption that human beings are perfectly rational decision-makers: striving for the most beneficial alternative, they possess all information relevant to the decision, and are capable of considering all possible outcomes of

the choice, estimating the value of each alternative, and aggregating these values into a composite variable. However, empirical evidence of bounded rationality demonstrates that these assumptions typically do not hold. When the number of potential alternatives is large (as is the case in many career decision-making situations), normative models require collecting extensive information and making many computations, and thus are not intuitively appealing and in fact are inapplicable without a computerised system and database (Janis & Mann, 1977; Pitz & Harren, 1980).

Furthermore, when it comes to important decisions, not everything can be compensated for. For example, individuals who believe that they have no artistic talent will be unlikely to want to become an artist even if all the other characteristics of the occupation perfectly match their preferences (e.g., independence, flexible hours, prestige, etc.). Indeed, there is evidence that people find making explicit tradeoffs emotionally uncomfortable (Hogarth, 1987). Finally, assumptions that are critical for the validity of the computation outcomes (e.g., independence among the attributes used for comparing the alternatives) are often violated (Gati & Asher, 2001a). Therefore, normative models can serve as a reference point for the perfect theoretical decision process, but are irrelevant for everyday decisions as well as for effective decision counselling. Indeed, one of the major reasons counsellors often avoid using decision models is the difficulty of applying these models, demanding time and effort to master the mathematical calculations involved in them (Mitchell & Krumboltz, 1984).

Descriptive Models

A second type of decision theory-based models, *descriptive models*, investigates the ways people actually make decisions, and the gaps between the ideal, normative decision-making procedure and actual decision-making processes in real-life situations. Considering the various types of decisions people make, and the great individual differences in the ways people make decisions, it is not surprising that there is no single, generally-agreed-upon theory for describing the ways people actually make decisions. Instead, various findings have emerged from different studies, shedding light on the principles that guide everyday human decision-making.

Herbert Simon (1955) was granted the Nobel Prize for his *satisficing* theory, which refuted the basic criterion for rational decision-making: the assumption that people strive for maximisation (i.e., selecting the best option). According to Simon, maximisation requires complex information processing, which individuals' mental resources cannot cope with. Therefore, people often settle for an alternative that is "good enough", in a sense that it meets or exceeds their threshold requirements in the factors most important to them. Simon suggested that people consider their alternatives one at a time, and choose the first that is regarded as satisficing. One implication of this strategy is that the chosen alternative, although adequate, is often not the best one. Another implication is that the chosen alternative is, to a great extent, a function of the order in which the alternatives are considered – clearly not a rational procedure for making decisions.

Interestingly, empirical evidence shows that individuals guided by maximising strategies (according to the normative models) are often less satisfied with the outcomes of their decision than satisficing-strategy users (Iyengar, Wells, & Schwartz, 2006). One explanation offered for this finding is that since individuals are cognitively unable to compare a large number of alternatives by themselves, the pursuit of the "best" alternative induces them to rely on external rather than internal standards for evaluating the alternatives. Thus, a maximiser will eventually choose an alternative with the highest objective utility (e.g., income), rather than subjective utility. An alternative explanation is that maximisation creates unrealistically high expectations, leading to a greater likelihood of disappointment and regret (Iyengar et al., 2006).

Another widely researched aspect of human decision behaviour is the consistent heuristics and biases inherent to many decision behaviours, which deviate from the normative-rationale model (e.g., Tversky & Kahneman, 1974, 1981). Montgomery (1983, 1989) proposed that one of the consistent methods people use to simplify the decision-making process is framing it as a *search for dominance*, in which one alternative can be seen as dominant over the others (i.e., it is as good as the other alternatives in some aspects and better than the others in at least one aspect). The search for a dominance structure is in fact a process of hypothesis testing, in which the dominance of a "promising alternative" is tested. If the promising alternative is found to be dominant, it is chosen and the decision process is completed. However, if the decision-maker finds that the dominance structure is violated, she will restructure the given information by neutralising, de-emphasising, or counterbalancing the disadvantage(s) found for the promising alternative so as to create a dominance structure (Montgomery, 1983, 1989).

Despite the fact that no comprehensive descriptive model has been developed to represent the different aspects of human decision behaviour, the combination of knowledge stemming from different studies is important. It reveals that people do not employ purely rational decision procedures; rather, they are subject to consistent cognitive biases that simplify complex decisions, but at the same time may lead to less than optimal choices. This knowledge is valuable because it points out the problems and biases that should be addressed in career guidance. However, because descriptive models are unable to serve as a reference point for justifiable decisions, natural decision behaviours cannot be used as a basis for adequate decision-making. This explains why descriptive decision models, like normative models, have not been embraced by either career theoreticians or career counsellors.

Prescriptive Decision Models

Although normative decision-making models outline procedures for optimal decision making, as reviewed above, they have been shown to be inapplicable due to the partial information and limited cognitive resources of people coping with decision situations. On the other hand, descriptive models, which focus on understanding the

ways people actually make decisions, reveal biases, inconsistencies and limited rationality, leading to less than optimal decisions.

Prescriptive decision models incorporate the advantages of the normative and descriptive models, while minimising or circumventing their disadvantages. They are aimed at outlining a framework for making better decisions, while acknowledging human limitations and corresponding with the intuitive ways individuals make decisions. Whereas descriptive models are evaluated by their empirical validity and normative models by their theoretical adequacy, prescriptive models are evaluated by their pragmatic value – their ability to facilitate individuals' decision-making (Bell et al., 1988). Prescriptive models give up the unattainable goal of making an optimal rational decision (maximising the expected utility; e.g., Pitz & Harren, 1980; Zakay & Barak, 1984), and aim at the realistic goal of making satisficing choices (Phillips, 1994). In the context of career decision making, the goal of prescriptive models can be summarised as providing a framework for *a systematic process* for *making better career decisions*, instead of striving for completely rational ones.

Prescriptive Models for Facilitating Career Decision Making

In order to become a useful and widespread strategy for deliberating individuals as well as career guidance counsellors, a prescriptive model should have the following desirable features. First, it should be attractive and intuitively appealing – straightforward and comprehensible. Second, it should be feasible – compatible with the counsellor's and counselee's bounded cognitive ability as well as limited resources in terms of time, financial resources, and effort. Third, it should avoid complicated calculations on the one hand, and fuzzy abstraction on the other. Fourth, the model should strive for maximal simplification and minimal effort, but at the same time minimise the potential loss resulting from a non-comprehensive search process, in terms of the gap between the expected utility of the chosen alternative and that of the optimal one. Finally, in order to satisfy the needs of different decision-makers, the prescriptive model should offer multi-level complexity, allowing each individual to modify the process so as to arrive at the level of complexity most suitable for her (e.g., focusing only on a few relevant factors to compare the alternatives, skipping steps).

Simplified versions of normative-compensatory models have been designed and adapted for comparing and evaluating career alternatives (e.g., Janis & Mann, 1977; Katz, 1966). These models can be regarded as prescriptive models, since they adjust the theoretical models for "perfect" decision-making to the practical limitations of deliberating individuals, and revise them into prescriptions that are applicable to career-decision-making, acknowledging, at least implicitly, that the decisions may not necessarily be the best ones in terms of expected utility. However, these models focus on career decisions in which the number of alternatives is small, and are therefore useful for only a limited range of decision situations or only in the advanced stages of the process, after the number of relevant alternatives has been reduced.

To demonstrate the potential usefulness of prescriptive models for facilitating career decision-making, the next section will briefly review the PIC model

(Prescreening, In-depth exploration, Choice; Gati & Asher, 2001a, 2001b). This prescriptive model encompasses the entire career-decision-making process, starting from a large number of potential career alternatives. The PIC model was designed to possess the desirable features for an applicable prescriptive model, as outlined above, by offering a systematic framework for career-decision-making that is adapted to the unique features of such decisions.

The PIC (Prescreening, In-depth Exploration, and Choice) Model

One of the major sources of the complexity involved in career decision-making is the large amount of potentially relevant information. Accordingly, one of the goals of a prescriptive model is reducing the amount of information to be collected and processed, thus helping the individual focus on the most relevant information. One way to reduce this complexity is to separate the process into distinct stages. Indeed, research indicates that when dealing with decisions that involve a large number of potential alternatives, people often intuitively separate the process into two stages: (a) screening, in which the unacceptable alternatives are screened out, and (b) choice, in which the best alternative among the remaining ones is chosen (Beach, 1993; Beach & Potter, 1992; Paquette & Kida, 1988; Potter & Beach, 1994). A similar pattern has been observed in the way deliberating individuals actually collect information required for making career decisions (Gati & Tikotzki, 1989).

Based on these findings, Gati and Asher (2001a) proposed elaborating the division into stages by separating the process of career-decision-making into three stages, each featuring different goals and strategies: (a) *Prescreening* the potential set of career alternatives based on the individual's preferences, to locate a small and thus manageable set of "promising" options; (b) *In-depth exploration* of the promising alternatives, resulting in a list of a few suitable alternatives; (c) *Choice* of the most suitable alternative, based on a detailed comparison among the suitable alternatives (Gati & Asher, 2001a). Obviously, the individual can begin the process from any of the stages of the model, according to her progress in the decision-making process. In addition, the model encourages the deliberating individual to move back and forth between the stages in order to rethink and reinforce her previous inputs, thus creating a dynamic and flexible decision process. In the following sections the rationale underlying these stages and the processes involved in each are described.

Prescreening the Alternatives

The goal of the first stage, prescreening, is to reduce the number of potential alternatives and locate a manageable set of promising alternatives (i.e., seven or less; see Miller, 1956; Gati, Kleiman, Saka, & Zakai, 2003) that deserve further, in-depth

exploration. The prescreening process suggested here is based on the elimination-by-aspects strategy (Tversky, 1972), which was shown to be compatible with the ways people actually make decisions. This model was adopted as a prescriptive framework for career decisions and, after being adapted to the unique features of career decisions, was labelled *sequential elimination* by Gati (1986).

In the sequential-elimination model, the search for promising career alternatives is based on individuals' preferences in the career-related aspects that are most important to them. The term *career-related aspects* (Gati, 1986, 1998; Pryor, 1981, 1982) refers to all variables that can be used to characterise either individuals' preferences and abilities or career alternatives (e.g., income, length of training, physical work, mathematical skills). The use of a large set of career-related aspects for prescreening provides more accurate refinement of both the individual's occupational preferences and the distinctions among occupations; it is therefore expected to lead to a better person-environment fit than one based on vocational interests alone (Gati, 1998; Gati, Fassa, & Mayer, 1998).

However, because of cognitive and material limitations, it is impractical to consider all possible aspects; hence the individual must choose a subset of aspects on which to focus. The list of important aspects that should guide the prescreening process includes objective constraints (e.g., disability), personal competencies (e.g., creativity, technical skills), and core personal preferences (see also Brown, 1990; Mitchell, 1975).

The sequential elimination process is carried out according to the rank order of the aspects' importance. The search begins with the most important aspect, continues with the aspect second in importance, and so on, until the list of remaining alternatives is short enough. Since the rank order of the chosen aspects affects the list of occupations resulting from the search, an informed, careful selection and ranking of the aspects is crucial (Gati, 1986, 1994; Katz, 1993).

Note that an aspect might be considered important because the individual prefers either a high or a low level of this aspect in her occupation. For example, the aspect "work environment" might be chosen as important either because of the individual's preference for working "only outdoors" or because the individual wants to avoid being outdoors and so prefers "only indoors". For this reason it is important to distinguish between an aspect's importance and within-aspect preferences. Each career-related aspect refers to a feature that characterises occupational alternatives to different degrees (e.g., length of training). Descriptive labels can be used to represent within-aspect qualitative variations (e.g., for "amount of travel", a great deal, a lot, somewhat, a little, hardly ever), allowing the individual to express her preferences in the particular aspect at a higher resolution.

Specifically, the proposed aspect-based approach distinguishes among three facets of the individual's preferences: (a) the importance of the aspect, (b) the level regarded as *optimal*, and (c) additional, less desirable but still *acceptable* level(s), with all other levels considered *unacceptable*. For example, an individual might think that it would be ideal to work in an artistic job, but might be willing to compromise on a job that is only "somewhat" artistic. The use of the additional acceptable levels is unique and important. First, it explicitly guides the individual to consider

his willingness to compromise in that aspect, thus directing his attention to a more realistic perspective regarding the world of work and career choice (Gati, 1993; Gati & Asher, 2001a, 2001b; Gati, Houminer, & Aviram, 1998). Considering the importance of career choices in life, many people find it difficult to consider occupational alternatives different from their image of the ideal occupation (Gati, 1993; Gati & Winer, 1987; Gottfredson, 1981). Hence, increasing people's willingness to consider compromise is an integral component of career counselling. Second, using a range of levels to elicit the individual's preferences creates a more flexible characterisation of one's aspirations, incorporating possible fluctuations over time.

Once the levels of the individual's preferences have been elicited, they can be compared to the characteristics of occupations if the same qualitative levels are used for characterising occupations. Occupations should also be characterised by a range of levels (instead of a single most representative level) to represent the within-occupation variations (e.g., variations in working in unconventional hours for a private-practice family physician vs. an emergency-room physician).

The process of sequential elimination is a within-aspect, across-alternatives search; it is conducted aspect by aspect, starting from the most important one. For each aspect, the characteristics of all potential alternatives are compared with the individual's preferences, and the incompatible alternatives are eliminated. The process is repeated for the remaining aspects (in descending order of importance) until the number of remaining "promising" alternatives is manageable. Sequential elimination is a non-compensatory decision strategy because even a small gap between the individual's preferred levels and the characteristics of the occupation in the parallel aspect is enough to eliminate an alternative; an advantage in one attribute (i.e., a match between the individual's optimal level and the most characteristic levels of the occupation) cannot compensate for a disadvantage in another (lack of overlap between the range of the individual's acceptable levels and the range of levels characterising the occupation).

Theoretically, compensatory normative models can also be used for narrowing the list of promising occupations at the prescreening stage. However, using compensatory models at this stage has several major shortcomings. First, these models are based on comparing all alternatives across all aspects; therefore, if they are applied in the prescreening stage, they will require the collection and processing of an enormous amount of information, an impossible task when dealing with a large number of career alternatives without a computerised database. Second, as discussed earlier, in important decisions such as career decisions, not all disadvantages can be compensated for. This claim was supported by a recent longitudinal study which found that the reported occupational choice satisfaction of individuals who chose an occupation recommended to them by a system based on a sequential-elimination-based search six years earlier was significantly higher than that of those whose present occupation was not included in the recommended list. Choosing an occupation from a recommended list based on a compensatory-model-based search, however, was not correlated with increased occupational choice satisfaction (Gati, Gadassi, & Shemesh, 2006).

Although sequential elimination seems adequate for the prescreening stage of career-decision-making both descriptively, empirically, and theoretically (Gati,

1986, 1996; Gati et al., 2006; Gati & Tikotzki, 1989), it is not free of shortcomings. Its major disadvantage is the risk that during the process a potentially suitable alternative might be eliminated because of a slight mismatch in a single aspect. This risk can be reduced by adding a "safety check" mechanism to the process, namely, *sensitivity analysis*. This means re-examining the implications of changes in the individual's inputs to the prescreening process (i.e., preferences) on the outcome – the list of "promising" career options. Such re-examination involves (a) rethinking and confirming the range of acceptable levels reported for each aspect ("what if…"), (b) understanding why certain alternatives considered intuitively appealing by the individual before the systematic search were eliminated during the sequential elimination process ("why not..?"), and (c) locating alternatives that were discarded due to only a small discrepancy in a single aspect and considering the possibility of compromising in the aspect that caused the elimination ("almost compatible options"). The important opportunity to re-examine and adjust the inputs to the decision process is possible only because the process has been divided into distinct stages. Normative decision-making models, as well as P-E Fit approaches, which rely on a one-step computational or matching procedure, do not allow for such an interactive, dynamic decision process, thus increasing the risk of inappropriate outcomes.

In-depth Exploration of the Promising Alternatives

The goal of this stage is to locate a few alternatives that are not only promising but indeed suitable for the individual, in two senses: first, that the alternative indeed suits the individual's preferences, and second, that the individual meets its requirements and can actualise it (Gati & Asher, 2001a). In this stage the individual changes the direction of the assessment to within-occupational exploration and across-aspects evaluation. The decision-maker "zooms in" on one promising alternative at a time, collecting additional, comprehensive information about it. In-depth exploration is mostly based on "soft", unstructured information, including verbal, pictorial, and video descriptions of the occupations (which can be found in occupational libraries, in computerised career information systems, on the Internet, or from people who actually work in the occupation).

In this stage it is important that the individual focus on the *core aspects* of the occupation, which are the crucial factors for characterising its essence (Gati, 1998; Gati, Garty, & Fassa, 1996a). For example, "physical treatment of people" and "working in shifts, at unconventional hours" are among the significant characteristics of working as a paramedic and are therefore considered the core aspects of this occupation, whereas "using verbal ability" is not an essential part of the job and therefore is not considered a core aspect.

Once the attributes of the alternative have been found suitable to the individual's preferences, the second goal of the in-depth exploration stage is to investigate the probability of actualising the occupational choice, by considering the individual's previous studies, grades, and achievements, as well as time and financial constraints,

to see if they fit the prerequisites of the occupation and its requirements for success. If an occupation does not meet one or more of the above conditions, it should be removed from the list of suitable alternatives. Consequently, the in-depth exploration stage should result in a shorter list of suitable alternatives.

Choice – Locating the Most Suitable Alternative

The in-depth exploration stage usually leaves more than one alternative, and therefore a third stage is required for choosing the most suitable alternative for the individual. However, at this stage one must be aware of the possible uncertainty involved in actualising the most preferred option. Thus, it is highly recommended that the individual not conclude the decision-process by choosing a single most suitable alternative, but rather by rank-ordering several highly suitable alternatives, so as to have a "fallback plan" if obstacles emerge in the implementation of the most suitable one.

The choice stage involves a detailed, refined comparison among the alternatives under consideration, focusing on both the differences among them and the trade-offs between the advantages and disadvantages of each one. The small number of relevant alternatives at the choice stage makes it possible and desirable to use models that aim at locating the optimal – most suitable – alternative, using compensatory-model-based estimates. Indeed, it is not surprising that the number of alternatives affects people's choice strategy; when faced with a small number of alternatives, people tend to use compensatory decision strategies, unlike the situation of facing multi-alternative decision tasks, when they prefer non-compensatory strategies (for a review, see Payne et al., 1993).

Since the alternatives under consideration at this stage are all acceptable, the compromises involved in a trade-off between the desirable and the undesirable features of the alternatives (the essence of compensation) are more subtle. In addition, since the number of alternatives under consideration is small, the decision-maker can now carry out an evaluation of each alternative across all aspects without facing an overload of information.

A number of compensatory-based models have been developed for individuals deliberating about career-related decisions, but none of them is free of shortcomings. A brief review of three of these models is presented to demonstrate their potential contributions to the choice stage, and the drawbacks of each are discussed to highlight the need to design a better procedure for this stage. Katz's (1966) adaptation of the Subjective Expected-Utility model to career decisions is an example of a more quantitative compensatory model, based on work values as representing the individual's career preferences. Despite the comprehensible systematic framework it offers, the numerical estimates required from the decision-maker and the complex sequence of calculations the model involves, some of which may appear arbitrary, decrease its appeal (Gati & Asher 2001a). In addition, the outcome indicating the "best" occupation for

the individual might be misleading, since even a small change in one aspect or the consideration of an additional aspect might change the rank order (Gati, 1986).

Janis and Mann's (1977) decisional balance sheet is an example of a qualitative compensatory model (Brown, 1990; Mitchell & Krumboltz, 1984) that may be used for comparing career alternatives. It involves listing the factors one wants to consider when evaluating an alternative, assigning qualitative labels (+ for advantage and – for disadvantage) to the characteristics of each alternative, and choosing the alternative with the highest overall evaluation. Janis and Mann's balance sheet procedure can be particularly efficient when the comparison involves more than two alternatives. On the other hand, its simplicity necessitates the omission of some significant aspects of the comparison, such as the differential importance of the various factors and differences in the size of the gaps between the desirable characteristics and the characteristic level of the alternative under consideration. Therefore, when possible, a more sophisticated procedure is recommended.

One procedure of this type is based on Montgomery's (1983, 1989) description of the *cancellation* operation, included in his *search for dominance* descriptive model described earlier in this chapter. Montgomery assumed that when a small number of alternatives characterised along multiple aspects are compared, the chance for the emergence of absolute dominance by one of the alternatives is small. To arrive at dominance, individuals use different operations, taking into account the dependency among the attributes. Specifically, attributes that the individual perceives as advantageous and as related to one another (e.g., "teaching and instructing" and "using verbal ability") are grouped and used to counterbalance an advantage of the other alternative on a different combination of attributes, which are equivalent in desirability.

Montgomery's (1989) approach can be adapted to create a systematic comparison process based on three components: (a) the resemblance among aspects within an alternative, which will be used to create a within-alternative grouping of the aspects; (b) the relative importance of each aspect to the individual (using three categories – high, medium and low); and (c) the size of the gap between the two alternatives for a specific attribute (again, divided into three categories – small, medium, and large). For example, the advantage of alternative X over Y in terms of income and economic security can be counterbalanced by the advantage of Y over X in terms of job prospects and promotion opportunities. After the decision maker cancels out combinations of aspects, the net advantages of one alternative will show that it is more suitable (Gati & Asher, 2001a).

Taking into account the dependency among the aspects, the relative importance of the aspects, and the sizes of gaps, Montgomery's (1989) search for dominance is more accurate than the balance sheet, but at the same time requires greater cognitive ability and effort, and might not be appealing or applicable to all individuals. To sum up, the limitations inherent in all three simplified compensatory models indicate that further research should investigate the utility of each and develop a more adequate systematic procedure for the choice stage.

Using the PIC Model in Career Guidance and Counselling

Despite the systematic, structured prescription for career decision-making provided by the PIC model, implementing this model is still a non-trivial task without the support of a counsellor or a computerised system. Therefore, the rationale for the model was adopted for developing an Internet-based career guidance system named Making Better Career Decisions (MBCD, Gati, 1996; *http://mbcd.intocareers.org*, retrieved July 23, 2007). MBCD supports the user during the prescreening stage and includes various options for sensitivity analysis. In addition, it includes a database with occupational descriptions (and videos) for assisting the individual at the in-depth exploration stage. The system provides continuous guidance and personal feedback based on monitoring the user's input, allowing the reported preferences to be reconsidered and revised, thus creating an interactive dialogue with the user. Because of the lack of a coherent theoretical framework for the choice stage, as described above, *MBCD* does not yet include a specific component for help at this stage.

MBCD is available today both as a self-help tool and as a tool to be used between counselling sessions at career counselling centres. In the latter case, the counsellor evaluates the client's readiness to use the system, prepares the client for it, and analyses the entire dialogue and its outcomes (all of which are included in the printed summary provided by the system) with the client. Empirical evidence has shown the effectiveness of MBCD for decreasing individuals' decision-making difficulties, promoting the career-decision-making process, and increasing the probability of greater occupational satisfaction in the future (Gati et al., 2001, 2003, 2006). The Internet is flooded with career-related self-help sites differing in quality (e.g., Grupe, 2002), so that empirical validations such as those carried out for MBCD are crucial for providing the deliberating individuals surfing those sites with the high-quality help they need. A detailed account of the ways PIC maybe applied in career counselling to facilitate individual's career-decision-making process may be found in Gati and Asher (2001b).

To sum up, the PIC model integrates descriptive models with compensatory normative models by assigning them to different stages of the decision process after appropriate adaptations, turning the complex process of career choice into a sequence of well-defined tasks resulting in a rank-order of alternatives that best fit the individual.

The basic assumption of P-E Fit approaches is that greater congruence between a person and her occupational environment will lead to greater occupational satisfaction, and therefore also to greater occupational achievements and success (e.g., Dawis & Lofquist, 1984; Holland, 1997). The decision-making framework adopts the goal of P-E Fit approach, but proposes focusing on improving the decisions made throughout life, using a systematic procedure adopted from decision theory. Since the decision process suggested in the PIC model is based on a wide set of career-related aspects rather than only vocational interests, uses a range of levels to represent both the individual's preferences and the characteristics of the occupations,

and makes it possible to re-examine one's input, the P-E fit resulting from it should lead to greater career-associated well-being than that based on a single-step-based person-occupation match.

Evaluating the Prescriptive Decision Models

When theoretical models are used for guiding career decisions, it is very important to evaluate their adequacy beyond mere empirical validation. Two approaches are particularly useful in evaluating the quality of the decisions. The first approach argues that a decision model should be evaluated according to the degree of satisfaction with the outcomes of the decision based on the model, namely, the individual's occupational choice satisfaction. The second approach claims that since an individual's eventual occupational satisfaction is affected by many unpredictable and uncontrollable factors, decision models should not be evaluated by their outcomes but rather by the quality of the process that led to these outcomes (Katz, 1979; Mitchell & Krumboltz, 1984; Phillips & Jome, 2005). Thus, the goal should not be making the right decision, but rather making the decision right.

Since prescriptive models are process-centred, a process-oriented evaluation seems to be the more adequate approach. However, assuming that the right process increases the probability of making the right choice, a comprehensive evaluation of the validity and utility of a model can involve three complementary issues: (a) Does the model facilitate and improve individuals' decision-making processes? (b) Does it lead to greater occupational satisfaction in the future? (c) Do individuals generalise the model and apply it to future career decisions? A review of the research supporting the PIC model from these three perspectives can be found in Gati and Asher (2001a).

Going Beyond the Models

The Role of Non-cognitive Factors

One of the major criticisms of decision-making models is that they over-emphasise the cognitive components of career choices, while neglecting emotional factors that play a major role in decisions of this kind. Indeed, decision theories, which emerged within the field of cognitive psychology, focus on the deliberate, conscious processes involved in making decisions. Nevertheless, non-cognitive, non-conscious, emotional aspects of career-decision-making are also considered integral to the decision process, both theoretically and in counselling practice. These factors may be manifested particularly in: (a) the role of intuition in the decision-making process; (b) the interaction between decision models and the individual's decision-making

style; and (c) the process of integrating the cognitive and the non-cognitive components in counselling interventions, regarding them as complementary rather than as competing factors. These issues are discussed in the following sections.

The Role of Intuition

One of the most controversial issues associated with career-decision-making is whether decision-making is an intuitive process or a conscious, mostly rational one. Krieshok's anti-introspective view (1998, 2001) represents the claim that most human decision-making occurs at a non-conscious level and cannot be reconstructed or reflected upon by introspection. Krieshok claimed that decision models that require individuals to articulate their preferences and values often lead to errors, confusion, and even a false description of one's preferences, thus resulting in the exploration of inappropriate alternatives during the decision process. A more efficient method for improving career decisions, according to this approach, would be collecting information through active experience, thus enriching the content on which the individuals' judgments rely and helping them become more informed decision-makers.

Gelatt (1989) stressed the unpredictability and ambiguity of the post-modern information society, claiming that they can be dealt with only if decision makers refer positively to uncertainty and demonstrate flexibility in response to change. Under circumstances of this kind, rational decision-making strategies are insufficient, and intuitive thinking is required for acting adaptively.

However, intuition and systematic exploration can be viewed as complementary rather than contradictory. Appropriate career decisions should be made actively, systematically, and consciously, yet intuition does have an important role to play in several phases of the process. Intuition affects the individuals' sensitivity to the importance of each aspect, their preferred levels in the aspect, and their willingness to compromise. Intuition can also serve as a yardstick for the overall evaluation of the final decision (i.e., the individual's confidence in it).

In fact, intuition is particularly important at the choice stage. Congruence between the outcomes of the systematic decision process and the intuitively appealing occupational alternatives can strengthen the individual's confidence in her choice, while incongruity should call for a re-examination of the decision process and the intuitive choice to locate the reason(s) for the incompatibilities, reconcile reason and intuition, and arrive at a confident decision.

According to this approach, criticism of the decision-making framework (e.g., Krieshok, 1998, 2001) can be regarded as reflecting the challenges and intricacies involved in adopting decision models as a framework for career decisions. While purely rational decision processes are insufficient for the purpose, it is suggested that career guidance should encourage a *systematic* process of career decision-making. The challenge is to explore and refine the prescriptive models and tailor career guidance interventions to the unique features and decision-making style of each individual.

Career Decision-Making Styles

A common factor in the use of different decision models in career counselling is framing the decision problem analytically and breaking down the decision task into stages, thus enabling the client to focus on one task at a time (Pitz & Harren, 1980). Clearly, the deliberative analytic procedure involved in this approach may be more appealing to individuals with a more rational-analytical decision making style than to those with a more intuitive or impulsive style. Several classifications have been suggested for describing the different types of decision-makers along a continuum ranging from spontaneous, intuitive decision-making to a rational, systematic style. For example, Harren (1979) distinguished among three career-decision-making styles: rational, intuitive, and dependent. Scott and Bruce (1995) distinguished among five decision-making styles: rational, avoidant, intuitive, dependent, and spontaneous, whereas Sagiv (1999) distinguished between those seeking tools and those seeking answers. In addition, Bettman, Luce, and Payne (1998) and Sauermann (2005) proposed that individuals can also be characterised by their choice goals (maximising decision accuracy, minimising cognitive effort, minimising negative emotions, and maximising the justifiability of the decision). This diversity in decision styles has implications for the guidance practices and decision strategies different people will benefit from most. Career counsellors need to use flexible and varied decision models and counselling interventions to best satisfy each client's unique needs and tailor the intervention to the client's personal career-decision-making style. Indeed, by understanding how the client usually makes decisions the counsellor can better predict the benefit the client may derive from being instructed in various models or procedures. However, if the client agrees to explore a style new to her, a coaching role on the part of the counsellor may be appropriate (Chung, Allen, & Coleman, 2003).

Applying Career-Decision-Making Models

Decision-making models can be used for facilitating better career decisions in three complementary ways: (a) by the counsellor in face-to-face situations; (b) as a blueprint for computer-based career guidance systems; and (c) as a learned systematic framework for independent implementation. These options are briefly explored in the following sections.

Face-to-Face Individual Counselling

In their role as decision advisors, career counsellors have the goals of facilitating their clients' decision-making process and helping them arrive at an optimal and

feasible choice. To tailor the counselling sessions to the counselee's unique needs, counsellors should begin the process by assessing the client's current stage in the decision process and the sources of his or her difficulties in making the decision. A variety of theory-based instruments are available for this assessment. The Career Decision Scale (Osipow, Carney, & Barak, 1976) can be used for an overall assessment of the individual's career indecision. The Career Decision-making Difficulties Questionnaire (CDDQ, Gati et al., 1996b), which is based on a well-defined and empirically validated taxonomy stemming from decision theory, can be used for locating the specific focuses of an individual's difficulties in making career decisions. The Indecisiveness Scale developed by Germeijs and De Boeck (2002) can be used for measuring the clients' general indecisiveness. Finally, the Emotional and Personality-related Career Difficulties (EPCD) scale has been developed by Saka et al. (2008) to asses the emotional and personality-related sources of difficulties in making career decisions, which are assumed to underlie more prolonged career indecisiveness.

Indeed, the difficulties arising during the decision-making process can be divided into those stemming from emotional sources related to general indecisiveness (e.g., great choice anxiety, internal and external conflicts; Gati et al., 1996b; Saka et al., 2008) and from cognitive sources related to the more normative developmental indecision (e.g., lack of information about how to make the decision or how to obtain occupational information). Accordingly, different types of counselling intervention can also be tailored to focus on treating the various emotional and personality-related difficulties involved in career decisions (Saka et al., 2008) or addressing cognitive, information-processing-related difficulties. Systematic decision-making models belong to the latter type. The counsellor's role is to guide clients through the stages of the decision-making process, encouraging them to play an active and dominant role at each stage. A decision model can be used by the counsellor in two ways: as a framework for a dynamic counsellor-client dialogue and as a way of monitoring the client's advancement in the process (Gati & Asher, 2001a).

Nevertheless, the two types of counselling techniques are mutually dependent and complementary; the decision-making process cannot be completed without dealing with the emotional difficulties hindering it, or referring to emotional considerations involved in it, and at the same time it also requires the completion of a cognitive process of information processing and choice.

Decision Aids: Computer-Assisted Career-Guidance Systems (CACGS)

Despite the advantages and extensive knowledge of expert counsellors, career decisions require the synthesis of vast amounts of information that no person can retain. Now, in the twenty-first century, this information can be stored and processed by Internet-based career information and guidance systems. The rapid development and spread of computer and information technologies in recent decades has turned

the computer into a widely accessible, highly sophisticated instrument, offering interactive systems that can support the decision-making process. First, by incorporating relevant, evidence-based tools, computers can help assess the needs of individuals and, in particular, the difficulties they face in making career decisions (Gati, 1996). Second, they can provide clients with recommendations and guidance on how to best proceed in the career decision-making process (which may include a referral for face-to-face career counselling; Amir et al., 2008). Finally, computers can compensate for the limitations of human cognition by offering unlimited computational abilities as well as immense databases and efficient search engines. This permits the presentation of information in a friendly, comprehensible format, using graphics, audio, and video technologies. Most presently available CACGS (e.g., CIS, DISCOVER, CHOICES, MBCD) can be used for both the prescreening stage of locating promising options and the in-depth exploration stage of collecting comprehensive information on these options (Payne et al., 1993). The status of the use of computers for career guidance and counselling was reviewed by Harris-Bowlsbey and Sampson (2005).

Although CACGS have many advantages, they have significant disadvantages as well. Self-help CACGS of highly variable quality can be found on the Internet. Under the presumption of guiding the individual through an important and meaningful career decision, unreliable and biased systems may mislead the user and even cause harm. Moreover, it is important to be aware of clients' tendency to regard computer output as objective and "absolutely true". Therefore, the utility and empirical validity of the system are extremely important, especially when it is used without the monitoring of an expert counsellor. The increased use of self-help systems highlights the need for defining standards for quality career-guidance systems, and reducing the disadvantages of CACGS (Gati, 1994, 1996; Offer & Sampson, 1999; Sampson, Lumsden, & Carr, 2001).

One of the important challenges for the future development of CACGS is to upgrade system interactivity by developing systems that will be able to monitor not only the user's inputs (e.g., the degree of crystallisation of preferences; Shimoni, Gati, & Tal, 2007), but also the system's recommendations (Gati & Ram, 2000; Shimoni et al., 2007). An ideal CACGS should be able to provide a personal diagnosis that resembles a counsellor's initial diagnosis: the system should identify the user's maturity and readiness to use it, assess the client's decision-making style, cognitive level and specific needs, and accordingly provide the individual with a personally tailored dialogue.

Finally, it is important to note that most CACGS do not aim at supplanting the professional career counsellor, but rather at supporting and facilitating the counselling process. Such systems are typically used between face-to-face counselling sessions. A printed output that summarises the outcome of the interaction between the client and the system, and the recommendations received, can be very useful in facilitating the integration of this instrument into the counselling process. Moreover, empirical evidence indicates that CACGS are most effective when used with the guidance of a counsellor, rather than as a stand-alone self-help tool (Harris-Bowlsbey, Riley-Dikel, & Sampson, 2002; Harris-Bowlsbey & Sampson,

2001). Furthermore, since CACGSs focus on the cognitive aspects of the decision rather than the affective ones, face-to-face counselling is not redundant.

Decision-Models as a Learned Systematic Framework for Independent Implementation by Individuals

This chapter had emphasised the notion of career development as a continuous process including multiple decisions. The necessity of dealing with a variety of decisions during one's career path, as well as other multi-alternative decision situations, calls for acquiring and internalising decision skills.

Promoting informed career-decision-making is a generally-agreed-upon goal (Phillips, 1992). This challenge has two components – increasing access to relevant information and increasing the individual's capability to process the information needed to make the decision. Formal educational systems, counselling programs at universities, and training programs for unemployed individuals, can and should contribute to this purpose by including strategies for dealing with complex decision situations among the basic skills they teach. Indeed, people have increasingly become aware of the need to teach decision-making strategies (e.g., Baron & Brown, 1991; http://www.vcu.edu/rrtcweb/techlink/GEB/hughes/tc8f2.html, both retrieved January 30, 2008). Thus, CACGS, face-to-face counselling, and instruction in systematic decision-making complement rather than compete with one another; their combination seems to be the most effective and beneficial way to promote career decision making.

Conclusions

This chapter discussed the potential of the decision-theory perspective as a framework for better understanding the career-decision-making process and facilitating better career decisions. Recent reviews and discussions (e.g., Krieshok et al., 2006; Sauermann, 2005; Van Esbroeck et al., 2005; Phillips & Jome, 2005) have highlighted the increasing awareness and acknowledgment of the need to focus on specific aspects in the career decision-making process, in addition to the developmental circumstances in which they are made (which is the focus of the career-development theories; Osipow & Fitzgerald, 1996), and their resulting person-environment congruence (elaborated by P-E Fit theories). Thus, the three perspectives – decision theory, development theories, and P-E fit – appear to complement each other from both the theoretical and the practical points of view. The unique contribution of the decision-making perspective is in presenting a systematic tool for a flexible process that can increase the individual's ability to make the decision right.

Career counsellors and deliberating individuals have access to a profusion of instruments that can provide important information relevant for both. However,

there is still a need for further developments of the theoretical foundations of career decision-making, and for strengthening the mutual enrichment between theoretical knowledge and the hands-on experience of career counsellors, to better reveal the actual processes involved in making career decisions and to suggest designs for decision aids. The objective, as was discussed in the chapter, should not be the unattainable goal of helping clients make purely rational decisions, but rather helping them make better career decisions through a systematic process. The combination of theoretical knowledge, the experience of professional counsellors, and the newly available information and communication technologies, provides a promising future for the development of innovative models, procedures, and instruments for assisting individuals in becoming adaptive decision-makers while getting ahead along the multi-forked, twisting career paths of the twenty-first century.

Acknowledgments The preparation of this chapter was supported by the Samuel and Esther Melton Chair of the first author. We thank Azy Barak, Beni Benjamin, Reuma Gadassi, Veerle Germeijs, Naomi Goldblum, Paul Hartung, Shoshana Hellman, David Jepsen, Tali Kleiman, Tom Krieshok, Lisa Peretz, Lilach Sagiv, Noa Saka, Henry Sauermann, Laurence Shatkin, Aviva Shimoni, and Mark Savickas for their comments on an earlier version of this chapter.

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Chapter 9
A CONSTRUCTIVIST APPROACH TO ETHICALLY GROUNDED VOCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT INTERVENTIONS FOR YOUNG PEOPLE

Jean Guichard and Bernadette Dumora

In our present industrialised societies, each individual must find an answer to the same fundamental question: how should I best direct my own life in the globalised society to which I belong? For school-students, this question occurs as follows: which studies should I choose, given my school results, as well as to my personal and family expectations concerning my future career and social integration?

Within these types of societies, career development interventions – mainly education and counselling – are considered as aiming at helping young people find their own answers to these questions. Two conditions are necessary in developing such practices seriously: firstly to ground them in an adequate knowledge in the field of social sciences, and secondly to define them in reference to clarified ends.

Fulfilling the first condition implies transforming the societal question of finding one's life bearings – "how should I direct my life" – to a scientific problem, one which it becomes possible to answer in terms of observable phenomena, factors or processes. This problem can be formulated as follows: what are the – universal and determined – factors and processes of life-long self-construction? Concerning youth, the problem becomes that of the factors and processes involved in the constitution of their intentions for their own future. The first part of this chapter is dedicated to some European models of that constitution.

The second condition for the development of serious career development interventions implies that their goals are defined firstly according to the processes and factors observed in the research presented previously, and secondly, to human, societal and economic ends which have to be clarified. The ends are related to the meaning of these goals. They refer to questions such as: why do we pursue these goals? What type of society do we wish to develop? Which human world would we wish to live in? These questions are tackled in the second part of this chapter which presents two examples of career development interventions included in such a framework. The conclusion again takes up this issue, underlining the importance of the ethical stake.

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J.A. Athanasou, R. Van Esbroeck (eds.) *International Handbook of Career Guidance*,
© Springer Science + Business Media B.V. 2008

Factors and Processes Underlying the Construction of Future Intentions: From Matching to Identity Cognitive Structures

Matching between self-concepts and occupational prototypes has constituted the minimal structure of vocational guidance theories and practices for a great part of the 20th century. This structure had various statuses: that of an ideal society to the accomplishment of which psychometric methods were supposed to contribute, that of an empirical guide for counselling practices, and later of career education or even that of a basis for theorisation of psychical processes of choice elaboration. These different statuses are of course interdependent.

To formulate the link between subject and context consisted in tackling fundamental issues. These included issues such as the genesis and structure of this link, that of the different career decision-making temporalities, that of the contents of these choices as well as that of the psychological processes of their elaboration, that of internal and external factors of intra-individual change and of inter-individual differences.

In this set of questions and models of subject-context links, one of the expansion lines can be isolated: the one which goes from matching as appropriateness of profiles (psychometrical conceptions), to systemic representation (Huteau, 1982), to a developmental process (Dumora, 1990), to a dynamic approach (Van Esbroeck, Tibos, & Zaman, 2005) and finally to the constructivist modelling of multiple identity forms (Guichard, 2001, 2004, 2005). It would be vain to look more precisely for filiations, derivations and ruptures within this set of models because the expansion line proposed (appropriateness – system – development – dynamism – constructivism) is logical and not chronological. That is the reason why the following paragraphs present four European models which enable a better understanding of the transformation of the paradigm: the systemic approach to representations (Huteau), the developmental study of processes (Dumora), the dynamic model of career choices (Van Esbroeck et al., 2005), and the constructivist approach to identity structures (Guichard).

A Systemic Model: Representative Matching

By referring to the *concept of representation* and by the *systemic structure*, Huteau's model constitutes an important theoretical step in the conception of the subject-context link and a decisive enrichment to the notion of matching. At the heart of this theory lies the concept of representation, which comes from cognitive social psychology. The representation of an occupation is the set of descriptive dimensions about it and which a person can build up mentally; it is more or less differentiated; it evolves with cognitive development; it is dependent on the level of visibility of this occupation within the teenager's life environment; and it is evaluative. Therefore, the mental representations of occupations are not exact

copies of reality, but are modelled by interactions with the environment (parents, peer group, media) and thus submitted to schematisations, deformations, simplifications and stereotypes of any representation thus collectively generated. These representations appear to be particularly dependent of the people positions (according to sex, school status and social origins) within the different structured spaces of positions in which they are socialised (spaces called "social fields" by Pierre Bourdieu (1984). Huteau's model, combined with Bourdieu's approach, lead to the observation that through the mediation of representations, these positions determine occupational preferences which are established during school years and prefigure the two principal modalities of division of labour: according to sex and social origins. This prefiguration is not a simple copy of parental positions, but the result of a real cognitive activity of organisation (in particular: into a hierarchy).

As regards self-representations, they are organised into *self-schemata*: sets of dimensions or traits through which the individuals think of themselves and on which they base their self-evaluation. These characteristics and evaluations are progressively built up throughout childhood and adolescence, through social interactions, identifications with surrounding persons and integration of the judgments implied: the affective component of self-representations is thus very important.

When people think about their vocational preferences, they can either activate a *self-schema* or an occupational *prototype*. This evocation then calls up the evocation of the other type of representation, their confrontation and the evaluation of their appropriateness. The level of appropriateness between the self-schema and the occupational prototype evoked, determines whether people continue the process until the selection of an occupational preference if the appropriateness is satisfactory, or whether they try either to reduce the dissonance by modifying one or other of the representations in the case of ambiguity, or reject it in the case of discrepancy.

This process can be spontaneous, it can be induced by environment solicitations, surrounding people, school or career counsellors, it can even be trained through career education (actually such an assumption underlies some of these interventions). In any case, it is spontaneously repetitive and depicts how the teenagers' occupational representative universe is progressively built up, by selecting, modifying and eliminating. This systemic matching model breaks with the previous static matching conceptions, and does so through the recurrence of processes, by the retroactive accommodation loops and thus by the plasticity of the representations it poses. But above all, this model enables one to understand the role of the *strong and more* or *less deforming filter* of reality which is played by social and school positions (Guichard, 1993, 1996).

Following this structural description of the occupational preferences construction process, Huteau gave an account of its development during adolescence. The process is elementary in children and pre-adolescents, because they have little experience and their representations are poor. It becomes more complex with the cognitive development of teenagers, the multiplication of their experiences and the enlargement of their horizon, and also with the changing relational and identity mode to parents and later to the peer group. Firstly, the occupational representations

progressively move away from perception and immediate action, they become more differentiated and rich; secondly, but almost at the same time, the self-representation, which at the beginning consists mainly in physical characteristics, progressively withdraws from this concrete perception by integrating personality traits and later ideological, sociological, moral and political criteria. As the career plan term comes closer, the comparison work between oneself and the occupations becomes more systematic, either spontaneously or during counselling interviews or career education sessions.

Beyond the training and counselling applications that this – both systemic and developmental – model has generated, its main interest is to give an account of the complex interplay of future intentions during (a) the long period of the individual development, (b) the mean period of time of school curriculum (junior high-school, senior high-school, etc.) and (c) the short period of time of life events or information search. Retroactivity is indeed able to integrate change and thereby training, but it is also needed to grasp discontinuities, regressions or sudden decisions taken by the subjects. Such phenomena (that researchers or career counsellors frequently observe) cannot be analysed neither by models which assume a necessary appropriateness between given personality profiles and given types of occupations nor by models of social learning which assume that the career plans derive from a simple accumulation of life experiences.

A Systemic and Developmental Model

Dumora (1990, 2000) tested Huteau's model through a longitudinal study of teenagers' intentions for their future. Indeed, in almost every country the most important career decisions have to be made during adolescence. Across the diversity of school systems but with their similar problems, each teenager has to face at various grades and at the end of secondary school some necessary decision making (type of school, type of training, option, vocation, etc.), whatever the organisational mode, institutional actors and evaluation methods. These choices are hard to make because of their major occupational and social stakes: the quality of secondary scholarship and of the diploma obtained, still greatly determine the future education or training and social position in most countries.

From the preceding propositions, Dumora (1990, 2000) retained the structural conception of representations as evaluating dimensions, the recurrent comparison scheme and the weight of social and school positions. She approached the mental processes which underlie comparison and retroaction and their evolution during adolescence. Two major models of developmental cognitive psychology were used as analysis framework for the components of these processes: on the one hand the structural development model proposed by Piaget in *la logique des propositions* (the logic of propositions), which is based on his exploration of the understanding of physical problems (cf. Inhelder & Piaget, 1970) and which can be applied to the understanding of the social world of professions (Doise, 1993); on the other hand,

Fischer's theoretical model of abilities, in which the abstraction level precisely characterises adolescence and can be applied to any functional domain (Fischer, 1980).

By basing her work on the study of teenagers' argumentation as regards their intentions for their future during secondary school, Dumora showed the bringing into play of a tension between preferences, representations and self-assessments via the development – between the ages of 10 and 18 – of two mental processes: the *comparative reflection* and the *probabilistic reflection* (see Table 9.1).

The concept of comparative reflection aims at describing the psychological development in youths of the cognitive relationship between self-schemata and occupational prototypes. It consists in an argumentation process which progressively creates a rupture with the mental image register in order to open access to the formal register. At the beginning of secondary school, it is extremely poor and is not yet a connection between both types of representations (self and occupations). Because of the young teenager's inability for categorising or for cognitive analysis, the argumentation is reduced to a tautology or a simple juxtaposition. Comparative reflection then changes into a metaphorical reflection: the teenager wishes to "do as" or "be as" a person s/he knows or as a figure seen in the media, but in a global way, without eliciting any precise characteristic of oneself and of the occupation. This reflection becomes metonymic when the adolescent starts making comparisons, still disorganised and elliptic, between some striking characteristics of the occupational figure or of the occupation and these same characteristics which s/he can recognise in her/himself. The last step in the development of this comparative reflection process is a complex balancing between abstract categories about oneself and those of the occupation: the abstraction capacity thus enables adolescents to think about the occupations in terms of social functions and not only in terms of concrete actions, imagined or imaginary, and also gives them the possibility of building a consistent "self-theory" and to overcome the compartmental and additive self-descriptions (Bariaud, 1997; Harter, 1994). This progression in comparative reflection explains the evolution of teenagers' intentions for their future which can be observed through longitudinal study: from a fusing participation or a global and syncretic identification to some "occupational figures", to a differentiation underlying the objective evaluation of possible school or career choices.

Table 9.1 Main steps of the evolution of processes implied in youth (from 10 to 18 years old) career decision-making observed within the framework of the French school system

Reflexive processes		Contents
Comparative reflection	Probabilistic reflection	Types of future intentions
Tautological	Magical	Conformist adhesion to adolescent myths
Metaphorical	Predictive	Narcissist preferences
Metonymical	Estimated	Detachment
Complex balancing	Strategic	Educational choices
	Meta-reflexive	

The concept of probabilistic reflection intends to describe the psychological development in youths of their decision making capabilities as regards their school curriculum (and future career). This reflection progressively breaks away from the magical and Manichean way of thinking, specific to childhood, to a mind able to consider doubt, uncertainty, hazard, chance and probability which characterises the whole life-long personal and career developments process. Thus, as a 10 year-old child can think "I'm sure I'll make it if I really want it", the adolescents or young-adults – a lot more circumspect – compare their chances of making it with every option they have. The analysis showed that teenagers progressively distinguish and combine the internal and external factors which might influence their personal and career choices. They distinguish the favourable and unfavourable factors. Last but not least, they are capable of exploiting hypothetico-deductive logic and think about the implications of their choices in terms of ends and means schemes, balancing criteria between what is desirable and what is probable, preference hierarchies and possible scenarios. At this level of cognitive development, teenagers also become capable of using meta-reflection: it appears in interviews, as an analysis of their own discourse, as a self-critical judgment about their own feelings, their representations, their preferences, as a judgment which is both introspective and retrospective. Table 9.1 sums up the principal steps in three fields: the comparative reflection and the probabilistic reflection processes, and the types of future intentions.

When the conclusions of the comparative and probabilistic reflections do not coincide, a major inner tension may occur. It is the case for example when a teenager maintains the expression of an ambitious vocational choice, while being conscious that his/her school results do not offer him/her such possibilities. S/he then enters into a magical way of thinking: the belief that "something favourable will occur" enables him/her to overcome, temporarily at least, this contradiction. Sometimes this tension is absent. For example, in excellent students: with any achievement being possible, they can base their decision only on their probabilistic reflection and have as their only project – to get as far as possible – in the most ambitious studies. In most cases, it is still a realistic and school logic which is used; an accommodation to what seems probable, with its renouncement and rationalisations. Thus, with the eruption of the reality of school selection, dramatised in the French school system, most teenagers move from the *myths of their age group* to the *institutional norms* to which each one submits her/himself.

The accommodation to probable options is often made as a rationalisation (Dumora & Lannegrand-Willems, 1999): it consists in transforming the individual's motivations and representations when the circumstances lead this person to making a decision which doesn't match his/her initial motivations and representations. In other words, rationalisation is a motivation a posteriori for a career plan which has not been chosen. The rationalising process transforms the occupation- and self-representations in order to reduce cognitive dissonance, as underlined by Huteau. It enables, for example, some teenagers to rehabilitate educational or training courses which they rejected before and which now seem the only ones possible. By giving more value to the course of study (or training) they choose or have been

forced to choose, teenagers also enhance their own self-image and give sense to their school experience. This cognitive process is therefore beneficial to them; it is very present and active in teenagers making future plans. The risk is that some of them, those who do not have enough family support to envisage difficult and demanding courses of study, abandon their first intention too easily: for example in teenagers from low social background.

For most individuals the cognitive tools thus created are only truly available at the end of secondary school or even later. And there are great differences, not only in level but a real qualitative jump, between junior high-school- and senior high-school-students, as regards their logical and analytical capacities. This means that first career plans are asked – in many school systems, for example in France – too early, when the teenager is not yet ready to face them with full knowledge. The teenagers at the end of junior high-school sometimes mainly think in terms of images, magical thinking, tautological argumentation and with identifications to mythical occupational figures (Dumora, 1998). These observations enable us also to better understand the disillusionment with certain career education programs offered to junior high-school students. These interventions are based on the sequence exploration – crystallisation – specification – implementation, which is at the core of many career education programs, although it ignores teenagers' cognitive and psychological development. It rather seems to be the progression from imaged-reasoning to propositional- and functional-logic, and meta-cognition which determines the way they address the issue of their future plans.

For the teenager's school or career counsellor (or psychologist, teacher or educator), assisting adolescents in their career decision making means supporting them in the verbal elaboration of their representations and preferences. It means also clearly helping them to become more conscious of the influence of their own family and social positions (and family social life-path) on these representations and preferences and of the role played by psychological mechanisms such as stereotypes or rationalisations in their construction-deconstruction. In other words, the aim of such counselling interventions is to facilitate both a putting in words of, and a standing back, to look objectively at one's situation; that is to say: to stimulate teenagers' meta-reflection.

A Dynamic Model of Career Choice

For Van Esbroeck et al. (2005) the hierarchical and sequential order of matching tasks between self and the environment which was the basis of most 20th century theories and intervention programs do not correspond to today's career reality. In our post-modern societies, "a career is an unpredictable, lifelong evolution of small steps in reaction to environment, which need to be seen as part of a much broader framework than work alone" (p. 6). Indeed, today's changing labour market, the rapid transformation of occupations, the influence of contexts and the other social roles of the persons throughout the development of their career (Greenhaus,

Callanan, & Godshalk, 2000; Savickas, 2002) must be taken into account. Van Esbroeck and colleagues thus proposed a conceptual re-elaboration: the dynamic model of career choice development. They substituted the idea of a hierarchical and time related order in the career development tasks or stages by recurrent mini-cycles. These mini-cycles are composed of six career choice development activities: sensitisation, exploration of the self, environmental exploration, exploration of the relationship between self and the environment, specification and decision. These activities are, though slightly different close to the classical components of matching models (e.g., exploration of the self, environmental exploration) and of developmental tasks (e.g., sensitisation, or crystallisation stages). The activities are specified as (a) sensitisation (defined as a process of anticipation of the need for knowledge and activities); (b) knowledge about self and about environment; (c) the exploration of the relationship between self and the environment; it concerns the role of significant others, societal influences, economic factors, important events and choices; (d) the specification; it consists in narrowing down the possibility of choices by the analysis of information on hand about the self and the environment; and (e) decision making (making a choice and implementing it).

These activities do not occur in a precise order but are simultaneously present within each mini-cycle. The mini-cycle can start with any one of these activities. They are not independent but interconnected. This results in a situation that progress in one activity has a repercussion on the level of development of another activity. Though the activities are constantly present when a choice or a decision has to be made, the importance of each activity can change according to the subject's development stage and the content of the decision, but not its presence.

The career development is considered in this model as a dynamic and continuous process. Between the starting point (a situation in which the subject objectively needs to make a choice) and the destination point (the decision itself), the person can move within a real maze of activities and of possible pathways. Four types of loop can be identified: the starting loop that moves from the starting point into any of the six activities, the exploration loop that moves between the three types of exploration, the career activities loop between the six activities, the return loop between unsatisfactory decisions into any activity.

Lastly, Van Esbroeck and colleagues proposed the concept of development profile of career choice. This profile is the result of a constant confrontation of the person with decision making situations, of her/his past experiences and of her/his social and psychological maturity. It is operationally approached by an assessment of the level of involvement in each one of the six activities. This concept seems quite close to those of vocational/career maturity and of career adaptability proposed by Savickas (1994, 1997). According to the type of issue at stake – the context and the developmental profile – the person will preferably engage in one of the activities proposed and will follow his/her own development path within the maze of activities and possible pathways, leading naturally to an involvement in the other activities.

This model, with its concepts of activities rather than tasks, of mini-cycles rather than hierarchical stages, as well as that of systems, loops and inter-connections

rather than sequences, seems to get much closer to the description of individuals' psychological reality, which often is disorganised and changing. It may also constitute a much more relevant framework for understanding careers and life paths which are now often unpredictable and unstable and even "chaotic" to use Riverin-Simard's terminology (1996). One of the today's issues is indeed to know whether words like career or even life path with their linear connotations fit with the description of everyone's occupational life.

Even today, some career development theories appear to be based on an abstract logic: that of a one-dimensional link between future ends and today's means (for example training, education and actual choices are considered as means to achieve a certain self-actualisation and an occupational goal in the long term). The dynamic model indicates that this view is obsolete. Of course, the model uses traditional elements, but it organises them in a flexible way. In doing so, it does not constitute a program but rather a set of career counselling or education indicators for clients of any age group – teenagers, young adults and adults – and in any situation: school, looking for their first job, occupational transition, etc.

The Self-Construction Model

As opposed to previous models, the model presented by Guichard (2001, 2004, 2005) is not centred on career construction, but on self-construction. Here, vocational counselling (or education) is seen as essentially aiming at helping individuals in their self-construction, which implies – for a great majority of contemporary industrialised societies members – the involvement in occupational activities.

The Construction of Subjective Identity Forms

The model aims at articulating three types of analysis: sociological, cognitive and dynamic – semiotic. This synthesis mainly retains from the sociological analyses that self-construction occurs within structured social contexts (social fields – Bourdieu, 1984): the individuals act, interact and discuss within the social and linguistic contexts (family, school, neighbourhood, relationship systems, life accounts) which they find there, organised in a certain way when they are born. Through the mediation of their actions, interactions or language games, these individuals contribute to the evolution of these contexts from which they adapt some elements to themselves (in the sense of making them their own: more than simply being impregnated the elements are seized upon). Some of these elements play a major role in self-construction: they are categories which describe groups and various social communities, but situated within structured social spaces (for example: women, retired, Belgian, punk) and certain determined modes of relation to oneself (self-schemata, biographical forms). The social

world thus exists both as an external and internal world (as a field and as a habitus, to speak in Bourdieu's terms, 1967, 1984). The individual comes to know it in her/his own way because its knowledge particularly depends on the positions s/he occupies in the different social fields in which s/he interacts and communicates.

This cognitive elaboration gives place to the construction (among others) of *cognitive identity frames*. These frames, as other cognitive frames, are mental structures of attributes having default values (for example: in the cognitive frame "room", the default value for the attribute "wall" is four) (Barsalou, 1992, pp. 157–163). As "identity" frames, they refer to different groups or social categories. The default values of their attributes are mainly social stereotypes (for example: in the cognitive identity frame "engineer", the default value for the attribute "gender" is male). These cognitive identity frames are organised and form a multidimensional system of relations, in particular, of opposition and hierarchy. This system of cognitive identity frames constitutes the cognitive basis of the representation of the other, and of self-construction, in some identity forms. For example, an individual considers her/himself in a certain context as a "high-school student" and interacts and communicates as such, and perceives some other person as a "teacher". According to the contexts in which the individual interacts and communicates, s/he builds her/himself in distinct identity forms (for example: high-school student, girl, scientific, Jewish, swimmer). The identity forms in which the individual builds her/himself are said to be *subjective* in order to differentiate them from those in which s/he perceives the other. Indeed, when an individual constructs her/himself within a particular identity form, s/he appropriates it to her/himself, s/he "*identizes*" her/himself (Tap, 1980): s/he gives certain specific values to the attributes of the underlying cognitive frame (for example, the individual does not think of her/himself as an ordinary "student" but as a "successful student in computer science"). The individual identity thus seems to be constituted by the evolving system of subjective identity forms in which the individual constructs her/himself. Among these forms, those in which an adolescent or young-adult anticipates her/himself are of major importance as regards the formation of her/his intentions for her/his own future (see above: §1.2).

The dynamic of these processes seems to originate in the tensions and in determined modes of articulation of two forms of reflexivity, constitutive of the self. The reflexivity "I – me", is based on the pre-linguistic processes of the looking-glass phase during which self-anticipation in this picture of the mirror – in which what will become the "I" appears as a completed whole – informs the present, that is to say structures it from the point of view of this anticipated unity (Lacan, 1977). This form of reflexivity is constitutive of the prototype of identification links to others, that is to say the self-anticipation in some characteristics of the other which fascinate the individual and in which s/he dreams of becoming her/himself. A boy for example may say: " 'I' can imagine 'myself' as a footballer like Zidane", in other words: " 'I' can imagine 'myself' becoming this image which 'I' have built 'myself' of Zidane and which informs and structures my present: I play football like him, I wear the same clothes, etc". This identification process seems to have as a corollary and complement, the rejection of the representations

of some others, considered as being the opposite. This first form of reflexivity is articulated with a second: that of the "I – you – s/he". The latter originates in interactions with others and language games (Harré, 1984) in which the child relates to the people who mother her/him during affective symbiosis. During these *complementation* activities (in which both individuals function as one person), the child discovers her/himself as a point of view amongst others (that is to say as a member of a society of persons), as being able to survive only if relating to these other persons and as being able to articulate in her/his inner-self as the others do (that is what defines them as a person), the three possible positions of human discourse: I, you, s/he (Jacques, 1991). This *trinity reflexivity* leads to the ethical interrogation which necessarily accompanies the self-construction: what consequence implies this essential link to the other (the other as a person, not as an identification figure) which constitutes myself as a human being? How can I live well, in fair institutions, with others?

The Importance of School Identity Forms

If in today's industrialised societies almost every adolescent is a student, they are not exclusively that. They also build themselves within other identity forms related to the other contexts in which they interact: sports, associations, leisure, religion, family interactions, friendship, and love. However, for most teenagers, school experience plays a central role in their self-construction: it takes a large part of their time, it requires many activities such as homework; it is an intense interaction space with peer groups, teachers and educators; it takes place in an institutional framework having its own rules, using norms and numerous evaluations. The various school subjects constitute in themselves or by identification – or counter-identification – with the teacher, opportunities of identity reflection (cf. Rodriguez-Tomé & Bariaud, 1987, in particular p. 212). The teachers also influence the student's self-construction by evaluating him/her. It is known for many years (Gilly, Lacour, & Meyer, 1972; Meyer, 1989) to what extent these evaluations influence teenagers' self-representation and play a fundamental role in the formation of the intentions for their future (Guichard, 1993). School experience thus strongly structures youth intentions for their future as was also noticed by Huteau and by Dumora (2000): adolescents thus tend to think about their future in terms of probabilistic reflection (what could be my best wish according to my actual school results?). Furthermore, the representative links they establish between themselves and the occupations they consider for their future, puts into play various dimensions which were constituted during their present school experience (for example: "I'm good at languages", so "I could find a profession linked to languages"). In a slightly exaggerated way, one could therefore say that most secondary school students' representations of the future are based on the link they make between a present school identity form and an anticipated occupational identity form, which sometimes is quite vague and mostly imagined, in reference to that present school identity form. The future is seen through the filter of their present school experience: their

other experiences, other activities (when they have some), in other words their other present identity forms, are generally put aside or even ignored in this self-anticipation process.

A Core Purpose for Vocational Counselling Interventions with Young People: Helping Them Get Their Major Life Bearings

Within a constructivist framework where identity forms are at the centre of the model, vocational interventions as counselling and education fundamentally aim at helping the individuals in their self-construction. These interventions should focus on the system of subjective identity forms within which the persons build themselves and on the underlying cognitive frames: Their objective is to help the clients formulate in their own words and map out their identity forms system.

Such interventions capitalise also on the other models previously depicted. These identity forms (and their underlying cognitive frames) constitute indeed representations of one-self in different – actual or anticipated – contexts. Mapping out this system implies that the cognitive abilities described by Dumora (comparative and probabilistic reflections) are formed. This mapping out occurs during these recurrent mini cycles described by Van Esbroeck and displays the different vocational activities that he set apart: two of them – knowledge about self and exploring the relationship between self and the environment – being here of major importance.

It is mainly in relation to the activities, interactions and dialogues implied by each of the composing forms that this system can be formulated. This could be done by focusing on present and anticipated subjective identity forms and by defining to which extent they are desired, probable or rejected. The persons will sometimes during this process discover dissonances between their expectations and their present activities.

Moreover, the purpose is to help the client firstly to determine the identity forms in which s/he wishes to build her/himself or those s/he would like to become more important than others in her/his identity forms system, and secondly to enable her/him to identify activities, interactions and dialogues which could enable her/him to construct her/himself by anticipation in such forms. Furthermore, in post-modern societies in which the individual does not act within a given and undisputed ethos of action anymore (Giddens, 1991), but where the landmarks are much more blurred (and where at the same time, individual and collective risks are much greater – Beck, 1992), this reflection implies that the individual engages in some ethical considerations. Such considerations encompass a reflection lead by the individual on the meaning of his/her choices, firstly with regards to the others whom s/he cares for, but also more fundamentally to others in general: for humanity in general. To say, as did Charles Taylor, the issue is that of drawing a moral map: "the drawing of a moral map puts us squarely in the domain of the subject-referring, since this touches quintessentially on the life of the subject *qua* subject. It is in fact an attempt to give shape to our experience" (Taylor, 1985, p. 67).

As shown by the weight of school experience, a set of elements seems to play a major role in self-representations and, correlatively in youths' anticipations of their future: their activities related to interactions and the retroactions to which they give rise. But some teenagers invest more than others in activities out of school and for some of them, particularly in collective activities linked to charity, social, cultural or political projects. The consequences of such involvements in terms of work and employment are very positive if we consider the examples given – in interviews – by employees having many years experience (Guichard, 1991): their transition to work and their following career were facilitated.

Many studies (in particular in the framework of the Albert Bandura's (1986) social cognitive theory, or Urie Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological model of human development) bring clarifications to the processes at work. Firstly, the activities (interactions and retroactions) originate the development of certain actual competences (knowledge, know-how, how to be, etc.), attitudes and expectations often different from those elaborated in school context. They also lead to the formation of self-efficacy beliefs in various domains (interactions, interlocutions and retroactions thus play a major role). Moreover, they lead to a diversification and a better articulation of self-representations: according to her/his activity and her/his interactions (and interlocutions) in a greater number of contexts, the adolescent or young-adult elaborates various dimensions of self-representations, each one being linked to some identity forms in which s/he builds her/himself in these occasions. Last but not least, they give place to numerous "mesosystemic" interrelations – which originate "transition roles" – which we assume they stimulate, among other things, reflection about oneself (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p. 212).

Human and Social Goals and Ends of Vocational Interventions

Such observations lead one to suggest that present, potential and future activities should be placed at the core of vocational interventions – counselling or education – aimed at youth. In this paragraph, "vocational intervention" is used as an equivalent to "career intervention" for one main reason: vocation is "broader" than career. This term refers – according to Webster's dictionary – to a "strong inclination to a particular state of course of action" and fits with the idea of a meaningful self-construction. These interventions' main goals could be stated as follows: help them (a) to spot the activities they would like to find in their future occupations, (b) to analyse their present situation as regards their activities (interactions and interlocutions) as well as their self-efficacy beliefs and self-representations which are linked to these activities and (c) to get more involved in certain types of activities, as well as in new activities and new contexts, in order to develop new competencies, self-efficacy beliefs and self-representations dimensions related to the occupational activities which attract them today.

While taking the studies presented above into account, this goal is not directly deducible from them. Indeed, it is always in reference to social and human ends that

a social intervention goal can be defined. The end retained here corresponds to a general view, admitted in today's western societies. It can be stated in the following way: vocational interventions (counselling or education) for teenagers first aim at preparing them to take their decision as regards the kind of study or training they will follow and to cope with their transition to work and all the following ones which will mark their occupational life. This end now corresponds to a sort of minimal consensus with regards to these interventions. This is why it was chosen here.

However, other ends could be proposed. Among these, the ethical one – evoked in this chapter conclusion – is more ambitious. Indeed, it conjugates the previous minimal intention with that of an involvement in a reflection about the principles of a good and fair life, in particular an occupational one.

Let us be more precise about the core goal which has just been formulated. Firstly, it has been stated in terms of activities not in terms of occupation, job or career. Indeed, nowadays in our western societies, jobs and occupations evolve quickly: their activities change very rapidly. Furthermore, many workers do not have a real trade: they have an employment for which they have rapidly been trained. Furthermore, for a growing number of persons, the succession of jobs (or periods of unemployment, training) do not correspond to a "career", but rather to a "chaos" as Danielle Riverin-Simard (1996) wrote. In this unstable occupational and career context (and of growing social insecurity), a specific element appears nevertheless to remain stable: the link (in both ways) between activities and "competencies". It is thus around this issue that vocational interventions can be organised.

Secondly, is it necessary to recall – in particular some work of sociologists such as Richard Sennett (1998) in mind – to what extent this unstable universe can be harmful for the individual? This is the reason why today's vocational interventions cannot have as a unique goal the issue of activities and competencies. Indeed the human-being expects from her/his activities in the different areas of her/his life that they have a meaning for her/him, whose life unfolds in relation to others. As Philippe Malrieu highlighted it (2003, p. 20), the human person thus continuously carries out a reflection on her/his deeds – which s/he compares to those of others in order to elaborate a life perspective unifying – according to a certain intention – her/his different experiences and past, present and anticipated activities. Anthony Giddens (1991) underlined to what extent in contemporary industrialised societies these reflexive processes are all the more exacerbated as the traditional bearings (a unified space and time, an established religion, solid ideological systems, etc.) are shaken and blurred. One can thus consider, with Bill Law (1981), that the development of a "sense of self" – understood as this capacity of a continuous self-synthesis, in a projecting of oneself into the future, and of a putting one's own different experiences into a certain perspective – constitutes a major stake for contemporary vocational interventions. Consequently, the core goal previously mentioned must be clarified in a second way: the focusing on occupational activities does not lead to neglect what is at stake: a meaningful self-construction. Moreover, let us stress that, in the framework of the development of a reflection on the ethical dimension of self-construction – cf. this chapter conclusion – an emphasis is also put on the "care for the other": "the sense of the other's self" is then seen as a major element of the "sense of self".

The framework which has just been presented gives the possibility of elaborating a methodology for career development interventions. Only two examples will be given here (focused – in order to simplify the presentation – on the issue of links between occupational activities and competencies, while neglecting correlatively what is at stake in the "sense of self" and in "caring for the other"). The first one relates to career education and the second to counselling.

DAPP (Découverte des Activités Professionnelles et Projets Personnels – *Discovery of Occupational Activities and Personal Plans*), DAPPI (Découverte des Activités Professionnelles, Projets Personnels et Insertion – *Discovery of Occupational Activities, Personal Plans, Work and Social Inclusions*), DAPPT (Découverte des Activités Professionnelles et Projets Personnels: Enseignement Technique et Nouvelles Technologies – *Discovery of Occupational Activities and Personal Plans: Technological Training and New Technologies*) (Guichard, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1991) are career education courses which can be carried out over 3 or 4 half-days. DAPP is meant for senior high-school or college students, DAPPI for high-school students having difficulties at school or dropouts and DAPPT for students in vocational or technical schools. At first these activities aim (a) at helping them become more conscious of their stereotyped vision of occupations, (b) to discover the diversity of activities which constitute an occupation and (c) to perceive the importance of different life experiences which matter (in different ways: competencies or interests development, constitution of a network of friends, meeting key figures) in the transition to work and subsequent ones. The activities proposed looks like games. First, trainees, on the one hand, reconstitute occupations starting from the occupational activities which constitute them and, on the other hand, the life paths of the actual incumbents in these jobs (all the material is based on interviews carried out with persons doing these jobs). In a second part, participants focus on each one's own present situation. Each of them selects some occupational activities which s/he would like to have in the future. S/he also takes stock of his/her actual situation as regards her/his activities, self-efficacy beliefs, resources or attitudes in three different contexts of her/his present life: school, family and extracurricular activities (leisure, work experiences, holidays). The third part aims at stimulating each participant to engage in present activities related to her/his anticipations. Each of them receives – and discusses – propositions made to her/him by two other participants as regards "training periods, odd jobs, work experiences, documentation: personal, leisure, holidays, school activities in which you could engage tomorrow in order to increase your chances of obtaining this future occupational activity in which you are interested". The last part is used to integrate the previous suggestions and reflections into each one's present life (for example: choice of studies, training period, involvement in school work). These courses gave place to several evaluations (Guichard, 1992; Guichard & Falbierski, 2003). These studies (using a quasi experimental design including a control group) showed that the beneficiaries of these programs have a more articulated vision of occupations as well as of the ways which lead to occupational inclusion. They also benefit from a "dynamic" and thus engage in active conducts (information search, training periods, reflection about their career plan, new activities, etc.).

Career counselling interviews with high-school and college students (or dropouts) can also be conceived in a similar perspective. They do not differ – in their general principles and their structure – as those used in the field of career counselling (for example: Gysbers, Heppner, & Johnston, 2003). They start with a period of construction of a working alliance. Then follows a period of analysis and reflection carried out by the client. It ends by a personal synthesis and an action plan (and here more specifically: involvement in activities related to the occupational activities which s/he wishes for her/his future).

Only the client analysis and reflection phase concerning her/his present, potential and future activities and resources will be presented here. The client then indicates the contexts which are important to her/him in her/his present life and classifies them in a certain order: from "the one which could play the most important part in your future transition to work" to "the one which would play the least important part". The work then consists in exploring each of these main contexts in terms of activities, competencies, self-efficacy beliefs, self-representation dimensions and, more generally, "resources and assets for her/his future". In this phase, the dialogue between the counsellor and the client play an important part. The former's objective is that, through this dialogue, the client stands back to analyse her/his own experience in order to shape it and describe it in terms of competencies, self-efficacy beliefs and self-representation dimensions (cf. Clot & Prot, 2003; Diallo & Clot, 2003). This standing back and shaping through a putting in words of one's own experience requires a lot of time and this phase may be carried out over several meetings. The following phase focuses on the occupational activities – and not on occupations or careers – which the client can imagine her/himself doing. Here again, dialogue is essential. The counsellor can sometimes propose an interest questionnaire – or lists of occupational activities – in order to help the person in selecting those which interest her/him. The client is then asked to re-read and re-interpret his/her present situation with regard to his/her anticipations and imagine certain possible transformations: "starting from the occupational activity which interests you most, we are going to examine everything – in each context which you have explored – that can increase your chances of attaining this goal. We will look for activities – in which you could enrol – that could increase your chances of having access to this occupational activity". The career counselling interview ends by an elaboration of the action plan which precisely defines the terms of the person's involvement into such or such activity, relating this involvement to all his/her other life experiences. (It is advised to plan future meetings during which the client takes stock of his/her actual experiences and, if necessary, redefines activities which interest her/him.)

Conclusion: The Ethical Dimension of Career Development Interventions

As it was previously stressed several times in this chapter, occupational activity plays a central part in the life – and thereby in identity structure – of individuals in contemporary industrialised societies. This is probably why the object of career

counselling psychology – as well as vocational interventions – can sometimes come down to issues related to study courses, occupation, inclusion, career and employment decision making. This gives the impression that getting one's major life bearings would consist merely of issues related to school and work. However, what occurs in one context of life (e.g., occupational life) always interacts with what happens in other fields (as for example family roles and family life). The idea is supported by Malrieu (2003) who was mentioned before but other authors could be named as well (Baubion-Broye, 1998; Bronnfenbrenner, 1979; Curie & Hajjar, 1987; Dupuy, 1998; Super, 1980; Vondracek, Lerner, & Schulenberg, 1986). For a more detailed synthesis see Guichard and Huteau (2006). These links – and tensions – between contexts (or "activities systems" or "mesosystem"), and the adjustments which they require from the individuals play a major part in self-construction which the authors call, depending on the case: "development", "personalisation", "identisation", "subjectivation". Consequently, the individuals issues related to school and work cannot be separated from that of self-construction and, fundamentally, in our societies, career development interventions aim at self-construction.

A key question is, however, on how the concept of "self-construction" must be understood. The main tendency today – because of the importance of the individualistic societal model – is to assimilate self-construction to self-fulfilment, the latter being defined in terms of personal growth (Häyrynen, 1995). In this perspective, the aim of career development interventions would be to foster the development of a reflexive activity in individuals in order to help them find a necessary balance between their different activity systems (the different areas of their existence, their diverse subjective identity forms) and live out the potentialities which best seem to correspond to what they wish to become. Such a point of view can be qualified as ego-centred in the sense that it considers the person according to one dimension only: his/her objective of individual happiness.

This ego-centred view does not resist analysis for three types of reasons:

1. Firstly, because the individual who carries out a reflection on his/her own personal growth, necessarily meets "the other". Of course, most of the time, this concerns an other who is closely related to the person. That is the case when s/he tackles issues such as: what would be the consequences of such and such occupational involvement on my personal life (e.g., on my future married life), for my family (my parents, my children, etc.), for my friends, etc.?
2. Secondly, because today's work organisation and occupational paths do not always give the person the possibility of investing activities in which s/he can grow as a person. This is known since Henry Ford and the debates of that time on human work. But nowadays the situation is even harder (cf. Sennett, 1998). The worker asks her/himself: how can I adapt to such working or life conditions? Sometimes, this interrogation remains implicit and comes out differently. For example, in the shape of "work suffering" (Dejours, 1998) which sometimes leads either to occupational diseases (some of which – for example: musculoskeletal problems – are increasing considerably), or to other kinds of diseases (a recent study shows that "almost 10% of cancers in France have an occupational

origin", *Le Monde*, 23 March 2006, p. 7) or to industrial accidents (the statistics of which show that the more the individual lives in insecure conditions, the more often accidents occur – Cingolani, 2005).

3. Lastly, because there is a growing anxiety concerning the short and long term consequences of our technological power and ways of life: there is an anxiety linked to ecological or technical risks which leads the contemporary individual to question her/his responsibility in maintaining a genuine human life on earth (Jonas, 1985).

These three factors lead to the other, the contemporary western society individual who thinks about her/his personal growth. These others are first of all closely related people (family, friends, colleagues). The individual notices that s/he cannot think about her/his self-fulfilment – understood at first as personal growth – without taking the other into account: how can it be possible to conciliate this other's personal growth – the other who is important to her/him – with one's own personal growth? Might what s/he chooses for her/himself be harmful to this other person's growth (or to that of more distant persons)? Reciprocally: wouldn't certain decisions or conducts of the other – even of others s/he does not know – be hazardous to her/his own self-fulfilment? For example – to mention an issue addressed by Muirhead (2004) – do the working and career conditions that bear upon him/her leave space for self-fulfilment? Are these conditions "such they offer opportunities for autonomy, relatedness, and competence?" (Blustein, 2006, p. 151).

By such a questioning the individual gets closer to ethical analyses. Indeed, according to Paul Ricoeur, ethics can be defined as an intention which, "at its deepest level, is articulated in a triad in which the self, the close other and distant other are equally honored: to live well, with and for the others, in fair institutions" (Ricoeur, 2004; Ricoeur had carefully discussed this assertion in chapter 7 of his book *Oneself as another*, Ricoeur, 1992). Indeed, the questioning presented above (that of the "prototypical" individual of our societies who intends to direct her/his life in reference to her/his own personal growth) truly reflect the problem of living well with the others. In this aspect it is the beginning of an ethical reflection. However, they are only first steps, because a true ethical reflection – if we follow Ricoeur – necessarily leads to tackling the issue of "living together". This "living together" is more than just "living with the others". It is a "living for the other". Furthermore, Ricoeur underlined that "living with and for the other" implies fair institutions. Consequently, a true ethical reflection leads the individual to deeper questionings than those tackled up to now, in particular questionings focused on principles that constitute a "good life" or a "fair life".

In a more concrete sense, this means, for example, that a student who thinks about her/his occupational and personal future, in most cases, does not consider issues such as: what are the short term, middle term and long term consequences for humanity (concerning water resources, pollution, public health, importance of technological risks) of the development of occupational activities as those in which I wish to engage? What are the consequences for some people (and maybe for myself) – in terms of human development, industrial injuries or diseases – of

present work organisation forms and global employment distribution mode? How to improve this situation? How could I contribute to such an enhancement? Or even more simply: may I embark on an occupational activity which might have harmful effects on others (for example: promoting tobacco or alcohol consumption; organising work and employment in such a way that it produces premature aging of the workers). And if so, under what conditions may I?

The development of such a reflection is a complex task. It is probably part of a "post-conventional stage" of moral development as described by Lawrence Kohlberg (1984). And it is not sure that it immediately becomes accessible to all teenagers. However, shouldn't careers interventions designed to this population aim at – among other goals – helping them begin such a reflection? Indeed, nowadays, the working and employment situation seem particularly difficult: on a global scale, the number of unemployed is considerable and the number of those having degrading working conditions – or a job which only just enables them to survive – is impressive. Thus, Juan Somavia, Director of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) – in his inaugural address to the 89th session of the Work International Conference which was held, June 5th, 2001 – denounced the lack of "decent jobs" in the world (Buhrer, 2001). According to the ILO, there was then a one billion deficit of "decent jobs" throughout the world. In wealthy countries insecure employment and life conditions increase considerably (Palmade, 2003). The trend appears to be the same as regards technological, ecological and public health risks (Beck, 1992). In reaction to this state of affairs, the summit of Lisbon in 2000 gave Europe an objective of "sustainable" growth, respectful of environment, social well-being and the values Europe defends. Indeed, as Dominique Bé – one of the members of the European Commission – underlined it (*Le Monde Economie*, 14 March 2006, p. IV), "employees, consumers, investors have the possibility of influencing companies' practices by their own behaviour". Couldn't a youth sensitised to the aforementioned ethical questioning during career development interventions be a means of reaching the goal fixed by the European Union?

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Chapter 10
SOCIAL CONTEXTS FOR CAREER GUIDANCE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. DEVELOPMENTAL-CONTEXTUAL PERSPECTIVES ON CAREER ACROSS THE LIFESPAN

Fred W. Vondracek[1] and Erik J. Porfeli[2]

Since its introduction, the meta-theoretical framework of developmental contextualism (Vondracek, Lerner, & Schulenberg, 1986) has served as a stimulus to researchers and practitioners in career development who care about understanding the developing person in a multitude of ever-changing contexts. At this point it has become widely accepted in the study of career development that behaviour is the result of interactions between person and contexts (Chartrand, Strong, & Weitzman, 1995; Shanahan & Porfeli, 2002). Shanahan and Porfeli (2002, p. 404) pointed out, however, that "the premise that vocational development reflects both person and context is so established that much of the time it is in fact not empirically studied." The integration of both human development and context in career interventions has proved to be no less difficult than it is in the research enterprise. Nevertheless, progress has been made in theory development, empirical investigations, and the applications of these advances in career development intervention strategies.

Background

The developmental-contextual approach to lifespan career development (Vondracek et al., 1986) shares many essential features with Donald Super's lifespan life space approach to career development (Super, 1980, 1990; Super, Savickas, & Super, 1996). Super was influenced by both the life-course perspective of Charlotte Bühler (1959) and the construct of developmental tasks proposed by Havighurst (1951), which was reflected in his commitment to age-related developmental stages and life stage-related developmental tasks. Super found it difficult, however, to reflect the strength of his commitment to a lifespan approach while giving equal attention to

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J.A. Athanasou, R. Van Esbroeck (eds.) *International Handbook of Career Guidance*,

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his conviction that an individual's career development could be understood only when placed within the life space context. Consequently, he introduced his "Archway to Career Development" to reflect his appreciation of both development and context (Super, 1990, 1994). Super clearly favoured a developmental-contextual approach to career development long before that terminology entered the field. For example, in describing his "developmental self-concept approach," he insisted that "person-situation interaction" is central to his overall approach (Super, 1981, p. 36). He believed that segmental theories (like his) were necessary because they served to focus upon central aspects of the life course and life space within work, family, and community contexts. He also believed that his theory risked being an over-simplification of the true, albeit complex and confusing, nature of the whole person within the vast array of relevant contexts. Referring to the developmental-contextual model of lifespan career development proposed by Vondracek et al. (1986), he suggested that "each researcher and practitioner now has a choice between Vondracek's complexity, Holland's simplicity, and this [Super's] multiplicity of simplicities (Super, 1994, p. 72)."

Super's preference for the segmental theories approach was predicated on the theories he knew and utilised in his own work. Specifically, he relied on Baldwin's (1906) theory of maturity, Sarbin's (1952) work on self concepts, Tyler's (1955) contributions on interests (as well as the aforementioned work of Bühler and Havighurst). Sociological studies such as Hollingshead's (1949) and Miller and Form's (1951) were important in informing him and his Career Pattern Study (Super & Bachrach, 1957) regarding the social context of career development. He employed Berlyne's (1954) work on curiosity to extend his model of career development to the childhood years and thereby establish a truly lifespan view of career development. All of these foundational contributions are now more than half-a-century old, conceived and articulated in a world that was stable compared with today's rapid pace of change, community-centred rather than global, disciplinary rather than interdisciplinary, and mechanistic rather than electronic. Social science was operating in a hand-calculated and mainly hand-built world in contrast to today's virtual computer-based social and scientific methodologies. Against this background, it is clear that Super's theory accurately reflected the historical time during which it was formulated. In the present chapter, an effort is made to describe the main features of developmental contextualism, a theoretical framework that is continuing to evolve and that is capable of representing the rapidly changing and complex world of today. Moreover, some of the most promising advances in developmental-contextual thinking as well as their relevance for the design of research and career development interventions will be reviewed.

Developmental Contextualism

Today more than ever, there is good reason to replace (or at least further connect) the segmental theories approach with approaches that aim to represent both the individual and the multiple contexts within which individuals operate in all of their

complexity and rich diversity. It may be instructive to recall the circumstance surrounding our initial efforts. When we first set out to write about career development from a life-span developmental-contextual perspective (Vondracek & Lerner, 1982), vocational development simply did not fit into the categorisations that main-stream psychologists were accustomed to using. It was not cognition, learning, motivation, emotion, personality, social or biological development, although all of them clearly play a role in vocational development. It simply did not fit, and consequently it was ignored more often than not or bits and pieces were represented as segmental theories. Our intent in presenting the developmental-contextual framework was straight-forward: We wanted to precipitate the abandonment of simplistic notions of career development in favour of a developmental-contextual and life-span perspective, and we wanted to stimulate greater interest in vocational and career development research in the broad community of social and behavioural scientists. Dynamic interaction of the developing individual with various contexts was presented as the paradigm that could, for the first time, adequately account for the complexity of occupational careers, their antecedents, their unfolding, and their consequences.

It is important to stress at this point that the dance between theoretical formulations, methodological advances to test theory, and the accumulation of empirical knowledge supporting or refuting theory is ongoing with each promoting and challenging the other over time. Consequently, it is important to approach one's work with humility and a keen understanding that even the most comprehensive and complex meta-theoretical framework is merely a transitional framework, certain to be replaced by ever more sophisticated conceptualisations of human functioning in context. Moreover, segmental theories and divergent viewpoints on career development enrich the discourse and stimulate innovation in research and intervention. Nevertheless, it is clear that a complex and comprehensive perspective such as the developmental-contextual meta-theoretical framework is a necessary perspective at this point in the development of knowledge about the career development of individuals in their diverse contexts. This sentiment is underscored by Ford and Lerner (1992, p. 231), who stated:

> Without the construction of more integrative and comprehensive frameworks than those that presently exist, we are likely to be increasingly overwhelmed by mountains of data and empirical generalizations. They continue to accumulate as a pile of 'bricks' of knowledge, each of which can contribute toward the construction of a cathedral of knowledge we have not yet built. The role of integrative theorizing is to help decide how to combine those 'bricks' in a way that represents a more accurate and less passive mechanistic view of ourselves and that will help us learn how to construct more humane societies.

Since the introduction of the developmental-contextual meta-theoretical framework to the field of career development, the value of examining career development from a developmental-contextual perspective has been demonstrated. That perspective guided the questions that were asked, as well as the methods that were used. The framework compelled a focus not only on the contemporary functioning of the person but also on the antecedents and long-term consequences of current behaviour. Moreover, it served to sensitise researchers to the need to examine the dynamic

interaction of person characteristics with various levels of context, including the family, the educational system, the institutions of commerce and government, culture, and economic and occupational affordances. The joint consideration of development and context is resonating with researchers on career development, as evidenced, among other things, by a special section on "Career development: A lifespan perspective" published in the *International Journal of Behavioral Development* (Vondracek, 1998), special issues of the *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, entitled "Transition from school to work: Societal opportunities and individual agency" (Heckhausen, 2002), and "Innovating career development using advances in life course and life-span theory" (Vondracek & Hartung, 2002), and a special issue of the *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, entitled "Studies of development in context" (Vondracek, 2007).

The studies represented by these special issues and special sections of influential interdisciplinary and international journals are illustrative of a welcome trend toward "research on career development in a developmental-contextual fashion" (cf. Silbereisen, 2002, p. 310). As Silbereisen (2002, p. 318) noted, however, some studies conducted from this perspective are exceptional with regard to "revealing the interactive fabric of contextual and personal conditions," while others are more focused on the "proximal cognitive and motivational processes." The challenge that remains is to design studies that combine both the macro-perspectives commonly addressed in life course sociology and the individual and process-focused perspective of life-span developmental psychology (Shanahan & Porfeli, 2002; Vondracek & Porfeli, 2002a), and while researchers continue to struggle with this challenge, there are a number of theoretical advances that further refine and elaborate developmental-contextual approaches to career development. Several of these advances will be described in the following sections.

Developmental Systems Theory

Developmental systems theory has recently been described as a "superordinate frame for several different models of human development," which share rejection of the nature-nurture duality and, instead, adopt a relational and "integrated or fused conception of the multiple levels of organisation involved in the ecology of human development" (Lerner, Theokas, & Jelicic, 2005, p. 31). Developmental Systems Theory (Ford & Lerner, 1992) actually emerged as a synthesis of developmental contextualism and D. H. Ford's (1987) seminal work describing the Living Systems Framework (LSF) that characterises humans as self-constructing living systems. The (LSF) represents a comprehensive model of human functioning, based on an exhaustive, multidisciplinary review of theory and research on human behaviour and personality (D. H. Ford, 1987). Consequently, it is complex, inclusive, and requires immersion (rather than superficial reading) by those who wish to utilise it. D. H. Ford (1987, p. 145) justified this by stating:

> Behavior patterns differ because people vary in what they want, how they decide to go about producing the desired consequences, what they actually do, the ways they anticipate and evaluate their progress, the emotions that are aroused in relationship to the activity, the conditions of their biological functioning, the kinds of environments in which they interact, and the attributes of those environments upon which they selectively focus their transactions. If any of those functions are ignored, a person's behavior cannot be fully understood.

Developmental Systems Theory (DST; Ford & Lerner, 1992) is a significant advancement over the meta-theoretical developmental-contextual perspective because it includes an operational model that addresses the content, organisation, and dynamics of the developing person. The model casts human functioning into four classes: (a) transactional functions that serve to exchange information and energy with the environment, (b) arousal functions that fuel behaviour and cognition, (c) governing functions that are responsible for behavioural and cognitive coordination and control, and (d) biological functions that sustain, promote, or inhibit behavioural and cognitive functioning. The person-in-context is represented as the focal unit of interest in this operational model. Person-in-context is then represented as an open system that is capable of elaborating itself by growing and becoming more complex and specialised, because it can obtain resources from the environment and alter the content and organisation of its environment. Moreover, the person-in-context unit is described as a self-regulating, open system. Self-regulation is achieved via positive and negative feedback processes, which are complemented by feedforward processes that are forward-looking, future-oriented, and proactive. It is the latter that capture the goal-directed and future-oriented behaviours that characterise humans and that enable DST to describe key processes of human development. This is an important point because DST presumes that a person's actions today can be influenced by reflections on the past, assessments of the present, and constructions of the future; hence, past, present, and projected future opportunities and constraints within and outside the person influence current actions. The operational model of DST includes one additional key feature, namely, the recognition that the person-in-context is not only self-organising but also self-constructing. These self-constructing processes represent both biological and psychological/behavioural self-constructing capabilities. Viewing the person-in-context as the proper unit of analysis quickly leads to the conclusion that the very existence, functioning, and development of individuals require continual exchanges with their context.

Ford and Lerner (1992, p. 130) suggested that the human living system can be conceptualised as being composed of three persons: the biological, psychological, and action person. The biological person sustains life, the psychological person constructs it and the action person "carries out the actual environmental transactions that make the individual's life, learning, and accomplishments possible" (Ford & Lerner, 1992, p. 130). Parsons' (1909) was among the first to establish the link between the psychological and action persons in career choice and development and Super (1957; Super et al., 1996) and empirical researchers employing his life-span life space theory firmly established the dynamic between psychological processes and work behaviour across the twentieth century. During the later part of the

century, Vondracek et al. (1986) underscored the need for conceptualising the psychological and action persons as being embedded in multiple contexts.

Of the three persons, the biological person in work contexts has received relatively little attention in the career development literature. The literature devoted to the biological person can be divided into research examining the impact of disability, occupational health, and genetics on career development and work behaviour. A massive amount of research in the rehabilitation counselling literature has demonstrated how disabilities can impair career development, and asserted that although disabilities can lead to career handicaps, many interventions can mitigate these handicaps (e.g., Fabian & Liesener, 2005; Levinson, 2002; Szymanski, Enright, Hershenson, & Ettinger, 2003; Szymanski & Hershenson, 2005; Szymanski & Parker, 2003). The occupational health literature has established that work experiences and biological functioning are dynamically associated by establishing, for example, that work experiences, hormones, mood, and other biological aspects of the person are interrelated (e.g., Aronsson & Rissler, 1998; Davydov, Shapiro, Goldstein, & Chicz-DeMet, 2005; Rintala, Pukkala, Paakkulainen, & Vihko, 2002). Moreover, some researchers have investigated the impact of in-utero hormone exposure on children's career aspirations and suggested that hormone exposure has little or no direct effect (Ehrhardt, Ince, & Meyer-Bahlburg, 1981; Sandberg, Ehrhardt, Ince, & Meyer-Bahlburg, 1991). Hormone exposure may, however, increase "tomboyism" in girls and tomboyism appears to be associated with more male-dominated career aspirations (Ehrhardt et al., 1981). In contrast, emerging research suggests that in-utero testosterone exposure is associated with differences in the academic discipline chosen by university faculty (Brosnan, 2006). Finally, the genetics literature has established that career preferences and interests are partially heritable (Betsworth, Bouchard, Cooper, & Grotevant, 1994; Ellis & Bonin, 2003; Gottfredson, 1999; Grotevant, 1979; Harris, Vernon, Johnson, & Jang, 2006; Lykken, Bouchard, McGue, & Tellegen, 1993; Moloney, Bouchard, & Segal, 1991; Roberts & Johansson, 1974; Vandenberg & Stafford, 1967). Employing a range of research designs of varying sophistication, these studies converge around the finding that between 30% to 50% of the variability in career preferences and interests can be attributed to genetic factors.

Vondracek and Porfeli (2002b) have employed the theory of selective optimisation with compensation (SOC) (Baltes, 1997) and DST to demonstrate how biological decline influences career development. Using illustrations first presented by Marsiske, Lang, Baltes, and Baltes (1995), they noted, for example, that pianist Arthur Rubinstein employed SOC by playing a smaller repertoire of pieces later in life (selection), practising more as he got older (optimisation), and slowing his performance before fast movements to heighten contrast (compensation). It is apparent, therefore, that the use of selection, optimisation, and compensation is capable of enhancing and prolonging the career performance of individuals as they experience age-related biological declines that affect, for example, speed and stamina in completing certain tasks.

Although the theory of SOC has been proposed as a universal model of development, the breadth and depth of DST offers an even more comprehensive vantage to

examine the role of biology in career development. Given that persons over the age of 55 will represent 34% of the population by 2010 (Wegman & McGee, 2004) and a growing fraction of people are delaying retirement or returning to paid employment after retiring from their principal career (Watanabe Muraoka, Kawasaki, & Sato, 1998), we must develop a better understanding of the factors that enhance and mitigate successful aging of the workforce. Toward that end, future investigations into the impact of the biological person on career development could continue to examine how biological maturation and decline as influenced by genetics, hormones, and the accumulation of healthy and unhealthy life experiences promote or hinder favourable career development across the lifespan.

In addition to presenting an operational model of the person-in-context, DST addresses the "how" of development by describing and explaining the basic change processes and dynamics that are capable of producing the incredible diversity of developmental outcomes in humans. Thus, DST clearly goes beyond the usual description of normative patterns of developmental outcomes or stages of development. Specifically, Ford and Lerner (1992, p. 151) proposed that there is a convergence in various fields, such as evolutionary and developmental biology, genetics, learning, and psychological and behavioural development around the notion that there are three basic, change-related processes in human development: stability maintenance, incremental change, and transformational change.

Bio-psycho-social elaboration during the earlier years of life and decline during the latter years presumably prompt stability maintenance, incremental change, and transformational change processes. All three change-related processes are clearly reflected in action theories like selective optimisation with compensation (SOC) and they are exhibited in the career development literature. The earlier years tend to be characterised by incremental and transformational elaboration of the bio-psycho-social repertoire. For example, incremental increases or decreases in the salience of a work value (e.g., Porfeli, 2007) or vocational interest could occur across the lifespan, but such changes must be precipitated by a transformational change, namely the establishment of the work value system (Hales & Fenner, 1973; Wijting, Arnold, & Conrad, 1977) and career interests (Holland, 1997; Savickas, 1999; Tracey, 2002). Historically, transformational changes in career development were generally confined to the childhood and young adult periods (e.g., Super, 1957). In the twenty-first century, however, job loss, career change, and post-retirement jobs or careers are becoming more common as the labour market becomes more competitive through globalisation and large sectors of the economy die and other sectors are born. Increasingly, workers are facing career changes that may call for transformations to their occupational competencies, interests and values. Moreover, many retirees are facing second careers in the face of inadequate retirement benefits and income. Constructs like career establishment and maintenance become less important and constructs like serial careers, lifespan career exploration, and adaptability become more applicable in such an environment (Savickas, 1997). In other words, stability maintenance from mid-career onward may give way to ongoing incremental and transformational career changes in the global, technological, and increasingly changeable work context.

The foregoing obviously represents a greatly abbreviated version of a very complex and comprehensive theoretical framework. The framework is capable, in principle, of accounting for every aspect of human functioning, including the complex person-in-context processes that make up career development. Why should it be used by those interested in understanding and facilitating career development? It is firmly grounded in a convergent and integrative, interdisciplinary model of human functioning that is derived from an exhaustive review of accumulated scientific evidence regarding the living system we know as *homo sapiens*, and it offers the best opportunity for scientific study of and scientific intervention upon any and all aspects of human functioning in context. Does this mean that one should abandon the "Big Five" career theories or disregard efforts that focus on narrow features or very specific processes of vocational behaviour such as social reinforcement or self-efficacy? Clearly, one should not follow that path. Scientific progress is made in many, often unanticipated ways at different levels of analysis. If the study of vocational behaviour and career development is, however, to be more than a boutique enterprise at the far edge of applied science, it must get beyond antiquated theories or narrow adaptations of circumscribed or segmental models from psychology, sociology, or anthropology. It needs to seek and eventually embrace a unifying model that fully captures and organises the complexity of human functioning and development in context. None other than Super (1981, p. 36) reached this conclusion more than a quarter century ago:

> The very scope of the ideas and data that need to be synthesized if one is to understand and guide career development seems to preclude any possibility of achieving the desired synthesis. But perhaps it has only seemed to preclude it, for now that multivariate statistical methods and computers make it possible to treat masses of data in complex ways the analysis and synthesis of data from economics, education, psychology, and sociology bearing on the lifelong development of people has at last become possible….

Before moving on, it is important to acknowledge that developmental-contextualism or DST are not the only frameworks that have been suggested as comprehensive and integrative conceptualisations of career development. For example, Blustein (2006) proposed two alternative meta-perspectives as organising frameworks for theory and research related to a psychology of working, namely, social constructionist thought and emancipatory communitarian perspectives. The former is described as a "radical" transformation of scientific discourse that involves abandoning the search for "universal truths" via objective methods (judged to be an impossible task) and instead using a "more manageable" approach that is based on "the complex and relativistic nature of human experience (p. 199)." The second framework described by Blustein (2006; Blustein, McWhirter, & Perry, 2005) is the emancipatory communitarian perspective proposed originally by Prilleltensky (1997). The primary features of this framework include the focus on social injustice and inequality and an emphasis on having psychologists use moral and ethical values in the conduct of their work.

Obviously, it is impossible to do justice to these proposals within the confines of the present chapter. It is worth noting, however, that both of these approaches are presented as reactions to "traditional" positivistic scientific paradigms, which are

often criticised as representing efforts to describe middle-class white, Western patterns of behaviour without regard to the constraints placed on individuals by social policy and institutional and structural factors that severely limit their opportunities to make decisions, to have choices, and to pursue occupational careers. At this time, it will suffice to note that while these criticisms of traditional paradigms may have some merit, they are less applicable to the developmental-contextual and DST perspectives. For example, the influence of D. H. Ford's (1987) Living Systems Framework on the formulations of DST and developmental contextualism has been acknowledged. In this framework, Ford devoted considerable attention to moral development within the context of discussing cognitive regulatory functions of the living, human system. Moreover, efforts to examine the social policy and social structural constraints on career development abound in research guided by the developmental contextual framework (e.g., Reitzle & Vondracek, 2000; Reitzle, Vondracek, & Silbereisen, 1998; Silbereisen, Vondracek, & Berg, 1997; Vondracek, 2000, 2007; Vondracek, Reitzle, & Silbereisen, 1999a; Vondracek, Silbereisen, Reitzle, & Wiesner, 1999b); and by the life course sociological perspective (e.g., Gustafson & Magnusson, 1991; Shanahan, 2000; Shanahan & Porfeli, 2002). Clearly, advancing social justice and making advances in science are two separate objectives. It is a beautiful thing when they converge, as in cases where science dispassionately reveals injustice or social justice movements spur scientific inquiry, but we should remember that they are not interchangeable.

In the meantime, it should be noted that the authors of DST explicitly acknowledged that they were keenly aware of the fact that one's assumptions about human nature and one's relationships with the world in which one lives powerfully influences what one does, how one lives, how one deals with others, and the social policies, attitudes, and institutions one constructs (Ford & Lerner, 1992). DST represents one, admittedly imperfect, theoretical framework or construction that has the potential for helping scientists to develop a shared understanding of people in all their diversity and the varied and complex levels of context within which they live. Universal human truth exists amidst the many human perspectives and constructions of this truth. Quitting the pursuit of human truth because it is too complex or obscured would be a tragic failure of the social sciences which include counselling and vocational psychology. Theoretical formulations that come ever closer to the true complexity of the world and the varying perspectives that humans share continue to be sought. One such formulation is Motivational Systems Theory (MST).

Motivational Systems Theory

One elaboration of D. H. Ford's (1987) Living Systems Framework that is particularly well-suited to application in the field of career development is Motivational Systems Theory (MST; M. E. Ford, 1992). MST describes how motivation provides the psychological foundation for the development of human competence and achievement, resulting in effective person-in-context functioning

in everyday life (M. E. Ford, 1992). Effective person-in-context functioning is arguably the single most important ingredient in successful career development across the lifespan. Effective functioning is defined in MST in terms of two concepts that have substantial face validity in career development theory and practice, namely, achievement and competence. M. E. Ford (1992) suggested that when behaviour is examined at the situational level of analysis, effective functioning is, in fact, achievement, that is, "the attainment of a personally or socially valued goal in a particular context" (p. 66). At the personality level of analysis, however, effective functioning is defined as competence, that is, "the attainment of relevant goals in specified environments using appropriate means and resulting in positive developmental outcomes" (p. 67). Achievement and competence reflect goal satisfaction with the former being constrained to a particular context and time (i.e., an episode) and the latter reflecting a course of achievement across contexts and time within a particular life domain (e.g., work, family, and leisure). For example, a person may meet their sales quota for a particular month but be considered an incompetent salesperson given his/her history of ongoing failure to do so. Moreover, the distinction suggests that achievement is the pathway to competence; a worker cannot become competent in the absence of a series of achievements.

Again, it is noteworthy that terminology such as "particular context" and "specified environments" is included in the definitions of competence and achievement, indicating that these are not to be viewed as generalised traits that cut across all life domains (an error that is unfortunately common in career interventions). Experienced career counsellors know that competence and achievement must always be addressed with reference to the smaller and larger contexts within which a given person is operating. This underscores the importance of employing a comprehensive theoretical and conceptual framework that explicitly acknowledges and accounts for the person-in-context as the preferred unit of analysis.

Motivation is identified as one of the critical elements that influence achievement and competence. M. E. Ford (1992) asserted that motivation springs from the interaction of emotions, goals, and personal agency beliefs. Emotions serve as a force promoting or inhibiting behaviour, goals channel that energy into behaviour aimed to achieve a desired endpoint, and personal agency beliefs shape our confidence in achieving our goals. MST (M. E. Ford, 1992) addressed the difficulty of jointly considering person and context via the construct of personal agency beliefs (PAB), which consist of *capability beliefs* and *context beliefs*. Capability beliefs are judgments individuals make concerning whether they have the skills needed to achieve a particular goal or set of goals (i.e., to function effectively), while context beliefs represent individuals' judgments regarding whether and to what extent the environment is supportive of their efforts to achieve their goal(s). It should be noted that capability beliefs, as defined in MST, are similar to Bandura's (1977, 1982) construct of self-efficacy expectations, whose relevance for career development has been convincingly demonstrated starting with the pioneering work of Hackett and Betz (1981). M. E. Ford (1992, p. 128) has argued, however, that capability beliefs, context beliefs and PAB are

preferable for three reasons. First, capability beliefs can reflect beliefs pertaining to many aspects of the self presumably involved in goal pursuit and attainment and the propositional and conceptual elements of these aspects are well articulated in DST. For example, a person may believe that they possess the motor skills necessary to achieve a goal but lack the emotional energy. DST not only includes an elaborate discussion on the nature and operation of motor and arousal functions, but also how the two directly and indirectly influence each other. Although social learning theory has been enhanced to broaden the capacities considered when estimating one's capability to achieve a goal, the conceptual and propositional models of these capacities are far narrower and less refined than the propositional model offered by DST. Second, PABs can include goals associated with many different aspects of the self (including self development and enhancement) and tasks pursued in the environment while the self-efficacy construct tends to focus on tasks. Finally, the *joint* contribution of capability and context beliefs in the form of PABs offers a powerful means for understanding motivational patterns of individuals in context as they relate to their goals in life and in career. General self-efficacy formulations include verbiage about context beliefs but rarely operationalise them (M. E. Ford, 1992). Recent advances in social cognitive career theory (Lent et al., 2001, 2005; Lent, Hackett, & Brown, 1999) and some empirical research (Ali & McWhirter, 2006; Creed, Patton, & Bartrum, 2004; Lindley, 2005) suggest that self-efficacy and beliefs about the context independently predict career outcomes, which suggests that capability and context beliefs need to be jointly considered. Capability beliefs, context beliefs, and their interaction in the form of PABs is, therefore, a promising construct that is distinguished from other similar constructs in terms of its congruence with the person-in-context unit of analysis.

Some illustrations may be helpful. Take someone who has very favourable context beliefs and strong capability beliefs. M. E. Ford (1992, p. 134) would characterise the resulting motivational pattern as "robust," but corresponding negative context- and weak capability beliefs would result in a "hopeless" pattern. More complex patterns also occur very frequently and can also be labelled. For example, a "fragile" pattern would be one defined by positive context beliefs and weak capability beliefs; a "discouraged" pattern would be defined by negative context beliefs and moderate capability beliefs, and a "vulnerable" pattern would be defined by moderate context beliefs and moderate capability beliefs. In each of these examples, the individual's judgment about having the requisite skill needed to function effectively (capability beliefs) represents only one of the two key ingredients that determine the resulting motivational pattern. Equally important is the person's assessment of whether the kind of responsive environment needed for effective functioning is also present.

This typological approach may be useful for career practitioners as they aim to characterise their clients' presenting concerns and match them to established interventions. A client with a "robust" motivational pattern clearly would benefit from a counsellor who acted as a career facilitator while a "discouraged" or "self doubting" client may benefit from the counsellor adopting a coaching approach.

Implications of Developmental-Contextual Approaches for Career Guidance

Developmental contextualism, Developmental Systems Theory, Motivational Systems Theory, and a host of other conceptualisations frequently referred to as Action Theory (e.g., Baltes, 1997; Brandtstädter, 1998; Heckhausen & Schulz, 1995; Valach, Young, & Lynam, 2002) share (to varying degrees) a number of features that have important implications for career guidance. They may be summarised as follows.

Career development is a lifelong process that is part of human development in general. It is inextricably intertwined with cognitive and social development, with biological development, the development of self and identity, and all other aspects of development which is made manifest in a bio-psycho-social repertoire. The antecedents of adult careers emerge during early childhood (Hartung, Porfeli, & Vondracek, 2005) when children begin to explore the world of work vicariously through their parents' experiences and exposure to media-based work representations (Patton & Porfeli, in press). Based upon an extensive review of the literature, these antecedents include career exploration, awareness, interests, adaptability, expectations and aspirations (Hartung et al., 2005). On the other end of the career lifespan, the idea of disengagement from work at retirement is progressively losing credence in first-world labour forces today (Porfeli & Vondracek, in press). The widespread establishment of employer- and state-sponsored retirement systems in first world economies led to one's work life ending at a preordained retirement age that was determined on the basis of population-level life expectancy and productivity estimates. Substantial gains in public health coupled with substantial decreases in the health risks associated with work over the past several decades have increased the life expectancy and abated the historical decline seen in the aging work force. Moreover, the viability of employer- and state-sponsored retirement systems has, for a variety of reasons, been threatened to the point of extinction in the US. The confluence of these two tides has disrupted the normative transition to retirement for many workers and caused the term to take on a relative meaning. Retirement may now represent the cessation of work, the transition to a new career, the transition to a part-time job, or the transition to a new unpaid vocation (e.g., volunteer work).

Career development cannot be fully understood without placing the developing individual in context (Vondracek et al., 1986). One's contexts are defined by physical, social, and temporal parameters. Relevant contexts include the full compliment of contexts described by Bronfenbrenner (1979) in his ecology of human development and range from the proximal context of the family of origin to the macro-contexts of the labour market and global economic conditions. How individuals regulate their complex relationships with the multiple historical, current, and anticipated contexts that affect them has been identified as a key problem of developmental science (D. H. Ford, 1987; Ford & Lerner, 1992; Lerner et al., 2005), and Baltes' model of Selection, Optimisation, and Compensation (SOC) represents a notable effort to elucidate the processes by which person-context relations occur (Baltes &

Baltes, 1990; Baltes, Lindenberger, & Staudinger, 1998). DST more fully accounts for how the past, present, and future influence the person-in-context by asserting that what people anticipate is as influential as what they are experiencing and have experienced.

Developmental-contextual approaches reflect an optimistic view of human potential and the ability of individuals to shape their own development by selecting and shaping the contexts within which they operate, and by making choices that optimize their chances of living rewarding and successful lives. Individuals are active contributors to their own (career) development via their behaviours (actions), which affect their multiple contexts. Those, in turn, provide feedback based on the individual's behaviours that result in alterations in the individual's ideas about context and self and thus in development. We originally referred to this as "dynamic interaction" (Vondracek et al., 1986) to reflect the mutual impact of individual on context and context on individual.

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Chapter 11
THEORIES IN CROSS-CULTURAL CONTEXTS

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During the last two decades, there has been an increased attention towards being able to provide culturally appropriate mental health services to ethnic and racial minorities. This increased vigilance has been mirrored in other areas of counselling such as in vocational counselling/career guidance. In order to be able to better serve culturally different clients, researchers have to be able to develop career theories and models that are culturally sensitive, effective and appropriate. At the same time researchers have to examine the strengths and weaknesses of Western based models and challenge them so that they can be more applicable on a global/international level (Leong, 1995). In order to meet this need in career counselling many scholars have begun to do this on two levels. One way is to reformulate the already existing career theories so that greater attention is given to the cultural, ethnic and racial background of the client. The second level involves scholars designing more culturally appropriate career models from scratch.

Many scholars have argued that in order to improve the process and outcome of career counselling, it needs to occur within a cultural context (Fouad & Bingham, 1995; Fouad, 1995; Fouad & Arbona, 1994; Leong, 1993; Leong & Brown, 1995; Leong & Hartung, 1997). This means that in order to be able to provide career services that are effective, appropriate and desirable career counsellors need to address issues such as ethnicity, race, identity, language, values, interpersonal communication style and time orientation, etc. simultaneously to the presenting career concern. This has become even more of a reality in most societies especially as the current demographics continue to change in diversity. In addition, minorities often are most likely to initially seek counselling services that address career, work and/or educational issues. If racial and ethnic minority clients initially receive culturally appropriate and effective career guidance services, it will open the door to additional mental health services in the future, increasing the likelihood of them coming back when the need arises (Leong, 1993; Sue & Sue, 1990).

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J.A. Athanasou, R. Van Esbroeck (eds.) *International Handbook of Career Guidance*,

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Background/History

The psychology literature demonstrates two parallel processes within the research and theories relevant to individuals who are not of primarily European White descent. The first process known as the *cross-cultural psychological* approach has an anthropological background and suggests that Europeans constitute the majority defining cultural group from which generalisability of laws are made towards persons of other cultures or countries (Berry, Poortinga, Segall, & Dasen, 1992). The other process is known as the *ethnic minority psychological* approach, which has a sociological influence and suggests that ethnic and racial groups be treated as separate categories that have significant consequences associated with the categorical identification.

Both approaches are similar within the domain of cross cultural career guidance as they both value and advocate for understanding the nature and scope of culture's influence on culturally diverse individuals. However, both approaches are also different as cross cultural counselling is more "*etic*" in nature which suggests that universal laws of behaviour across all cultures be the focus of counselling. Whereas the ethnic minority psychology approach is more "*emic*" in nature suggesting that culturally unique factors specific to the experience of the individual as part of identifying to a particular ethnic group is the focus of counselling. In reality both approaches are necessary in the cross cultural career guidance process as cross-cultural counselling addresses the issue of cultural validity whereas ethnic minority psychology highlights the issue of cultural specificity (Leong & Brown, 1995).

Theoretical Approaches to Multicultural Career Development

Recently increased attention and investigation has been directed at examining career theories and models as they apply to diverse clients within a culturally diverse context (e.g., Fitzgerald & Betz, 1994; Fouad, 1995; Leong, 1995; Savickas, 1995a, 1995b, 2001). However, some criticisms have arisen from this investigation suggesting a limited applicability to career counselling within diverse populations. In other words many of the current career theories and models are underdeveloped with regard to diverse groups. For instance many of the present career models and theories have used White, undergraduate college students when being developed and thus have limited applicability and relevance to culturally diverse populations (Fitzgerald & Betz, 1994; Triandis, 1994). In addition, not only are these original career theories and models limited within their scope of application, but they are also based upon limited and faulty assumptions, they confuse and/or inappropriately define terms such as race, ethnicity and minority, and they do not adequately address salient issues for culturally diverse individuals such as those related to socio-political, socio-economic, social psychological, and socio-cultural factors (Leong, 1985, 1995; Leong & Serafica, 1995).

This clearly suggests that there is an absence of a current comprehensive culturally appropriate and effective career model/theory for culturally diverse populations and therefore, this is a cry out to scholars to develop cross-cultural models/theories that are more appropriate, sensitive, relevant and effective to individuals from diverse groups. Some scholars have made efforts in identifying cultural variables specific to counselling certain ethnic groups such as African Americans (Cheatham, 1990), Native Americans (Johnson, Swartz, & Martin, 1995), and Muslims (Basit, 1996), but this is not adequate in comprehensively addressing all cultures or all ethnic groups. Efforts have also been made by both original and contemporary career theorists to modify their career models so that they are more comprehensive and so that they do accommodate cultural variables important and applicable to a diverse number of individuals (e.g., Gottfredson, 2002; Holland, 1985; Lent, Brown, & Hackett, 1994, 2000; Roe & Lunneborg, 1991; Super, 1991). Due to the inadequacies present in the current career theories, vocational psychologists have no alternative but to examine what is known about diverse groups and to then apply what is appropriate from the current models (Leong & Brown, 1995). Therefore, some of these career development theories are discussed, criticised and conceptually analysed from a cross-cultural perspective below.

Holland's Person-Environment Fit Theory

Holland's (1985) theory is one of the most popular career theories present that asserts people seek environments that fit their personalities along six varying constellations: realistic, investigative, artistic, social, enterprising, and conventional. However, a big criticism of this theory is regarding its cultural validity among differing groups. According to Day and Rounds (1998) and Day, Rounds, and Swaney (1998) this theory has been proven to be culturally appropriate among both high school and college students across several racial/ethnic groups. On the other hand, in studies with Asian Americans (Tang, Fouad, & Smith, 1999) and Mexican American girls (Flores & O'Brien, 2002), its cultural validity comes into question as these individuals' career interests were not found to be significant predictors of their career choices. Holland's concepts of congruence (match between interest and work environment), differentiation (difference between the highest and lowest interest) and consistency (similarity between the top few interests), showed some support for African Americans (Brown, 1995) but not for Asian Americans (Leong, 1995). Thus, while Holland's theory has been extensively used with Europeans it needs to be used with caution when applied to other ethnic/racial groups (Leong & Chou, 1994; Leong & Hardin, 2002a, 2002b, Leong & Serafica, 1995). Some of the variability can be accounted for by cultural factors such as individual interests, family influence and obligations, racism, classism, sexism, ageism and finally personal and cultural history, etc.

Super's Life Span-Life Space Theory

Another important and highly visible career theory within vocational psychology is that of Donald Super (1991), which proposes that one's self-concept determines occupational choice. The development and implementation of this self-concept is a function of developmental stages along the lifespan. Some critics suggest that disabling issues such as poverty/socioeconomic status and discrimination can affect, restrict, and shape occupational choices more strongly than self-concept can. These critics argue that the reality is that ethnic and racial groups by the nature of belonging to minority group status are faced with many trials and tribulations that ultimately shape their self-concept depending upon they way they react to these various factors (Arbona, 1995, 1996; Carter & Cook, 1992; Ogbu, 1987, 1989, 1992; Leong, Chao, & Hardin, 2000). Super also described the concept of career maturity which is the career development across definable and discrete life stages and which is based upon how well one attains and performs the developmental task of a particular stage. Based upon the definition this concept of career maturity appears to be one based upon independence and assertiveness, which are concepts incongruent to the values present in some cultural groups like Asian Americans. In addition, these concepts have not been studied or validated across differing cultural groups (Hardin, Leong, & Osipow, 2001). Arbona (1995, 1996) also suggested that since Super's theory was developed using a limited sample of available White male middle class individuals it may only be applicable to that group. Since historically this group of White middle class males have been the ones who have both the educational and economic liberties to make career choices in comparison to some other less fortunate ethnic/racial groups this presents a theory that is biased towards other groups.

Gottfredson's Theory of Circumscription and Compromise

Since Gottfredson's (2002) theory proposed to describe a career model that took into account cultural differences such as time, gender and social class, it may have some relevance with diverse populations (Arbona, 1995). Gottfredson's (2002) theory proposes that as people pass through their own set of unique life stages they develop an evolving self-concept that with passing time begins to perceive both career/job accessibility and compatibility (*circumscription aspect*). The other aspect of this theory suggests that due to perceived unavailability individuals will *compromise* and sacrifice career choices developed based upon self concepts. Both aspects of circumscription and compromise are based upon self perceptions. Researchers have found that this theory has not been adequately studied or validated and the few studies that are present offer mixed findings (Leung, 1993; Leung, Ivey, & Suzuki, 1994; Vandiver & Bowman, 1996). However, in an effort to attain a greater cultural applicability, Gottfredson expanded the original theory in order to look at cultural diversity and within group differences by using evidence from behavioural genetics

to emphasise the active role that individuals play in creating their own environments. Her reformed theory rejects the passive and powerless role that individuals have in creating change, but embraces a "nature-nurture partnership theory" where both the environment and hereditary are important factors in shaping an individual's work environment based upon the experiences they seek and create. Though this improved model holds theoretical attractiveness for various cultures as it takes into account various racial and ethnic attitudes, discriminations, values, historical experiences and ethnic concepts, it lacks in its testability and thus this accounts for the limited empirical research that is present. On the down side this new expanded theory does not seem to generate any new, specific testable hypotheses which could prove the cultural validity of the theory and in the end contribute to the ongoing dearth of empirical research (Leong & Brown, 1995).

Social Cognitive Career Theory (SCCT)

Out of all the career theories discussed so far, Lent, Brown and Hackett's SCCT offers the most promise with regard to cultural validity with diverse populations. This is because it is comprehensive in nature and is able to offer quite a bit of convergence of many of the previously discussed career theories. In addition this theory is able to focus on constructs such as career interests, self-efficacy and outcome expectations all of which determine the extent of vocational choice within many diverse groups (Leong & Brown, 1995). Using Bandura's (1977, 1986) work as a foundation SCCT builds and expands upon the work of Krumboltz's (1996) social learning theory and Hackett and Betz's (1981) self-efficacy theory which both also use Bandura's work as a foundation for their theories. In fact SCCT emphasises culture to the point that its outcome on self-efficacy, beliefs, interests, choices, and outcomes are studied. In addition numerous studies are present in the literature, that focus on the cultural validity of this theory (Byars & Hackett, 1998; Hackett, Betz, Casas, & Rocha-Singh, 1992). However, the criticism of this theory arises with respect to claiming that career interests predict occupational choice, for which limited empirical evidence exists in the literature (Flores & O'Brien, 2002; Tang et al., 1999). For career counsellors this brings to awareness the importance and possible presence of collectivistic based interests and self-concepts versus individualistic ones in differing cultures (Leong & Serafica, 1995). Additionally, variables such as acculturation can play a part in determining career choice (Leong & Chou, 1994). This aspect of the theory is inconsistent with the original SCC theory, which suggests that the effects of acculturation at the most are indirect (Lent et al., 1994). Another criticism of this theory with regard to cultural validity is with regard to contextual variables within this theory such as barriers and outcome expectations. Since, these are still understudied constructs their validity within various ethnic/racial cultures is difficult to state with any degree of certainty (Lent et al., 2000).

Savickas's Career Theory on Constructivism

Savickas's career theory (1995a, 1995b) is one that supports and thus helps advance culturally sensitive and appropriate career interventions. Savickas's theory is based upon personal construct and it helps individuals make improved career decisions. The theory focuses on subjective and personal realities and therefore it can be catered to meet individual needs (Leong & Hartung, 2003). Savickas (1995a, 1995b) suggested that individuals use interpretive and interpersonal processes in order to construct the career process and it is through these processes that they are able to give meaning and direction to the vocational choices, behaviour and attitudes. Savickas (2001) introduced three main components to his career theory of constructivism and they are as follows: individual differences in traits are considered, individual differences in traversing through developmental tasks and coping strategies employed are looked into, and the differential, developmental, and dynamic views of the individual's career are investigated (Psychodynamic motive). In summary, this model incorporates aspects of what, how and why individuals behave the way they do with regard to their career/vocational choices.

Multicultural Career Counselling Processes, Techniques and Resources

It becomes evident that with the exception of SCCT, nearly all the career theories discussed above have failed to account for cultural variables/factors such as acculturation, language efficiency, values, family piety, etc., that could influence career decisions and choices. As a result these models will remain limited in scope and applicability to diverse populations even if major culturally sensitive modifications are made to them. None the less below is a discussion of some of these cultural specific variables that need to be accounted for and considered and that in the end could prove to be useful for ethnically diverse populations as many will have differing career aspirations and values. In the end the bottom line is that new more culturally sensitive career theories in relation to ethnic minority career development and behaviour need to be produced and then empirically investigated (Tinsley, 1994). This means looking at variables that consider issues like differing attitudes, values, experiences, norms, etc.

Culture Specific Variables

As can be seen from the above discussion the field has focused much time and energy to culturally validating the current major theories. On the other hand, an in depth investigation of culture specific variables involved in the process of career

development will help us to better understand the processes involved when counselling culturally different individuals. A few of these variables are only briefly mentioned here due to limitations present on space. More information may be found in the Leong and Brown (1995) publication.

Acculturation

This is an important cultural and moderator variable for many ethnic and racial groups such as Asians and therefore it is important in understanding the process of career development among diverse populations (Arbona, 1995; Johnson et al., 1995; Leong & Brown, 1995; Leong & Tata, 1990; Padilla, 1980). Acculturation describes a multidimensional, interactional and complex process between incoming and host cultures (Padilla, 1980). In fact many scholars consider acculturation to be a culture specific variable in understanding and predicting vocational behaviour because depending upon the degree of acculturation of an individual to the host culture, the results of their decisions and values regarding the world of work can be affected. In other words, different levels of acculturation will predict different career outcomes (Leong & Chou, 1994). Each level of acculturation is symbolic of a different ethnic identity dependent upon the degree one negotiates the acceptance of the host culture versus the culture of origin. These differing levels/stages of acculturation are discussed in greater detail later in the chapter. Examples of differing work values include such things as salary, task satisfaction, self-realisation, object orientation, solitude, group cohesiveness and preference, or ideas-data orientation (Leong, Hardin, & Gupta, 2007).

Racial and Ethnic Identity Development

This is another important culture specific variable to consider in career counselling and development. Different models have been proposed and formulated for different ethnic groups. For instance, Helms (1993) described in detail the racial and ethnic development for African Americans (i.e. pre-encounter, encounter, immersion, and internalisation stages) and S. Sue and D. W. Sue (1990) formulated a similar model for Asian Americans (i.e., traditionalist, marginal man, and Asian American). In these models race can be used in three different ways, such as a nominal classification system, within a cultural conceptualisation context based upon different socialisation patterns and finally within a socio-political context (Helms & Piper, 1994; Leong et al., in press). The race classification system does not appear to effect vocational contents such as interests, needs, choice of majors and occupations, and work values, but it is important within the context of vocational processes such as career maturity, perception of work environment and climate, work satisfaction, satisfactoriness and racism at work. In some cases "*racial salience*" also becomes a very important factor in the world of work as it

is defined as the degree to which an individual perceives race as a factor effecting their work options. Other scholars have also found racial identity to be linked to vocational identity and its development in terms of perceived opportunities, occupational stereotypes and career-decision making processes (Leong & Chou, 1994; Parham & Austin, 1994). In addition they also found that this ultimately was linked to the process of acculturation, as depending upon the stage/identity of acculturation one can expect specific differing career outcomes.

Issues of Segregation and Discrimination (Colourism)

These are important factors to consider when looking at career and occupational development among diverse populations. For instance Africans are seen to be over represented in unskilled or semi-skilled occupations in comparison to white collar or skilled professions. This limits career access to individuals of a certain colour or from certain cultures. These factors also apply to gender and socioeconomic contexts. However, there has been some speculation about the effects of socioeconomic status and ethnicity in relation to career and occupational development. Some studies have shown that the consequences of socioeconomic status on career or academic success are stronger than those of culture or ethnicity, to the point that the effects of culture/ethnicity can become less significant or even obsolete when compared to the effects of SES (Zevalkink & Riksen-Walraven, 2001). For instance women are stereotyped to be more orientated towards domestic occupations. This is especially true in certain more paternalistic cultures where the focus is on the male being the primary bread earner in the family. Socio-economic status also limits career, educational and training opportunities (Leong & Brown, 1995). It is clear from the literature that occupational segregation among racial and ethnic minorities is an important issue to consider when working with diverse populations. Another culture specific variable involved for many ethnic groups, especially Asian Americans includes a concept known as "*loss of face*" (Redding & Ng, 1982). This is an important social behaviour variable among Asian Americans that could also have a major impact on career behaviours and attitudes for this population.

Cultural Specificity

There continues to be a strong need to formulate more "emic" or more "culturally specific" interventions in order to better understand the world of work for diverse and global populations. Currently such approaches/studies are limited and this is in part due to the lack of a presence of culturally sensitive/appropriate research instruments for investigating culture specific career constructs among various racial and ethnic populations. Updating or investigating already present Western models and theories will be only helpful to a certain degree providing only partial answers. A more comprehensive understanding of vocational

development for different ethnic and racial groups requires that more non-European constructs be thoroughly investigated. Another valuable resource that can found in the vocational literature is that of culture comparative studies of career development and vocational behaviour and this can be an important tool in helping us get a better understanding of career counselling with ethnic minority groups. This is because culture-comparative studies can look at numerous issues in detail. A few of these issues are as follows: culture specific and culture general components of the world of career, occupational stereotyping and segregation, cultural validity of various career interest inventories and career scales, use of career counselling services, variations in occupational stress and work adjustment and finally as a method to identify gender differences (Leong et al., in press). Leong (1995) discussed some of these culture-comprehensive studies in greater detail. Another advantage of looking at culturally comparative approaches is that they not only highlight the pitfalls of culturally inappropriate guidance but they also suggest using more cross-culturally appropriate career assessment, intervention and therapy tools for working with diverse and global populations.

Culturally Appropriate Career Counselling Models

The cornerstone of culturally effective and appropriate career interventions lies in developing and implementing culturally appropriate career counselling models. Below are some of these newly developed career counselling models that take into account cultural variables and issues. A brief description of four of these models (integrative sequential model, culturally appropriate model, development approach, and the integrative multidimensional model) is provided in an effort to aid with the career counselling process of various culturally diverse and global groups and in the hope of spearheading further research efforts and ideas. These models are by no means exhaustive, but they do provide a staring place for scholars to expand on or revise these theories.

Integrative Sequential Model

This is a comprehensive career model that is sequential in and integrative in nature as it highlights all the stages of the career counselling process from a grounded cultural context (Leong & Hartung, 1997). This model emphasises how culture and ethnicity influences our lives, especially with career and occupational issues (e.g., the model emphasises how ethnic/cultural individuals conceptualize career problems, whether they seek professional help for these career problems, and the context within which counsellors identify culturally appropriate interventions).

There are four stages to this model and they included problem conception, problem emergence, help seeking, and career counselling intervention and outcome. The scenario of Asian Americans will be used as a way to exemplify the implementation of each of these stages. In the first stage (problem conception) it is expected that since Asian Americans have a collectivistic world view they will identify their career problems in a way that is very different from their individualistic European counterparts. In other words, Asian Americans will be less likely to view their problems as personal or as solely integral to their view of "self" as they may experience tension deciding between their personal interests/goals/aspirations and family duty/obligations and social responsibilities. In addition, there is a certain family hierarchy and family respect that would need to be adhered to. This would make it difficult for them to seek outside help. This tension is highlighted in the second stage of the model as most Eurocentric counsellors will approach their career problems from an autonomous and separate entity world view. This means they could be inaccurately perceived as dependent and immature. This misconception, coupled with family obligations and responsibilities makes it difficult for Asian Americans to discuss their problems with outsiders such as professionals. Clients with such a collectivistic value will have to go through extreme stress, thus, surpassing a high threshold of discomfort, before they seek career counselling.

Those who do eventually seek professional help are likely to encounter many problems that leave them frustrated and disappointed, as their career problems are not approached from a culturally sensitive or effective manner. Therefore, it can be expected that these clients experience counselling with a high degree of trepidation, mistrust, and stereotypes. Unless counsellors encounter ethnic/cultural clients from a non-egalitarian and European view, they will end up missing/misdiagnosing the issues at hand. Unfortunately, this cultural awareness does not happen often, and instead many of the cultural distrust and stereotypes get confirmed, leaving these clients disappointed and further disheartened.

The major advantage of this model is that it allows for counsellors to take into consideration and explore in depth individual differences in the career process that are based upon factors such as culture, preference, or history. For instance, an example of this could include taking into consideration issues such as religion, sexual orientation, age, gender, SES status, and ethnicity. This model also highlights the importance that the natural cultural history plays in the career counselling process, exerting its influence way before and way after counselling has begun and then ended.

Culturally Appropriate Model

This career model came about due to the increased attention and focus on creating culturally sensitive interventions in the field (e.g., Sue & Sue, 1990) and thus contains many of the same components. Using culture as a central theme, Fouad and Bingham (1995) formulated this seven-step model. This was based upon the original work done by Ward and Bingham (1993), which focused on a model for minor-

ity culture women. The foundation of this theory is based upon focusing on cultural factors and variables such as racial identity development, discrimination, family role expectations, gender role expectations and various other worldview dimensions. The seven steps of the model include: establishing a culturally appropriate relationship with the client, identification of career issues, assessment of the effects of cultural variables, setting career counselling goals, designing culturally appropriate counselling interventions, career related decision making, and finally implementation and follow-up. It is important to point out that depending upon the racial/ethnic grouping of the client; each step will vary and needs to be adjusted in order to be congruent with the culture of the client (Leong et al., in press).

Step 1: The beginning of the counselling process is characterised by the establishment of a culturally appropriate relationship. This in turn will determine the client's expectations and the outcome of the counselling process. For some ethnic groups, this is the most important part of the counselling process, especially for those groups that value the interpersonal process. This is made possible by establishing rapport with the client; by attending to pertinent cultural issues, values, norms; by suspending any applicable stereotypes and biases; and by adopting a flexible and accommodating attitude so that cultural variables can be attended to. Step 2: Involves identifying culturally appropriate career issues pertinent from the client's perspective. This means investigating the client's presenting career issues from various domains such as cognitive, emotional, behavioural, and environmental. Step 3: Involves investigating and assessing the effects of the cultural variables on the client's issues and decisions. This will give the counsellor a better understanding of the effects of cultural variables on the client's decision making and development. Examples of issues that need to be attended to include biological and genetic factors, gender, family, race/ethnicity, SES, age and religion. On another level, issues such as racism, stereotyping and prejudice can also affect career decisions making career processes for ethnic minorities complicated. By working with clients to assess and pinpoint the particular cultural issues that affect their career development, helps the implementation of the next stages in this model- setting of appropriate treatment goals, career decision making, designing and implementation of appropriate interventions (Stages 4, 5, 6, and 7).

Developmental Approach

This career model was conceptualised and formulated by Hartung et al. (1998) and it consists of incorporating multicultural issues and factors into Super's (1983) existing Career Developmental Assessment and Counselling Model (C-DAC). Culture is infused throughout the various stages of this model. This model is especially beneficial for those career counsellors whose theoretical orientation is developmental in nature as it increases their awareness, knowledge and skills of the cultural influences on the career development process of the client. This systematic model combines theory and practice in an effort to integrate differential, developmental and phenomenological methods. In addition, it uses career assessment tools as a way to explore

a client's career knowledge, values and interests throughout various career developmental stages and tasks (Leong & Hartung, 2003). The model consists of the following four stages: A preview/assessment of the client's history in order to determine role salience and then in order to formulate a career-counselling plan. However, it can be speculated that some ethnic groups, especially those that experience cases of racism or prejudice, may not be in a position to determine or claim role salience. This is probably because role salience in these instances may be hindered by other extenuating circumstances such as low SES, cultural obligations, or even imposed family expectations (Carter & Constantine, 2000). Stage two of the model involves an in depth assessment of the client's readiness, adaptability, interests and values in making a career decision and choice. Step three of the model includes a data assessment component, which suggests that all the information gathered via both formal and informal assessment techniques is reviewed in detail. The fourth and final stage of the model involves the actual career counselling process where all information is explored and interpreted (Leong et al., in press; Leong & Hartung, 2003).

In this model, there are a total of five dimensions involved: role salience (the importance of work and/or non work roles for the client), career development (involves developmental stages and tasks involved in the career counselling process), career choice readiness (involves both attitudes and career knowledge as well), career values and career interests (includes an emphasis on desired career outcomes and preference of certain occupations) and finally the formulation of a plan and its implementation. It has been suggested that a sixth dimension known as the cultural identity development stage be incorporated so that the primary focus of the model can be on culture. This would allow counsellors to draw attention to culture specific variables such as acculturation, cultural value orientation, external career barriers such as racism or discrimination and special racial group career development stages and behaviours (Hartung et al., 1998). Hartung et al. also suggest emphasising this model along three dimensions at the individual, group and universal level so that the model's cultural validity can be increased.

So far discussions have centred on the process involved with clients. It goes without saying that counsellors have their own culture and set of values, rules, ideas, beliefs and behaviours that comes with this. In order to increase counsellor empathy, relatedness towards client and counselling effectiveness; it is important that counsellors undergo a parallel process by being exposed to a similar battery of assessment instruments. This will also help counsellors to become more aware of their cultural career development (Hartung et al., 1998; Leong & Hartung, 2003).

Integrative Multidimensional Model

Lamenting the lack of culturally sensitive or comprehensive models in the field, Leong (1996) suggested a comprehensive, multidimensional and integrative model for the crosscultural counselling process. This model was then extended to career counselling situations (Leong & Hardin, 2002a, 2002b; Leong & Hartung, 2003).

This model is based upon the tripartite approach that like the above model considers and integrates career issues within the context of the following three dimensions: individual, group and universal. The first, "Individual" dimension is more often covered by individual learning and existential theories where individual learning and personal phenomenology are paramount. The "Group" dimension refers to two domains, namely: cross-cultural psychology/ethnic minority psychology and gender differences. The third, "Universal" dimension is based upon the universal laws of mainstream society, psychology and human behaviour. All three dimensions are equally important and need to be integrated in order to understand and attend to all the important facets of the human experience.

This integrated approach increases the validity of the study, and also provides a complete, comprehensive and dynamic insight into the client's world. The problem with past cross-cultural research efforts is that they have only focused on one of these dimensions often ignoring the others (Leong, 1995). This model is versatile and adaptive with diverse populations as it is based upon an eclectic style of therapy and can be applied to any career theory/model already established (Leong et al., in press).

A basic premise of the integrative model is that an "assumed" universality of the career constructs (e.g., career maturity) is taken and this helps identify "group-level" (i.e., cultural in the present case) variables that suggest a way to fill in the holes in the current major and dominant Western based theories. Therefore, from the perspective of cultural relativity, emic or culture specific approaches can be used to help explain anomalies within some of the older Eurocentric based career models. However, without empirical testing or verification, the role of culture to account for the large variances present in the vocational behaviour of diverse groups cannot be over emphasised. Professionals need to be careful about the assumptions they make. Therefore, there is a need to carefully examine all three dimensions (group, universal and individual) and how they interact together to produce certain outcomes in the career process. Clearly, the focus has to be on both cultural validity and cultural specificity types of research in vocational psychology (Leong & Brown, 1995).

In summary, there appears to be an increase in the development of culturally relevant career counselling models and four of these models of cross-cultural career counselling have been reviewed above. They have begun to address the cultural factors that need to be considered when counselling ethnic/racial clients. The development of these models bodes well for the future of vocational psychology and career intervention as the past career theories have been grounded in Western Eurocentric models and have failed to identify or even consider these important cultural factors. By incorporating important cultural variables, such as these models attempt to do, helps advance the field of career/vocational psychology move closer to its goal of cultural validity within the fields of theory, research, and practice with individuals representing diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds. Finally, in the not-too-distant future, it is quite likely that research will emerge that further tests these models so that they can either be challenged or supported; compared and contrasted with other well established career models; and new more appropriate models can be developed and integrated.

Future Research and Theory Development

The review of the current career models bodes well for the future of cross-cultural career counselling. It becomes evident that career counselling needs to take place within a cultural context in order to be effective and beneficial. This is a factor that needs to be incorporated regardless of whether clients are from ethnic minority populations or not because every individual comes to counselling with a cultural history that needs to be attended to and accommodated. In addition the plight to continue culturally valid and culturally specific research in the field of career counselling needs to be undertaken and extended. Even though many original career models/theories are being adapted, modified, developed or extended, there is still much that needs to be done in order to fill all the current gaps. The field has only just begun to lay the groundwork for multicultural career counselling. Some specific approaches that have arisen and continue to be developed include those of a cultural contextual nature, of a personal contractual nature and of a narrative nature. These are good beginnings but they are only a start to what needs to follow.

The review of the literature above showed that there are many culture specific variables that need to be considered and incorporated when counselling diverse and global populations. A number of concepts have been identified by various scholars (Arbona, 1995; Brown, 1995; Johnson et al., 1995; Leong, 1995, 1998; Leong & Serafica, 1995) and have been suggested to be taken into consideration when developing or studying future culturally appropriate career models and/or theories. To mention some of these variables they include the following: experiences of discrimination, poverty (socioeconomic status), acculturation, gender/sex, cultural values, ethnic identity, cultural history, reputation or "loss of face", migration status, region or country of origin, "colourism", tribal identification, and reservation versus non-reservation status of tribes. Only recently have scholars begun to identify and direct some attention towards the career issues involved in the Islamic culture (Basit, 1996; Mari-Sami, 1982; Siann & Knox, 1992). For instance, "family honour" is very important in the Islamic culture and issues arising out of this need to be considered and attended to during the career guidance process with Muslim clients (Elbedour, Abu-Bader, Onwuegbuzie, Abu-Rabia, & El-Aassam, 2006; Gilbert, Gilbert, & Sanghera, 2004).

The next step involved after developing culturally appropriate and effective career models and interventions is testing them with various cultural groups. Finally all new or modified studies need to be documented sufficiently so that the career literature can grow substantially. From the perspective of statistical logistics, adequate/large enough sample sizes need to be used in order to obtain significant results. In addition to carrying out between group studies, within group experiments also need to be conducted in order to get results that apply across a wide range of racial/ethnic groups. This is because some groups such as Asian Americans have large within group heterogeneity that needs to be both considered and studied in the future in order to be better able to understand and serve these individuals. In addition, developmental factors that change with time need to be considered. Therefore, by conducting both longitudinal and cross-sectional studies would be extremely beneficial to the vocational counselling literature as none is currently present with regard to cultural groups. Finally,

outcome studies need to be conducted so that the application of these new or modified career theories/models can be empirically tested.

Conclusion

It becomes evident from the literature review above that some significant strides have been made and implemented to modify or develop culturally appropriate career models and theories so that the career counselling needs of racially and ethnically diverse populations are met. This will be crucial in the future especially if career models and theories are to be effective and culturally appropriate. Significant work still needs to be done specifically in the areas of investigating and creating culture specific factors and variables that apply to the career development and vocational behaviour of various cultural populations. The current trend of modifying dominant culture/ethnic/racial group career theories is not the ideal solution to providing culturally appropriate services to diverse cultures and individuals. However, it is still a viable option until a better solution can be sought and thus should not be abandoned until then. Some suggestions on future career development and research efforts include the following: Firstly little empirical research has been conducted on career/vocational/occupational issues among the various ethnic groups. Hence there is a desperate need for more systematic empirical studies of the career and vocational experience and problems encountered by ethnic minorities. In addition, there is also a need for comparative studies between the various ethnic groups in order for professionals to get a better understanding of the appropriate interventions to implement. Some methodological issues may include taking into account the extreme heterogeneity that exists within each of the ethnic groups. Therefore, ethnic intra-group and subgroup studies with have to be conducted. Another area for future research is with regards to testing the already present models of career development which have been developed on European Americans to see if they are culturally valid for the other ethnic subgroups and if not, what modifications are needed in order for it to be culturally relevant as well as culturally appropriate in terms of career interventions. With the recent increases in numbers of immigrants to the United States it will be imperative to conduct career related studies in reference to acculturation, ethnic identity and adjustment issues. In addition socioeconomic status is another important moderator variable that needs to be investigated in future research. Clearly there is a desperate need of research that separates out the effects of social economic status from racial and ethnic minority group status.

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Part III
Educational and Vocational Guidance in Practice

Chapter 12
CAREER GUIDANCE AND COUNSELLING IN PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATIONAL SETTINGS

Norman C. Gysbers

Career guidance and counselling began to emerge in countries around the world in the first part of the 20th century as a result of the growth of industrialisation (Keller & Viteles, 1937; Watts, 1996). Super (1974) pointed to the work of Parsons in the United States in the early 1900s, Lahy's work in personnel selection in France in 1910, Gemelli's efforts in personnel selection in Italy in 1912, Christiaens' focus on vocational guidance in Belgium in 1911 and 1912, and the pioneer work in Geneva and London in 1914 and 1915 described by Reuchlin (1964) as early beginning efforts to establish career guidance and counselling in the United States and Europe.

In 1937 Keller and Viteles provided a worldwide vision of career guidance and counselling when they published their comparative survey covering countries in Europe, Asia, and Africa. These authors noted common purposes for career guidance and counselling but many different patterns of organisation and service delivery depending upon countries' social, economic, and political traditions.

As the decades of the 20th century unfolded, work continued on developing and implementing career guidance and counselling in educational settings in countries around the world. A review of these efforts revealed some unity in purpose. However, a great deal of diversity in administrative practices and methods of delivery was also noted (Super, 1974).

During the last decade of the 20th century and this the first decade of the 21st century, work on developing and implementing career guidance and counselling in educational settings has intensified. This chapter focuses specifically on this time period and describes the career guidance and counselling work being done in primary and secondary education settings generally covering ages 5 to 18. The chapter opens with some background information concerning the administrative authority for career guidance and counselling and whether or not that authority is centralised or decentralised. With that background information in mind the chapter continues with a sampling of career guidance and counselling programs and practices from

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J.A. Athanasou, R. Van Esbroeck (eds.) *International Handbook of Career Guidance*,

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around the world. This section of the chapter focuses on what career guidance and counselling knowledge, skills, and attitudes (learning outcomes) children and adolescents are being asked to acquire as well as the delivery systems and methods being used to provide career guidance and counselling. The chapter closes with discussion of some unresolved issues noted in the literature that effect the ways in which career guidance and counselling is conceptualised, delivered, and practised in primary and secondary educational settings.

Background

Before a sampling of career guidance and counselling programs and practices is presented however, it is first necessary to understand that different governmental organisational patterns exist for career guidance and counselling in various countries. Is career guidance and counselling a part of countries' educational systems or is it administered from outside their educational systems? Is the authority for career guidance and counselling centralised nationally or is it decentralised across regions, providences, or states?

Administrative Authority

As early as 1937, Keller and Viteles pointed out that there were different administrative patterns used by various countries to manage career guidance and counselling. At that time they noted that national philosophy dictated administrative practices which sometimes placed authority for career guidance and counselling in ministries of education and sometimes in ministries of labour. Later, Super (1974) in his analysis of administrative practices, noted similar patterns of placing authority for career guidance and counselling in either ministries of labour or education. Current literature finds that these two patterns exist today (Plant, 2006; Watts & Fretwell, 2004; Watts & Sultana, 2004).

Why is the placement of authority for career guidance and counselling important? It is important because it can impact the type of delivery systems and methods used to provide career guidance and counselling in primary and secondary educational settings.

Centralised or Decentralised

Another issue is whether or not the authority for career guidance and counselling is located at national, regional, province, or state levels. In the United States education is a state matter although the federal government is increasingly expanding its role

causing some confusion as to the placement of authority for career guidance and counselling. In other countries education is a national matter and policies and curriculum for career guidance and counselling emanate from central government sources, either ministries of education or labour.

Learning Outcomes, Delivery Systems, and Methods for Career Guidance and Counselling

Given the variety of organisational patterns for career guidance and counselling that exist in various countries, what kinds of learning outcomes, delivery systems, and methods for career guidance and counselling are being used today. The first part of this section describes examples of learning outcomes for career guidance and counselling. Specific attention is given to the domains of learning outcomes being used. Then attention turns to how learning outcomes are delivered in educational settings. Finally, example career guidance and counselling methods are described.

Before these topics are presented however, it is first necessary to address the differing terminology that has evolved to label career guidance and counselling. A review of the literature revealed that authors around the world use a variety of terms. For example, Guichard (2001) used the term career education while Patton and McMahon (2002) used the words educational and vocational guidance or career guidance. Plant (2003) identified it as "Educational and vocational guidance, nowadays commonly labelled careers guidance or (support for) career development…" (p. 87). The Paris 2001 IAEVG Declaration on Educational and Vocational Guidance (Van Esbroeck, 2002) stated it is educational and vocational guidance and counselling. Watts & Fretwell (2004) used several terms including career education and guidance in the schools and career guidance services. Bimrose and Barnes (2006) used the term career guidance in the title of their article but only used the word guidance in the text of the article. Finally, Richard (2005) used the title career development programs.

Is the terminology used to identify and describe career guidance and counselling important? The answer is yes (Hughes & Karp, 2004; Maddy-Bernstein, 2000). It is beyond the scope of this chapter however to attempt resolution of the terminology issue. Thus, for purposes of this chapter the solution proposed by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (2004) is used.

> In some countries terms such as "vocational guidance", "vocational counselling", "career counselling", "information, advice and guidance" and "career development" are used to refer to the range of activities that is included here within the term career guidance. In this report career guidance encompasses all of these, and no attempt is made to distinguish between them. (p. 18)

To this solution the word counselling was added. Thus, in this chapter, the term career guidance and counselling is used to encompass all of the terms found in the current literature.

Learning Outcomes

What knowledge should students acquire, what skills should they develop, and what attitudes should they form as a result of participating in the activities of career guidance and counselling? These are important questions because they presuppose that there are learning outcomes for career guidance and counselling. This is a critical presupposition because it assumes that career guidance and counselling has important content to provide to students that contributes to their overall growth and development. This means that career guidance and counselling can be conceptualised as a mainstream, ongoing, and systematic developmental program with its own curriculum, similar to those in other educational disciplines (Gysbers & Henderson, 2006).

During the past 30 years theorists and practitioners in many countries have accepted the presupposition that there are learning outcomes for career guidance and counselling by focusing on identifying these learning outcomes. This has resulted in a number of lists of learning outcomes (knowledge, skills, attitudes) students in primary and secondary educational settings should acquire as a result of participating in career guidance and counselling activities. Some countries such as the United States use the word standards to label these learning outcomes paralleling the use of that word in the academics disciplines (American School Counselor Association, 2005).

The lists of learning outcomes are typically grouped by broad domains and often titled career development, academic development, and personal-social development. Each of the broad learning outcomes is usually then further subdivided by age, stage, or grade level. Sometimes the words goals and indicators are used to specify learning outcomes at particular ages, stages, or grade levels. Also, sometimes these specific learning outcomes are arranged by learning stages such as knowledge acquisition, application, and reflection.

To illustrate, example titles of the domains of learning outcomes from Australia, Canada, Hong Kong, the Nordic countries (Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland, and Iceland), the United Kingdom, and the United States are provided below. References are provided for each country for individuals who wish to obtain more detailed information about the specifics of these learning outcomes and how they are grouped and used.

The Australian Blueprint for Career Development (Haines, Scott, & Lincoln, 2006) contains 22 career competencies, each with a set of performance indicators grouped into three domains. These domains are Personal Management, Learning and Work Exploration, and Life/Work Building. Each of the 11 competencies has a number of performance indicators grouped into four levels (elementary school, middle/junior high school, high school, and adulthood). The performance indicators detail the specific knowledge, skills, and attitudes that individuals should master at each level to effectively manage their lifelong career building tasks.

In the Hong Kong secondary schools, career development is one of the titles of the domains found in an overall life skills curriculum that also includes the domains

of academic development and personal-social development. In the career development domain various topics are covered including career planning, gender issues in career, vocational training selection, job hunt preparation, job hunting, and career goals setting. Under each of the topics, student competencies are provided. While career development is a separate domain in Hong Kong it is important to note that it is part of an overall education for life curriculum. "Senior secondary graduates are expected to master a set of generic transferable skills to enhance their functioning in various life roles such as learners, friends, workers, parents, and citizens" (Yuen et al., 2003, p. 5).

In the United Kingdom the DOTS model remains the dominant framework for career guidance and counselling (career education) (McCash, 2006). It has four aims or broad statements of learning outcomes. They are decision learning, opportunity awareness, transition learning, and self-awareness (Law, 1996; Law & Watts, 1977).

While the DOTS model for career education remains the dominant model in the United Kingdom, McCash (2006) described a number of new framework formulations that are emerging. These formulations include SeSiFoUn with its outcomes of sensing, sifting, focusing, and understanding and CPI that includes coverage, process, and influences. In addition Law (2006) introduced a new approach called life-role relevance in curriculum (LiRRiC). According to Law this approach is "a set of proposals for reforming how we help school-and-college students learn to manage their lives" (p. 1).

The Nordic countries use the same aims or learning outcomes (DOTS model) as the United Kingdom. However the emphasis is different. According to Plant (2003) Opportunity awareness is emphasised most followed by Self awareness. Decision learning and Transition learning receive much less attention.

In the United States multiple lists of learning outcomes for career guidance and counselling are available. Several lists are national in scope having been developed by national organisations. Other lists were developed by various organisations at the state level.

The National Career Development Guidelines (America's Career Resource Network, 2006) use the titles Personal Social Development, Educational Achievement and Lifelong Learning, and Career Management to organise learning outcomes. Goals are then identified for each group of learning outcomes. Learning stages including Knowledge Acquisition, Application, and Reflection are used to identify the phases of learning. Finally, indicators are provided coded by domain, learning stage, and then numerically.

The American School Counselor Association (ASCA, 2005) developed a list of learning outcomes organised by the domains of Academic, Career, and Person/Social Development. The Association uses the term standards to identify broad areas of learning followed by specific learnings titled competencies and indicators. The grade groupings of K-2, 3–5, 6–8, and 9–12 are used to display the learning sequence of the standards, competencies, and indicators.

A final example for the United States is a list of learning outcomes developed by the state of Missouri (Department of Elementary and Secondary Education, 2003). The learning outcomes for the state of Missouri are grouped into three broad domains titled Personal and Social Development, Academic Development, and

Career Development. Under each of these domains three standards are identified. The standards are further subdivided into Grade Level Expectations K-12.

Delivery Systems

Countries around the world have developed and are using a variety of organisational systems to provide career guidance and counselling to children and adolescents. Some systems are complex and contain a number of subsystems. Others have a single focus with no subsystems. This section of the chapter presents descriptions of several of these systems currently in use.

Career Education

The term career education is used in Australia to define a program concerned with "development of knowledge, skills and attitudes through a planned program of learning experiences in education and training settings which will assist students to make informed decisions about their study and/or work options and enable effective participation in working life" (Ministerial Council for Education, Employment, Training and Youth Affairs, 1998, p. 4). It is curriculum based and provides students with a variety of career guidance and counselling activities and experiences (Prideaux, Patton, & Creed, 2002).

In the United Kingdom career education has been defined as having four purposes: self awareness, opportunity awareness, decision learning, and transition learning (Watts, 2001). According to Watts (2001) career education has been incorporated within the guidelines of the personal, social, and health program. It is a component of this program, and, as a result, is curriculum based.

The idea of career education as a program is increasingly popular in a number of European countries. Denmark, Germany, Greece, Netherlands, and Portugal use curricular programs to deliver career guidance and counselling to students. Sometimes career education activities taught as separate subjects and sometimes they are integrated into the curriculum of academic subjects (Watts, 2001).

Curricular Approaches

While career education is curriculum based, there are a number of countries that do not use that term but do use the curriculum to deliver career guidance and counselling. For example, in Italy, Nota, Soresi, Solberg, and Ferrari (2005) described the Master Educator Series designed to help educators design and

carry out a comprehensive vocational guidance curriculum. In another example, career guidance and counselling in Hong Kong is embedded in a Life Skills Development Curriculum. The overall Life Skills Development Curriculum is designed to enhance students' academic, personal-social, and career development in well-structured and systematic lessons and activities in the classroom. The Life Skills Curriculum is part of a larger developmental comprehensive guidance program that is being developed and implemented in Hong Kong (Yuen et al., 2003).

Real Games

A recent innovation in the delivery of career guidance and counselling in education settings is the Real Game. In the Real Game series there are six programs for grades 3–4, 5–6, 7–8, 9–10, and 11–12. While the programs in the series represent a type of methodology, they also are a delivery system, and, as a result, are included in this section of the chapter.

What is the Real Game? According to Jarvis and Keeley (2003) the Real Game "is a comprehensive, developmentally sequenced series of career building programs, set in the context of non-threatening, engaging, fun, real-life adult situations that assist students in thinking through and determining life planning, choice, and challenges" (pp. 247–248). Currently the Real Game Series is being used in Australia, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Hungary, Netherlands, New Zealand, the United Kingdom and the United States.

Comprehensive Guidance and Counselling Programs

In the United States, the major way to organise guidance activities and services in schools is the comprehensive guidance and counselling program (ASCA, 2005; Gysbers & Henderson, 2006; Myrick, 2003). The use of the comprehensive guidance and counselling program approach began as early as the 1980s (Gysbers & Moore, 1981), based on work undertaken in the 1970s (Gysbers & Moore, 1974). The American School Counselor Association endorsed the concept by publishing the ASCA National Model (ASCA, 2005).

A comprehensive guidance and counselling program as described by Gysbers and Henderson (2006) consists of four elements: content, organisational framework, resources, and development, management and accountability. The content element identifies competencies considered important by school districts for students to master as a result of their participation in the district's comprehensive guidance and counselling program. The organisational framework contains three structural components (definition, rationale, assumptions), four program components (guidance curriculum, individual student planning, responsive services, system support), along

with a suggested distribution of school counsellor time by grade levels across the four program components. The resource element consists of the human, financial, and political resources required to fully implement the program. Finally, the development, management, and accountability element describes the process of putting a program into place, managing it, and evaluating and enhancing it.

Lehr and Sumarah (2002) reported on the implementation of comprehensive guidance and counselling programs in Nova Scotia, Canada. The program in Nova Scotia schools uses the model described previously in this chapter. Lehr and Sumarah stated that "The program reflects a strong developmental approach, systematically presenting activities appropriate to student developmental levels and including achievable and measurable outcomes in the area of personal, social, educational, and career domains" (p. 292). The guidance curriculum and individual student planning components of the overall guidance and counselling program provide the delivery system for these activities.

Methods

For purposes of this section of the chapter the word method is used to describe the ways that are used in educational settings to assist students to master career guidance and counselling competencies or learning outcomes. Career guidance and counselling methods are logical and systematic ways of instruction. They are ways of helping students acquire career guidance and counselling knowledge, skills, and attitudes.

A review of the literature revealed that there are a wide variety of career guidance and counselling methods being used in various countries to help students acquire career guidance and counselling competencies or learning outcomes. In some countries career guidance and counselling methods are embedded in and carried out through career education programs (e.g., Australia, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Greece, Sweden, United Kingdom). In other countries these methods are carried out through comprehensive guidance and counselling programs (e.g., Canada, United States). In still other countries methods are part of a curriculum such as the Life Skills Curriculum in Hong Kong.

What are some examples of career guidance and counselling methods being used in countries around the world? In Canada (Blueprint for Life/Work Designs, n.d.) a number of methods are used including counselling, assessment, instruction, information, work experience, consultation, referral, placement, and follow-up. Instruction involves group presentations, lessons, infused into the curriculum, classroom life/work simulations, role playing, and peer support groups. Nota et al. (2005), from Italy, created a number of interventions or units to be taught in the curriculum. The topics included "Choice for the Future: No Problem!", "First Commandment: I Believe in Myself… also Because it is in My Interest", "Difficulties: No Problem!", "Assertive Training for Indecisive Students", and "Achieving Success Identity Pathways (ASIP)".

Additional examples of career guidance and counselling methods were provided by Watts and Fretwell (2004) based on case studies of the countries of Chile, Philippines, Poland, Romania, South Africa, and Turkey. They identified an extensive list of methods used in many of these countries. The list included career information, assessments, interviews, work experience, work place study visits, work taster programs, career fairs, and work world visits. Sometimes these methods were part of career education programs and sometimes they were integrated into academic subjects.

In early 2001 the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) undertook a review of career guidance policies in 14 OECD countries. In that report descriptions of a variety of career guidance and counselling methods were provided. These methods included class talks, career fairs, workshops, test interpretation, and personal interview.

Australia has established career education lighthouse schools which use a wide variety of career guidance and counselling methods. These methods include students being paired with mentors, workshops, mock interviews, work simulation, the real game, and visits to industry. In addition these schools feature work placement, information sessions, job interviews, and individual counselling.

Another method that is receiving increased attention is the use of planning devices to assist students to organize and take action on their plans. Plant (2003) described the use of individual action plans or portfolio-like devices in the Nordic countries. The use of portfolio systems was also described in the publication titled "Career Guidance and Public Policy" by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (2004). Descriptions of portfolio systems being used in the Netherlands, Australia, Canada, and Denmark were provided.

Planning devices for students are a major method being used in the United States to deliver career guidance and counselling. Planning devices are part of the Individual Student Planning Component of Comprehensive Guidance and Counselling Programs. The purpose of the individual student planning component of the guidance and counselling program is to provide all students with guidance and counselling activities to assist them to plan for and then monitor and manage their personal-social, academic, and career development. The focus of the activities in this component is on students developing life career plans consistent with their personal-social, academic, and career goals. Through the activities of this component, school counsellors and others with guidance and counselling responsibilities serve students and parents as facilitators of student's personal-social, academic, and career development.

The life career plans that students develop and use are both processes and instruments. As processes, students' plans evolve throughout the school years responding to successions of the learning activities in the overall school program as well as the guidance and counselling activities provided through the guidance curriculum and individual planning components of the guidance and counselling program. As instruments, plans provide structured ways for students to gather, analyse, synthesise, and organize self, educational, and occupational information. As processes,

plans are vehicles through which this information is incorporated into short- and long-range goal setting, decision-making, and planning activities. As instruments, plans are not tracks to be plotted and followed routinely; they are, instead, blueprints for life quests.

The foundation for student planning is established during the elementary school years through guidance curriculum component activities. Self-concept development, the acquisition of learning-to-learn skills, interpersonal relationship skill development, decision-making skill building, and awareness and beginning exploration of educational and occupational possibilities are sample subjects that are covered during these years. Subjects such as these continue to be covered through the guidance curriculum component during middle school and high school, providing new information and experiences to enable students to regularly update, monitor, and manage their plans effectively.

Building on the foundation provided in elementary school, beginning planning for the future is undertaken during the middle school years through the individual student planning component. During this period, students' plans focus on high school course selection, taking into account graduation requirements and the requirements of their postsecondary educational and occupational goals. Guidance curriculum activities continue to support and guide the planning process.

During the high school years, plans developed in the middle school are reviewed and updated periodically in accordance with students' postsecondary personal, educational, and career goals. The individual student planning component provides time for regular individual work with students as well as group sessions focusing on individual student planning. Guidance curriculum activities continue to support student planning by giving emphasis to the development and use of decision-making, goal-setting, and planning skills. The importance and relevance of basic academic and occupational preparation skills are stressed. The goal is for students' plans to become pathways or guides through which students can use the past and present to anticipate and prepare for the future.

Unresolved Issues

In reviewing the literature for this chapter it was apparent that there are a number of unresolved issues concerning how career guidance and counselling is conceptualised, organised, labelled, and practised that require the attention of career guidance and counselling professionals worldwide. One issue is whether or not career guidance and counselling is a stand alone program or a program integrated with personal-social and academic concerns. Another issue is dosage. How much career guidance and counselling is required to make a difference in the learning and behaviour of students. Still another issue is whether or not career guidance and counselling is viewed as a personal service, or a developmental program embedded in part in the curriculum. Finally, a last issue focuses on the perspective of human

growth and development used to theoretically anchor career guidance and counselling delivery systems and methods.

Stand Alone or Integrated

Should career guidance and counselling be a stand alone program, or, should it be integrated with other aspects of guidance and counselling? Watts and Fretwell (2004), in their study of career guidance and counselling in Chile, the Philippines, Poland, Romania, Russia, South Africa, and Turkey, stated that within integrated approaches "there is consistent evidence across the seven countries that career guidance tends to be marginalized…" (p. 10). They identified several reasons for career guidance and counselling being marginalised. One reason was counsellors spending too much time on learning and behavioural problems at the expense of spending time on career guidance and counselling. Another reason was counsellors being assigned administrative tasks that consumed much of their time. The Organisation for Economics Co-operation and Development report titled "Career Guidance and Public Policy" also commented on this issue by stating "The tendency for personal and study counselling to squeeze attention to career guidance within holistic roles has also been observed in the current review in Australia (Queensland), Ireland, and Korea, as well as in other countries" (p. 41).

In the United States and some provinces of Canada, career guidance and counselling is integrated into a comprehensive program of career guidance and counselling. It is the responsibility of school counsellors to provide career guidance and counselling to all students along with academic and personal-social guidance. A holistic model of human growth and development drives this integrated program. The model is based on the assumption that in theory career, personal-social, and academic can be separated, but, in practice they cannot be. Thus, a holistic approach is required.

Dosage

A nationwide sample of 293 youth from 20 high schools in the United States were assessed on a number of variables including their participation in 44 career guidance and counselling interventions (Dykeman et al., 2002). The purpose of the study was to investigate the relationship of students' participation in career guidance and counselling activities and their academic motivation or academic self-efficacy. Dykeman et al. (2002) also assessed the specific dosage provided in the 44 career guidance and counselling interventions. They found very low dosage rates across all students and all interventions. In addition to the dosage issue, Dykeman et al. (2002), raised the questions of the sequencing of interventions in time as well as relative to each other, both very important questions.

A Personal Service or a Curriculum/Program

Is career guidance and counselling a personal service or is it a curriculum/program? Apparently career guidance and counselling in some countries has been viewed as a personal service consisting of personal interviews supported by psychometric testing at key decision points in the lives of students. The authors of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (2004) raised a question about the adequacy of the personal services approach. The authors of the report felt that the personal services approach was inadequate because it focused on educational decision-making with little attention being given to occupational and longer-term career choices. This report stated that:

> To develop students' career self-management and career decision-making skills, an approach based upon personal interviews is not enough. It needs to be supplemented by a developmental approach, embedded in the curriculum and with a strong experiential component. Such programs need to involve community members as well as school staff. They have significant implications for the organisation of the whole school: the curriculum; resource allocation; and teachers' skills. (p. 39)

A Perspective of Human Growth and Development: Life Career Development

What perspective of human growth and development should anchor career guidance and counselling? Super (1974) raised this question years ago when he asked "Is guidance to be for occupational choice or for career development?" (p. 76). Super's question remains an important question today. How broad should the human growth and development perspective be? In keeping with Super's view that career development should be the focus, Gysbers and Henderson (2006) proposed a broad perspective called life career development.

Life career development is defined as self-development over the life span through the integration of the roles, settings, and events in a person's life. The word *life* in the definition indicates that the focus of this conception of human growth and development is on the total person – the human career. The word *career* identifies and relates the many and often varied roles in which individuals are involved (student, worker, consumer, citizen, parent), the settings in which individuals find themselves (home, school, community), and the events that occur over their lifetimes (entry job, marriage, divorce, retirement). The word *development* is used to indicate that individuals are always in the process of becoming. When used in sequence, the words *life career development* bring these separate meanings together, but at the same time a greater meaning evolves. Life career development describes total individuals, each of whom is unique with his or her own lifestyle.

Added to the basic configuration of life career development are the influencing factors of gender, ethnic origin, spirituality, race, sexual orientation, and socioeconomic status. All of these factors play important roles in shaping the life roles, life

settings, and life events of all ages and circumstances over the life span. These factors are important to the conception of life career development because we live in a nation that is part of a world economy; it is increasingly diverse racially, religiously, and ethnically, and yet has common themes that connect us all. Our nation continues to change its views on what it means to be female or male, educationally and occupationally. Socioeconomic status continues to play an important role in shaping an individual's socialization and current and future status.

Summing Up

It is clear from a review of the current literature that the need for career guidance and counselling in elementary and secondary schools has never been greater (Savickas, Van Esbroeck, & Herr, 2005). As a result career guidance and counselling is increasingly a part of the public policy agenda in countries around the world (Watts & Sultana, 2004). In turn this has caused countries to join together to discuss common themes in the theory and practice of career guidance and counselling.

> The dynamics of globalization have led to a great deal of inter-country convergence in the practice of career guidance: all countries face a similar set of broad challenges for education, labour market and social policies related to career guidance systems. (Watts & Sultana, 2004, p. 107)

At the same time it also is clear from a review of the current literature that why and how career guidance and counselling is conceptualised and practised still reflect countries' social, economic, and political traditions. Where career guidance and counselling is placed administratively, who provides the services involved, what activities are used, and what resources are provided however, depend on these social, economic, and political traditions. Thus while there are increasing similarities in career guidance and counselling provisions, differences in conceptualisations and practices across countries remain. Perhaps it is time for career guidance and counselling professionals from across the globe to come together to address common themes, individual differences, terminology, and unresolved issues.

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Chapter 13
ON THE SHOP FLOOR: GUIDANCE IN THE WORKPLACE

Peter Plant

A standard format for guidance looks something like this: two people sit and talk in an office. This is the convention; yet, some scholars challenge this convention (Amundson, 1998): It is surprising how often guidance closes itself in, where it should open up and reach out to those who actually need guidance. This implies that guidance would have to move out of the institutional closet, out of the office, and enter into new arenas. Workplaces are such arenas.

But what is guidance? Ford (2004) made a point of explaining guidance in terms of the width of guidance activities:

- *Signposting*. Ensuring that people have accurate information about helping agencies and the guidance services they provide, and are therefore able to select and access the sources of assistance most suited to their requirements.
- *Informing*. Providing information in a range of formats about opportunities available, without any discussion of the relative merits of options for particular individuals
- *Advising*. Helping individuals and groups to interpret information and choose the most appropriate options.
- *Counselling*. Working with individuals to help them discover, clarify, assess and understand their own experience, and to explore alternatives and their possible implementation.
- *Mentoring*. Offering individuals and groups appropriate client-focused support to help them overcome personal barriers and realise their potential. Key factors in mentoring include: the skills, personality and value-systems of the mentor; and her/his ability to act as a role model, enter the client's frame of reference, work holistically, and respect the individual's autonomy and independence.
- *Assessing*. Helping individuals, by formal and informal means, to obtain a structured understanding of their personal, educational and vocational development, in order to enable them to make informed judgements about the appropriateness of particular opportunities.

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J.A. Athanasou, R. Van Esbroeck (eds.) *International Handbook of Career Guidance*,
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- *Teaching*. Providing a planned and systematic progression of learner-centred experiences to enable learners to acquire knowledge, skills and competences related to making personal, educational and career decision and transitions, and career management.
- *Sampling*. Providing work experience, work trials, learning tasters and other experiences that enable individuals to gain first-hand experience of opportunities in order to assist and clarify their decisions.
- *Enabling*. Supporting individuals and groups in dealing with organisations providing or influencing employment and learning opportunities.
- *Advocating*. Negotiating directly with organisations on behalf of individuals or groups for whom there may be additional barriers to access.
- *Following up*. Keeping in touch with individuals after main guidance interventions to establish: whether further guidance is required; what forms of guidance and support may be appropriate; and subsequent progress. Follow-up may include the incorporation of tracking procedures where these are considered desirable.
- *Networking*. Establishing specific links with a range of individuals and organisations to support and enhance guidance provision. These links may be formal or informal, but will include regular contact for information exchange, referral and feedback, and other joint activities such as staff development, monitoring and review, and outreach work.
- *Feeding back*. Gathering and collating information on the unmet needs of individuals and groups (including designated 'target groups'), and encouraging providers of opportunities to respond by adapting or developing their provision.
- *Managing*. Managing guidance activities into a coherent program, ensuring it is sustainable within its institutional or organisational setting, co-ordinating and developing its human and physical resources, evaluating its effectiveness, and promoting its services and interests.
- *Innovating/Systems change*. Supporting developments and changes in organisational and guidance practice, in order to improve the quality and organisation of provision.

Clearly, from this list it is evident that guidance is so much more than a face-to-face interview. Workplace guidance, in turn, is a broad concept which is defined as both guidance within the actual workplace and in close relation to concrete workplaces, as noted in an EU-project on Workplace Guidance (http://www.gla.ac.uk/wg/synthchp.htm#wg). Examples of the latter (i.e., in relation to workplaces) include the French *Bilan des Compétences* (Skills Assessment Balance) approach, whereby workers have a right to guidance in terms of assessment of prior (informal) learning (http://www.travail.gouv.fr/informations-pratiques/fiches-pratiques/formation-professionnelle/bilan-competences-1073.html). But why guidance in the workplace? The concept is that guidance needs to get out of the offices and into the places where most people spend their working days: in the workplace. This is a pro-active approach which includes peer-guidance and the involvement of the social partners; both employers and trade unions need to benefit from guidance activities, if they are to take place on the shop floor or even on night shifts. Behind this development

are forceful societal powers in which guidance plays an important policy role, to which we will now turn, with examples from Europe.

International Developments in Guidance Policy

The international policy discourse reflects the imperative of lifelong learning as a pivotal tool for developing knowledge-based societies that are globally competitive. This may consist of formal, non-formal or informal learning, in educational institutions, in the workplace, and in more informal networks. It readily appeals to those who easily find their personal path by engaging in learning; but for those who do not, lifelong learning may be perceived as coercion. Such individuals are more likely to need personal support from guidance to make meaning of the possibilities of lifelong learning and how to engage in it, as noted by Plant and Turner (2005).

Policy documents produced by international bodies highlight the importance of guidance for adults in promoting lifelong learning amongst non-participants. The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD, 2003a, p. 208) wished to encourage adults with low motivation to upgrade their skills by continuing or resuming learning through "ample access to adequate guidance, counselling and support". Plant (2002, p. 2) observed that "Information, guidance and counselling have been identified as a key strategic component for implementing a lifelong learning policy in the national reports and those of the social partners and NGOs arising from the Consultation on the Commission's Memorandum on Lifelong Learning". The Commission of European Communities (EC, 2001, p. 17) has also stressed the importance of guidance that is "flexible and adaptable to the changing needs of the individual learner". Its broader aims are both to create "active citizenship" in democratic societies and to enhance the competencies of the European labour force in terms of international competitiveness. The Resolution of Lifelong Guidance (EC, 2004) also highlighted these policy goals, adding that

> Guidance can provide significant support to individuals during their transition between levels and sectors of education and training systems and from school to adult and working life; to young people re-entering education or training after leaving school early; to persons re-entering the labour market after periods of voluntary or involuntary unemployment, or homemaking; to workers where sectoral restructuring requires them to change the nature of their employment; and to older workers and migrants…..High quality guidance provision throughout life is a key component of education, training and employability strategies to attain the strategic goal of Europe becoming the world's most dynamic knowledge based society by 2010. (p. 3)

An OECD (2003b) review of career guidance involving visits and national questionnaires suggested benchmarks that allow countries to make a comparative assessment of their situation. This report raised a number of issues: First, career education and guidance in schools – where lifelong learning should start – risk being subsumed within broader educational or social concepts since the timetable and the curriculum tend to leave little room for cross-curricular activities such as

career education and guidance. Moreover, policies favouring devolution of management responsibilities to individual schools prompt questions about how some form of student guidance entitlement can be assured within such policies, in order to lay the foundations for lifelong learning. Secondly, as Bartlett and Rees (2000) had also shown, there are several unresolved issues around the organisation of guidance for lifelong learning. Career guidance for adults is still limited and fragmented so that many guidance systems in Europe are still very front-loaded. Scotland's All Age Guidance approach seems to be an exception to this (Watts, 2005). These are serious faults in terms of lifelong guidance provision that the OECD papers argued should not be solely for the marginalised. Thirdly, public employment services require closer integration into lifelong learning strategies in general since, along with guidance, these play a potentially vital role in the labour market (Sultana & Watts, 2006). There is a greater need for stronger mechanisms to provide co-ordination and leadership in articulating strategies for lifelong access to guidance in most countries: so far, national fora on Career Guidance are few (see, on Ireland, for example http://nationalguidanceforum.ie/ and, on Denmark, http://www.uvm.dk/vejl/medlemsoversigt.htm?menuid = 7535). Finally, stronger professional structures in the career guidance field are necessary since barefoot guidance practitioners are not adequate by themselves.

Other current international initiatives have highlighted the importance of guidance in the eyes of policy makers. The European Union (EU) has established an Expert Group on Lifelong Guidance in order to strengthen the partnership and co-operation of the national authorities, the social partners and the EU in the field of lifelong educational and vocational guidance. It provides an opportunity for policy-makers to exchange good practice, leading to greater convergence in the quality and scope of lifelong guidance services for European citizens wherever they live. Watts and Sultana (2003) reported on the plethora of national and super national reports on guidance, which included that of the World Bank in a number of middle-income countries. Finally, following a string of international symposia on career development and public policy held in 1999–2006 (see www.ccdf.ca), an International Centre for Career Development and Public Policy has been established (see www.iccdpp.org). In short, the pivotal nature of lifelong guidance in relation to lifelong learning is internationally recognised.

A Further Rationale

An OECD (2002, pp. 121–126) study of human capital development analysed the role of career guidance in relation to lifelong learning, and active labour market and welfare-to-work strategies. It claimed that in OECD countries about 40% of the variation in individual earnings is explicable through primary factors, particularly prior educational attainment, literacy levels and work experience, combined with secondary factors of gender, language background and parental education. Thus, some of the remaining 60% might be accounted for by motivation and other personal characteristics, including

the concept of human 'meta-capital' – that is, people's ability to manage and develop their own human capital – which would include the role of guidance.

Amundson (2003) argued that an individual's engagement with guidance, if it is to make a difference in terms of motivation for lifelong learning, should be personalised through a process that facilitates constructive reflection. This holistic concept of guidance has three dimensions: length, width, and depth. The first dimension implies the need for guidance to take place over a life span, including adulthood and the third age: lifelong guidance. The second dimension considers the wide range of issues that must be addressed in guidance, including personal and social issues, along with career related ones: life wide guidance. The third dimension concerns the depth of the guidance activities: life deep guidance. How close, how intimate should guidance be? Such an approach has the potential to encourage learning of all types by individual workers thereby enhancing their skills as well as promoting their self-confidence and self-esteem.

Such arguments place guidance centre-stage although, as Killeen (1996, pp. 84–85) demonstrated, since guidance is often part of a broader package of assistance available for individuals, it is difficult to distinguish learning outcomes arising from guidance from those that are economic. Structural factors explain why there is a greater need for guidance throughout the working lives of adults. Fundamental changes in patterns of employment across Western Europe have arisen through a shift from manufacturing to services. We live in a risk society (Beck, 1999), that is a versatile and volatile environment in which individual employees are increasingly expected to be responsible for managing their own learning and development throughout their working lives in the context of flexible, risky and uncertain forms of employment (Harrison, 1998). The transformation of the very nature of work is evident in a global economy (Reich, 1991). In short, work is not as stable as it perhaps once was, as noted already decade ago by Rifkin (1995).

A major consequence of this changing pattern has been unemployment and underemployment, distributed unequally across regions, gender and ethnic groups, that has resulted in social exclusion. One of the aspects of such exclusion is a persistent learning divide. The "learning rich" with higher levels of qualifications and income are more likely to return to education and benefit from it throughout their working lives. In contrast, the "learning poor", who tend to participate least, work in manual occupations or are unemployed, having left school with few or no qualifications. It is important to note, however, that learning has three forms: formal, informal and non-formal (EC, 2001), yet as Colley, Hodkinson, and Malcolm (2002) argued, the relationship between the three is often somewhat blurred: "Informal learning is defined by what it is not – formal".

This is where proactive guidance in the workplace comes in; it reaches out to those who could benefit from guidance but would not approach conventional guidance settings. Access to guidance, physically and mentally, is crucial here (Clayton & McGill, 2000), in order to break the classical issue of the Gospel according to St. Matthew (25:29): "For unto every one that hath shall be given, and he shall have abundance: but from him that hath not, even that which he hath shall be taken away."

Workplace Guidance in Practice

The Involvement of Unions

In most cases guidance is a remedial activity targeting the unemployed (OECD, 2004, p. 24), yet some initiatives involve a more proactive approach. One of these is guidance in the actual workplace, taking place at times when workers might require it, within working hours, night shifts included. This approach has been developed in the UK, Denmark, and in Iceland, inspired by Danish initiatives, where the social partners have initiated schemes of workplace guidance in order to improve access to learning and further educational guidance amongst employees.

In the UK, a number of factors have brought peer guidance into focus as an important feature of the workplace guidance organised by trade unions as UK trade unions have experienced a decline in the membership and deterioration in their collective bargaining power. Trade unions have responded to these changes through a process of reflexive modernisation, involving a major shift of emphasis in trade union education policies towards attempts to offer support for a broader range of members' aspirations, including a new range of individualised services for trade union members (Payne, 2001) – which includes workplace guidance. Financial support through union learning funds has for example enabled the Trade Union Congress (TUC) and individual trade unions to train over 5,000 learning representatives who offer guidance and support to their peers in the workplace. These representatives also identify other training needs at the workplace and promote the development of employees' skills as part of the overall bargaining agenda (known as Bargaining for Skills).

There has been some assessment of the impact of these initiatives. Cowen, Clements, and Cutter (2000) highlighted three issues arising from their survey of workplace activities conducted by learning representatives. First, despite their experience in union affairs, learning representatives require ongoing training and support in their peer guidance role. Such individuals should not remain isolated in these workplace activities, without access to further training or support, so that they can improve the quality of what they offer and maximise the relatively scarce resources available from guidance professionals. Secondly, learning representatives provide a first point of contact for members interested in learning and identifying training needs in basic skills where members are often reluctant to disclose numeracy or literacy problems to managers or supervisors. Thirdly, they have experienced problems in achieving recognition of their role from both managers and their members, who sometimes regard them with suspicion. Nevertheless, Caldwell (2003) argued that by widening the bargaining agenda and opening up new career paths, such activities have demonstrated the relevance of trade unionism to their current membership. The TUC (Trade Union Congress Learning Services, 2003) highlighted an initiative in Coventry where the postal workers' union has, in partnership with their employer and a local college, developed flexible learning opportunities for all employees. Smith (2003) argued that such initiatives by learning representatives

will sustain the development of a culture of work-based learning, although individual workers are not entitled to receive guidance or time off to attend courses. Consequently, some workers remain excluded, in particular women in part-time employment (Small & Rabb, 2003). This is particularly a problem in the UK where the influence of trade unions is weaker than in Denmark.

Danish trade unions have played an important role in developing voluntary and local initiatives (Villadsen, 1998). These include individual guidance for trade union members on education and training options; targeted information to members on educational and training issues; and group guidance activities. Several unions, including BUPL (*Forbundet for Pædagoger og Klubfolk*; Children & Youth Workers' Trade Union), NNF (*Nærings- og Nydelsesmiddelarbejder Forbundet*; Food Trade Union), and FOA (*Fag Og Arbejde*; Public Service Trade Union) have adopted one or all of these activities. The Danish Confederation of Trade Unions, LO (*Landsorganisationen i Danmark*) has prepared a "tool-box" as part of a project known as "The Developing Workplace" (DUA – *Det Udviklende Arbejde*, i.e., enriching work). This includes pamphlets on attitudes and barriers towards participation in training and education, intended for discussion groups among workers.

Kvindeligt Arbejderforbund (KAD: The Women's Trade Union) developed initiatives in peer guidance, similar to those in the UK. KAD was a trade union for women only (now merged with others), mainly for those with few formal qualifications and low pay in different industries and in the service sector. Their attitudes towards participation in continuing education or training are mostly utilitarian so that guidance is mainly linked to periods of unemployment (e.g., guidance on unemployment benefit rules and regulations). Trade unions, via their administrative role in the operation of the unemployment insurance fund (a Danish labour-market peculiarity) offers personal, social, economic, educational and vocational guidance to those members requesting it. This includes more socially oriented guidance by a social worker but is only available within office hours. Although convenient for unemployed members, it was less so for women in hourly paid employment that found it difficult to travel to a KAD office to seek guidance within working hours. KAD therefore attempted several approaches to guidance activities in order to overcome some of these barriers by reaching out to its members in their workplaces. First, some members, known as "Spearheads" (*Spydspidser*), attempted peer-guidance activities after being briefed upon the concept of guidance. In some cases, they were local shop stewards with close contact to the KAD membership. This approach failed due to the lack of knowledge of the range of educational and funding options among the spearheads. Thus, a higher degree of professionalism was necessary for peer-based activities to succeed. KAD then established "guidance corners" (*Vejledningshjørner*) in the canteen or resting areas of several major and medium sized companies. Slightly different guidance corner models are in operation, depending on the initiators (Rådet for Uddannelses- og Erhvervsvejledning (RUE), 2001). A case study (see Case Study 1) from *Ringkøbing Amt* (Ringkøbing County) in Western Denmark illuminates the main features of this type of initiative.

Case Study 1: Trade Union Guidance Corner

The guidance corner concept is simple – a trade union representative offers person-to-person guidance in a corner of a workplace assembly room, using pamphlets about education or training with a portable computer containing guidance and information programs. This provides members with information on adult education options plus opportunities for discussion, questions and reflection on their current situation. Initially, such visits were conducted by KAD every 2 weeks in an open consultation mode, with a permanent exhibition of current training and education available, including rules on the funding for educational leave. This, however, did not meet the actual needs of the female membership. First, they did not take pamphlets offered on training or education to any significant degree. Secondly, few women in work actually requested guidance spontaneously since they did not see how this might benefit them. The concept of guidance, no doubt, was somewhat blurred, and, in their minds, mostly aimed at unemployed people. Thirdly, working in self-governing groups, as is the case in the high-tech company of Bang and Olufsen, puts economic pressure on all members of the group. This limits their willingness to visit the guidance corner since leaving work for guidance would penalise the whole group.

Visits to guidance corners are now conducted every 6 weeks and take place by appointment during working hours, including day or night shifts. In some enterprises, guidance corners are now established permanently, whilst others are more ad-hoc and mobile. KAD sees this type of activity as a mainstream member service and part of a long-term strategy to upgrade its members' skills through formal, informal and non-formal education and training. An important part of this strategy is proactive guidance of an outreach nature that promotes the concept of lifelong learning in workplaces. Interestingly, KAD does not restrict the availability of these guidance corner services to its female membership. Consequently, in practice, some men also benefit from a guidance service that is primarily aimed at women.

(Based on examples from Workplace Guidance, http://www.gla.ac.uk/wg/pilotdke.htm, retrieved 3 March 2006.)

Adult Education Guidance on the Shop Floor

Some Danish guidance corner initiatives involve other partners more directly. An Adult Educational Centre (*Voksenundervisningscenter*, VUC) in Fyn has offered professional guidance from VUC counsellors and from the public Employment Service (*Arbejdsformidlingen*, AF). The model developed is similar to that taken by KAD, but the guidance worker is a professionally trained guidance expert rather than a peer. Co-operation with local shop stewards is mostly limited to making practical

arrangements, booking rooms or replenishing pamphlet stands. The following case study (see Case Study 2), drawing on interviews with five users of this type of guidance corner, highlights its value after some initial resistance to the scheme.

Jensen (2002), depicting this particular guidance corner initiative, highlighted the advantages of a broad and impartial approach to workplace guidance. Plant

Case Study 2: Adult Education Guidance Corner

"It made all the difference that guidance came to me, in the workplace, at a critical time of my life". (From an interview with a female worker)

The workers in the electronic production line were mostly unskilled females, although two had previously held skilled posts in dentistry. Prior to an anticipated closure as production moved to China, the VUC established a guidance corner in the actual plant, prompted by KAD, as a preventive outreach guidance measure. The corner offered workers access to information from pamphlets, computer databases and, most importantly, a guidance professional from VUC, sometimes supplemented by an employment counsellor from the public employment service. After an introductory collective information session, the guidance corner was (wo)manned for individual guidance appointments over a period of 3 months. It was used repeatedly by many of the female workers, who though they were very satisfied with the guidance it offered, expressed some initial resistance and hesitation: "What is this guidance, anyway? What has it got for me? I just want a job, and I don't need guidance to find one. Just give me a job".

These women had witnessed previous closures of sections of the plant so they could anticipate what the experience would involve. Yet, when it came to facing redundancy, feelings of uncertainty and apprehension were common among them: "What now? Why me?" Some came to doubt their skills and employability. In this situation, most of them argued, they did not find the extra capacity to investigate new options, either educationally or in terms of employment. Family commitments and long working days meant that the opening hours of unemployment insurance offices or the public employment service were unsuitable for them. Although still employed they needed to redirect themselves. Guidance, for most of them, was an alien concept that they would not have accessed on their own. Even guidance offered at street level, in the shape of One-Stop-Centres (known in Danish as Vejledningshuse, i.e., guidance houses) was not seen as a real alternative to guidance offered to them in the workplace. This made all the difference: "It took away my anxiety to be able to speak to someone who listened and took an interest in me. One who saw possibilities and supported my aspirations. I needed this sort of gentle kick. The guidance corner also provided valuable information. If information was not readily available, the guidance counsellor just found it for me before

(continued)

Case Study 2: (continued)

our next appointment. I might have been able to find some of this information on my own, but I did not know where to look. The supportive personal guidance element, however, was the most important part to me".

In retrospect, the users valued the proactive and supportive approach of the guidance corner concept. Evidently, the informational aspect of the corner was important, but the personal guidance and counselling component was seen as the key factor. Repeated personal contact with a professional career guidance counsellor was crucial: guidance is a learning process. In many cases, the female workers were offered IT supported guidance, such as Internet sites or the databases of career guidance the software packages. This IT-based guidance, however, was not used to any significant degree: the users preferred to communicate with a person. It was unimportant to them which organisation offered this kind of personal support, that is, whether guidance was obtainable through the Adult Education Centre, the trade union, the employment service, or a combination of these, as long as the person was a professional guidance counsellor.

As a direct result of the support of the guidance corner activities two of the users decided to (re)enter into education. Thus, via a period of further education, they planned to move from imminent redundancy in manufacturing to more promising prospects in the health/care sector. Until then, they had not seen further education as a plausible option for them. They felt marginalised in terms of training and education. They had been focused on the financial barriers and the difficulties of being a mature learner, rather than the new options in terms of personal and professional development. One woman stated: "Getting fired turned out to be quite a gift for me, really. It forced me to see new avenues. Having used the guidance corner, I could realise an old dream which had been buried for while. Before, in school, I was a quiet girl and often had nothing to say. Now, as a mature student, I talk all the time, and my fellow students listen to me as the experienced one. Such a change". Others are still redundant and looking for jobs.

This guidance corner was subsequently moved from the factory floor to the canteen to make it more accessible. The local trade union representative explained the importance of raising the educational awareness of the unskilled women: "It is crucial that people with little formal education have easy access to guidance. If not, they will just choose the narrow training options that they know already". Clearly, in this case, the guidance corner approach helped to promote social inclusion.

(Based on examples from Workplace Guidance, http://www.gla.ac.uk/wg/pilotdke.htm, retrieved 3 March 2006.)

(2004) made a similar point in a report which looked into an EU-funded guidance project in a major company which was downsizing and moving premises and changing production methods, all at the same time. In this case, guidance played a

pivotal role in facilitating all these simultaneous changes, making use of both professional guidance staff and a highly engaged trade union representative in the factory. Much of the drive in this guidance project came from the factory floor- a bottom-up approach.

Metaphors in Guidance

In one Icelandic case a particular method was used, based on a constructivist approach (see, e.g., McMahon & Patton, 2006), which highlighted the importance of the guidance methods used in practice in the workplace: in this case (see Case Study 3), metaphors helped the workers to understand and express how they felt about their present work situation and what they might to do change it.

Guidance in Icelandic workplaces is now an established activity, which addresses the challenge of dealing with workers who have vague or even nega-

Case Study 3: Metaphors in Guidance

Q: "What is your feeling towards the job in general?"
A: The young worker said he felt frustration towards his work environment because it was disorganised and messy.
Q: Next he was asked to define or judge the environment, to give it a name as if it was a person.
A: "A witch that does not listen to reason."
Q: "What is your request towards this witch or environment; what would you ask it in order for it to improve things and make them more positive?"
A: "That she widens the horizon" was his answer.
Q: He was now asked to try to put himself in the shoes of the witch representing his work: "What is the feeling the witch has towards you?"
A: "She is feeling wary" was his answer.
Q: "How does the witch describe you?"
A: "That I am careless."
Q:"What does it ask of you?"
A: "That I put order to things in my working environment."
In this example, an individual is complaining about his working environment. To help him clarify his attitude he is asked him to judge his environment and to express his wish towards it. He sees himself as passive, a victim. There is no change or improvement of the situation. He may turn the music louder to compensate for his annoyance about his disorderly workplace, but to no avail. A step towards change is taken when he moves his point of view, imagining how the work perceives him and what its request is towards him.
This method brought to light that unskilled workers in Iceland see vocational

(continued)

Case Study 3: (continued)

counselling as something that could be useful for them. Low paid workers could in many cases use advice and support to solve their work related problems. There is conflict and harassment in many workplaces that need solving. There are also conflicts and grievances regarding the work itself and the working environment and facilities. Often people experience themselves as stuck and not making use of their abilities; they feel that the work contradicts their values, that it does not correspond to their interests and does not give them fulfilment or satisfaction. For such individuals, work is far from fulfilling, they look at work as a necessary evil, as they are just 'doing time' in their workplace, as they cease to live when they enter the workplace and begin a passive existence, without initiative and meaning.

Guidance in this imaginative form, using for example metaphors (Inkson & Amundson, 2002), may bring some of the conflicts and the qualities of work out in the open, thus unfolding the real potential of the workers.

(Adapted from Workplace Guidance, http://www.gla.ac.uk/wg/pilotise.htm, retrieved 28 February 2006.)

tive experiences with (adult) education, let alone guidance. One key feature of the scheme, in which 400 employees in 19 workplaces has participated, is the importance of closeness: moving guidance out of the office and into the actual workplace makes a difference in terms of access to guidance and educational uptake (Olafsson, 2006).

Guidance Within an Employee Development Scheme

A contrasting top-down approach to workplace guidance initiated by employers is found in the guidance elements of an employee development scheme in a Scottish university, known as Learning Works. Under the scheme, 2,700 manual, technical, ancillary, clerical and secretarial university staff may apply for an annual learning allowance of £150. In common with other employee development schemes characterised by Davies and Maclachlan (2003), the corporate objectives of the university that are based upon principles of human resource management include "opening up learning opportunities to its employees" with a view to creating a learning organisation. This aim is supported by different levels of management as well as trade union representatives. Site co-ordinators across 25 different locations in the university are in place, and these volunteers encourage fellow workers to consider taking up its benefits by offering some initial advice and information. Thus, on a peer basis, they provide a signposting role similar to that of the learning representatives in the UK or the guidance corners in Denmark. In addition, Learning Works employs a professional

Case Study 4: Guidance in Learning Works

Guidance, information and support are available at pre-entry, on-course and pre-exit stages of an individual's decision-making about the full range of relevant learning opportunities open to them not just those provided in house by the University or those related solely to the development of work skills. This is necessary because, under the scheme's rules, employees' learning is normally expected to take place in their own time and not to be directly related to their job. The learning adviser is available by appointment, drop in, telephone, letter, e-mail or by attendance at various road shows. Flexible arrangements for face-to-face interviews are possible including guidance at the workplace or evening appointments, allowing confidentiality where this is required.

Encouraging the take up of workplace guidance across a wide spectrum of employees is a major challenge. Prior experience of guidance for adults ranged from those who "didn't know that guidance was available to adults" to those had previously sought advice or information from educational providers but "found it hard to get any good guidance". Few of those applying for the learning allowance had registered an interest in receiving guidance or had required a personal interview with the learning adviser.

Client-centred guidance is offered about all types of appropriate full or part-time study. Participants in the scheme who decide to continue with learning may seek further guidance since their knowledge and direct experience of the wide range of options available within post-compulsory education is usually very limited. Studies by Connelly (1998) and Harrison (1998) highlight the dangers of institutions or employers using guidance to promote their own training or educational provision. Appropriate referrals are therefore made to relevant telephone helplines or databases, which form an important part of a client-centred and impartial approach. Finally, linkage to the referral system of a local adult guidance network provides clients with access to other providers of guidance, information, education and training opportunities.

The motivation of employees for seeking guidance varies according to the stage that each had reached in achieving their personal career or educational aspirations. There are those who recognise that they require advice or information about the procedures of the scheme. Next are those requiring information about specific courses of study or training that they have already identified. Finally, there are those who are unsure about how to proceed, or the options available to them, that require in-depth guidance: "I was kind of at a crossroads because I wanted advice on what courses to do and I wasn't sure what courses I could do". Others seek guidance due to low self confidence, or a lack of knowledge or time to find information: "I didn't know where to look or how to go about things, because my time was so restricted with having to work, so I thought I just don't know how to find out about this".

Lower paid workers, partly because of their limited access to learning in the past, often require holistic guidance on sources of financial support, credit transfer and progression options. Guidance also helps to sustain commitment

(continued)

Case Study 4: (continued)

to study using support from the scheme: "It has been quite an important turning point for me because it is something entirely different that I am learning and I will hopefully be in an entirely different position. I am very optimistic. Sometimes it is hard but you've just got to keep remembering what is at the end of it. It will be so worthwhile at the end. It will hopefully change my career". Davies and MacClachlan (2003) provided further evidence of positive outcomes from the scheme in terms of social inclusion and access to learning.
(This case study is adapted from Plant & Turner, 2005.)

part-time learning adviser to provide impartial guidance to anyone considering taking up a learning allowance. The Case Study 4, drawing on interviews with workers in this scheme, gives a good example of this approach.

Conclusion

In Denmark, Iceland, and the UK, accessible guidance in the workplace is an increasingly significant aspect of promoting lifelong learning to develop the skills of those adults who have not recently participated in education or training. The examples featured here illustrate contrasting approaches to workplace guidance that have been successfully pioneered in the three countries. Employee development schemes in the UK have made professional guidance about learning opportunities more easily available, particularly in larger workplaces. The emerging guidance role undertaken by trade union learning representatives, consolidated by recent legislation in the UK, suggests this is a potential model for promoting lifelong learning where grass roots support is available from both the employer and their trade union. Their weaknesses may be the fluid and vulnerable nature of the peer guidance concept.

The Icelandic example points to the importance of varied and innovative methods used in guidance, including the use of metaphors (Plant, 1999). In general the attitude of the interviewees was sincere, positive, co-operative and open. The most apparent weakness of the method re the group in question was their difficulty to express themselves, about their own experience, interests, and abilities and how they value their work.

The Danish examples of peer guidance and guidance corners also have both strengths and weaknesses. The strengths include the issue of ownership and commitment reported by Plant (1995) in the Danish Eurocounsel studies in which several examples of peer guidance models were depicted including an innovative mix of self-governing career development groups of unemployed people and the Danish public Employment Service (AF).

On the other hand, bringing guidance and information on education or vocational training to the workplace creates problems of access. Flexibility in arrangements over location and timing is necessary to allow easier access to guidance for those whose working and domestic arrangements might otherwise create barriers. Guidance must be offered to potential learners in their actual workplace, rather than somewhere else, however central. Breaks at work are often too short to facilitate any in-depth guidance or allow information gathering on a self-help basis to take place. However, those who do not regard themselves as potential learners due to their prior educational history are least likely to seek guidance. This applies particularly to unskilled or manual employees.

Lifelong learning, guidance and counselling, education, training and employment are continuously intersecting cycles and systems in the lives of European citizens. Information, guidance and counselling have an essential role to play in facilitating access, progression and transitions between these cycles and systems over an individual's lifetime. A comparative European study by Clayton, Greco, Makela, and Ward (1999) suggested that there was considerable variation in support from policy makers at all levels for guidance to promote lifelong learning. Bartlett and Rees (2000, p. 162) considered a "coherent strategic approach to adult guidance at EU, national, regional and local level" is necessary for it to become an effective mechanism for promoting lifelong learning. But it is not enough to have a strategy – power issues lie embedded in the introduction of such outreach guidance provision in the workplace – who is to decide whether this sort of activity is feasible or desirable in the workplace? It might well be seen as a disturbance, and moreover, a nuisance which may well inspire workers to leave their present workplace in favour of better offers which were previously unknown to the workers. The examples in this chapter, drawing on examples of selected bottom-up initiatives, suggests that such power issues may hamper workplace guidance which needs the active co-operation of education providers, employers, trade unions and guidance bodies, and which has the potential to make lifelong learning and guidance a reality if it complemented by the resources and legal frameworks necessary to sustain it.

Acknowledgements This study draws upon findings from a transnational research project, *Workplace Guidance* (2004–2007), supported by the European Union's Leonardo da Vinci Program. For full details see www.gla.ac.uk/wg.

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Chapter 14
CAREER MANAGEMENT: TAKING CONTROL OF THE QUALITY OF WORK EXPERIENCES

Annelies E. M. Van Vianen, Irene E. De Pater, and Paul T. Y. Preenen

Mountains cannot be surmounted except by winding paths.
Johann Wolfgang Von Goethe

The job-for-life contract between employer and employee has been replaced by an insecure and uncertain job market. Job security is no longer dependent on length of service; loyalty to an employer and career progression in the conventional sense, that is, along fixed career lines, is not a realistic option anymore. These changes in the nature of jobs and career development are due to flatter and rapidly changing organisations, which will remain to be the dominant characteristic of most companies in the future.

Many authors have emphasised that the way in which these organisational changes will impact upon peoples' careers force them to take the lead in building their own careers. Otherwise, employees may easily become the plaything of organisations' short-term operational policies and choices. Hence, employees should engage in career management activities in order to identify and pursue their opportunities for development and self-improvement (Seibert, Kraimer, & Crant, 2001). From this perspective, career management no longer exclusively refers to the activities of the organisation with respect to the effective selection, assessment, assignment, and development of their employees in order to provide a pool of qualified people to meet future corporate needs (Hall, 1986). Instead, employees themselves need to become the managers of their careers.

From the employees' perspective, career management should include: (a) engaging in personal development, (b) using career planning skills, (c) optimising career prospects, and (d) balancing work and non-work (Ball, 1997). More specifically, the new employee should: seek for opportunities to further develop his or her (range of) skills in order to stay marketable, review his/her career on a regularly base, promote his/her own career interests, and find a balance between his/her professional and personal life.

This chapter focuses on the first aspect of individual career management, that is, personal development. There are several ways in which individuals may develop themselves. For example, employees may engage in job-related training in order to

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© Springer Science + Business Media B.V. 2008

broaden and deepen their abilities and skills, or they may obtain higher levels of proficiency by enlarging their experiences within a certain work domain. All these activities help to increase individuals' human capital, that is, their value on the labour market, which will lead to higher ascendancy rates and salaries (Becker, 1975). Indeed, personal investments in education and work experiences are considered the strongest and most consistent predictors of career success (Tharenou, 1997).

Extant literature on the role of human capital for career development primarily addressed the *quantity* of employees' experiences, such as the number of trainings and the length of work experiences (e.g., people's tenure in a job). In this chapter, however, it is argued that the *quality* of people's experiences will be as important if not more important than their quantity. The quality of work experiences refers to the specific content of jobs and the types of tasks and activities people perform in their work. The quality of work experiences is particularly crucial for future career success, in that it contributes to objective as well as subjective career outcomes.

The next paragraph addresses the question of what makes a career successful. Thereafter, the literature on human capital will be discussed and it is concluded that human capital should encompass the breadth of people's work experiences. The best way to broaden one's job content is to engage in challenging assignments, since these types of assignments stimulate learning, and development and may lead to career flexibility. Optimally, employees themselves should initiate their challenging work experiences. It is, however, more realistic to assume that employees will often need the support and encouragement of their environment. At the end of this chapter the role that individuals and organisations have in broadening employees' scope and employability will be discussed.

Career Success

Career success has been defined as the accumulated positive work and psychological outcomes resulting from one's work experiences (Seibert & Kraimer, 2001). This definition includes two different perspectives on careers, an individual/subjective and a societal/objective perspective. The individual subjective perspective encompasses different facets of a career as experienced by the person and outcomes of a career are evaluated against the goals that individuals have set for themselves. Typical outcomes of a successful career are psychological in nature, such as people's job and career satisfaction (Judge, Higgins, Thorensen, & Barrick, 1999). Heslin (2005) rightly noted that subjective career success covers a broader scope than one's immediate job satisfaction. It may, for example, include a good work-life balance. The societal objective perspective on careers takes the tangible facets of careers into account, such as individuals' income and occupational status. As recently argued by Hall and Chandler (2005), both perspectives are interdependent since people's subjective career success often is a function of both subjective and objective career outcomes. That is not to say that objective successful outcomes always lead to subjective career success. Some people may adhere more to subjec-

tive rather than objective outcomes. Thus, if individuals experience objective success (e.g., higher income) but the subjective outcomes (time for self) are less than wished, their subjective career success yet will be suboptimal.

When asked about their career success, most people tend to use objective career success criteria (Heslin, 2005). One reason for this is that people generally tend to evaluate their outcomes relative to the outcomes of others (Suls, Martin, & Wheeler, 2000). In an organisational context, these social comparisons are easily to establish: employees differ in their salaries and only few people are promoted to higher hierarchical levels. Objective career success seems to be reserved for only some and not all employees. Moreover, several authors have pointed to a future increase in "winner-take-all markets" as characterised by very few winners and many losers. In competitive markets, most of the rewards go to the very few individuals that are able to excel, whereas other talented individuals receive less rewards and recognition (Frank & Cook, 1995). This contest model of career success (see Ng, Eby, Sorensen, & Feldman, 2005) combined with flatter hierarchies cause many employees who are in their mid-career to experience a career failure. They encounter a so-called career plateau (Allen, Poteet, & Russell, 1998) in that they are not able to reach higher organisational levels. Specifically those employees who have a "career" work orientation, emphasising upward advancement within their work as the prime reason for working, will be faced with this career plateau (Wrzesniewski, 2002).

The traditional linear careers are replaced by more non-linear or even "boundaryless" careers (DeFillipi & Arthur, 1994) due to the market mechanisms as described above. A career focused on making progressive upward steps will become a career that includes periodic shifts between occupational areas. That necessitates the development of a broad set of skills for all employees and not only for those who intend to climb the career ladder. Important outcomes of non-linear careers will be, for example, personal growth, variety, and independence. Consequently, the definition of career plateauing will change from the inability to move up hierarchically in the organisation into the inability to develop any further. The latter has also been referred to as job content plateauing. This type of plateauing occurs when work has been mastered and individuals feel no longer challenged by the content of their job (Chao, 1990; Feldman & Weitz, 1988).

In non-linear careers, individuals are better off when they learn to set their own career goals and standards rather than those of others, because a comparison with others in order to establish one's "objective" hierarchical career success will no longer be tenable. There is yet an objective criterion of career success that continues to exist for all employees, that is, whether one is able to remain employable in a changing job market.

Human Capital

Human capital concerns the total set of people's educational, personal, and professional experiences (Becker, 1975). People's human capital contributes to their value in the market place and is, therefore, particularly related to traditional measures of objective career success (Ng et al., 2005). Personal investments in education and

training are supposed to be the strongest and most consistent predictors of career success (Tharenou, 1997). These and other human capital predictors, such as the number of years worked, reflect the *quantity* of people's work experiences.

The relationship between quantitative work experiences, often measured as job tenure or seniority, and career success is weaker than presupposed. Job tenure, defined as length of time in a job, is a weak predictor of salary and it is weakly and even negatively related to promotion. One reason for this is the curvilinear relationship between tenure and performance: after a period of linear growth in performance it finally reaches a point of saturation (Avolio, Waldman, & McDaniel, 1990). If individuals' performance has reached its plateau no higher salary or job level is to be expected. Also, no relationship between job tenure and subjective career success seems to exist (Ng et al., 2005).

The main reason for the minor contribution of these human capital factors is that individuals with equal amounts of tenure in the same job can differ considerably with respect to the content, quality, and breadth of their experiences (e.g., Tesluk & Jacobs, 1998). Individuals develop their own specialities in their jobs due to their task choices based on specific task preferences and/or because of the assignments they get from their supervisor. Surprisingly, only few authors have addressed the role of the *quality* of work experiences for career development and career success. For future careers, however, the quality rather than the quantity of work experiences will become of crucial importance. The quality of work experiences refers to the richness, variety and breadth of tasks and responsibilities people encounter in their work. The core element of these work experiences is that they challenge employees to explore their capacities and to acquire new skills.

The Quality of Work: Challenging Experiences

A job is considered to be of high quality if the job offers opportunities for learning and encourages an employee to explore and broaden his/her knowledge, skills and abilities. A job of high quality provides a person with *challenging* experiences, because particularly these types of experiences create good opportunities for learning and development, more so than formal training programs (Berlew & Hall, 1966; Davies & Easterby-Smith, 1984; McCall, Lombardo, & Morrison, 1988; Wick, 1989). *The Oxford English Dictionary* (1989) refers to challenge as "a difficult or demanding task, especially one seen as a test of one's abilities or character". Additionally, the American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language (2004) speaks of "a test of one's abilities or resources in a demanding but stimulating undertaking". Hence, people are challenged if they are faced with an activity that is new, demanding, stimulating, exciting and calls on their ability and determination. Tesluk and Jacobs (1998) mentioned another aspect of these challenging activities that may impact upon development and learning, that is, their density. Challenging experiences display greater density if employees are repeatedly faced with them. It is assumed that frequent exposure to challenging situations stimulates work motivation.

The role of challenging experiences has been mainly recognised in the context of management development (De Pater, 2005; McCauley, Ohlott, & Ruderman, 1999). In that context, McCauley et al. (1999) identified clusters of job components that represent challenging aspects of work: (a) job transitions, with individuals being confronted with new tasks and situations in which existing tactics and routines are inadequate, (b) creating change, with individuals having a clear goal to change a situation, but a loosely defined role that gives them the freedom to determine how to accomplish the goal, (c) managing at high levels of responsibility, characterised by increased visibility, the opportunity to make a significant impact, dealing with broader and more complex problems and higher stakes, (d) managing boundaries, in case employees have to work with people over whom they have no direct authority and have to develop strategies for influencing them and gaining their cooperation, and (e) dealing with diversity, when working with people who are different from themselves regarding their values, backgrounds, experiences, and needs.

Although these challenging job components particularly concern managerial jobs, most of their ingredients are applicable to non-managerial jobs as well. An assignment can be qualified as being challenging to the extent that the task: (a) is new and asks for non-routine skills and behaviours, (b) tests one's abilities or resources, (c) gives an individual the freedom to determine how to accomplish the task, and (d) involves a higher level of responsibility and visibility.

The extent to which individuals have challenging experiences during their pre-occupational years and early careers seems to promote their future career development and success (e.g., Lyness & Thompson, 2000; McCauley, Ruderman, Ohlott, & Morrow, 1994). Watson (2001), for example, showed that pre-occupational experiences in social and educational settings, such as activities at school, in sports, and as a club member, affect later career progress. People's early experiences particularly direct their activity preferences in future jobs and their choices for specific jobs or training (Mitchell & Krumboltz, 1990). In this way, they affect and endorse career relevant behaviours.

Additionally, several other reasons have been proposed for why challenging experiences are generally important for career development. First, challenging experiences provide *opportunities for learning* a wide range of skills, abilities, and insights that enable people to function effectively (McCall et al., 1988). Secondly, they affect people's *job attitudes* and their *competency perceptions*. If a person has to meet high expectations in the first years of his or her career, this will likely lead to the internalisation of high work standards which facilitate performance and success in his or her later years (Berlew & Hall, 1966). Moreover, challenging experiences seem to increase one's self esteem (Hall & Chandler, 2005) and the willingness to "launch out into the unknown again" (Davies & Easterby-Smith, 1984, p. 176). For, if a challenging task was successfully performed this will increase people's self-efficacy beliefs regarding the accomplishment of other challenging tasks, which in turn may encourage them to seek out additional challenging experiences (Maurer & Tarulli, 1994), and boost their ambition for other challenging jobs (Van Vianen, 1999).

The third reason why challenging assignments are thought to be important for career development is related to opportunities to increase one's *organisational*

power, such as visibility to others, and the building of effective interpersonal networks within and outside the organisation. Both visibility and networking are considered important for career advancement (Hurley & Sonnenfeld, 1998). Finally, challenging experiences may serve as a *cue for individuals' promotability*. Information with regard to the type of tasks employees perform is used as a cue to determine employees' abilities and career potential (Humphrey, 1985).

Employees differ in the extent to which they experience challenge in their job. The next paragraphs address possible reasons for these differences. Are challenging experiences the result of personal or organisational initiatives?

Challenging Experiences: Self-Initiated

Whether employees encounter challenge in their job may depend on their personal initiatives. As noted above, two people that occupy a similar job often differ in the specific activities they employ in their job. Take two persons who both occupy a position as math teacher at the same school at a similar job level. One of them spends much of her time on developing new teaching programs whereas the other is mainly concerned with coaching students. What both teachers have in common is that for years they have already excelled in their specific tasks. In their school, they are acknowledged as the "developer" and "the coach", respectively. However, both teachers feel plateaued because their job is no longer a challenge to them. The first teacher takes the initiative to withdraw from her current tasks and to explore other more challenging ones, whereas the second teacher continues with what he is already doing for years. Whether people initiate challenging experiences may depend on personal motives, self-efficacy, personality factors that relate to proactivity, or the combination of these personal factors.

Motives

Amabile, Hill, Hennessey, and Tighe (1994) considered challenge as an important aspect of intrinsic motivation. Individuals who are intrinsically motivated strive to select work assignments that allow them to develop new skills and to be autonomous. This is in line with extant theory and research that describe intrinsic motivation as including: self-determination, that is, preference for choice and autonomy (Deci & Ryan, 1985), competence, that is, mastery orientation and preference for challenge (Deci & Ryan, 1985), task involvement (Csikszentmihalyi, 1975), curiosity, and interest (Reeve, Cole, & Olson, 1986). The extent to which people are intrinsically or extrinsically motivated has generally been conceived of as a stable trait. Amabile et al. (1994), for example, demonstrated that people's motivations remained stable for longer periods and across major life transitions. This may suggest that people who are intrinsically motivated will initiate tasks and assignments that are challenging, whereas extrinsically motivated people will be less focused on

performing these types of tasks. To date, little research has addressed this specific relationship. Only recently, in a study on job flexibility of career starters, it was found that adolescents who rated high on intrinsic work values showed less resistance to accept a challenging job than those who rated low on intrinsic work values (Peiró, García-Montalvo, & Gracia, 2002).

Literatures on learning and development have emphasised the role of people's mastery and performance goals in work and educational settings, that are related to intrinsic and extrinsic aspects of motivation, respectively. Mastery-oriented individuals focus on the development of competence through task mastery, whereas performance-oriented individuals focus on demonstrating and validating their competence (e.g., Elliot, 1999; VandeWalle, Cron, & Slocum, 2001). Students with mastery goals persist when they are challenged because they want to learn. In contrast, students with performance goals tend to prevent the risk of being viewed as incompetent by others and they therefore will avoid challenging situations.

Other researchers have emphasised approach orientations as opposed to avoidance orientations in people. Individuals with an approach orientation aim at gaining desirable possibilities (i.e., success), whereas individuals with an avoidance orientation aim at avoiding negative, undesirable possibilities such as failure (e.g., Atkinson, 1957). Together, these dimensions comprise four motivational orientations (Elliot & McGregor, 2001): Performance-approach orientation (demonstrating one's abilities and gaining favourable judgments from others), performance-avoidance orientation (avoiding demonstrating incompetence as compared to others), mastery-approach orientation (developing competence or attaining task mastery), and mastery-avoidance orientation (avoiding failure to develop competence or to attain task mastery).

Classic achievement theories postulate that initial choice among a set of tasks differing in difficulty is a function of the relative strength of individuals' motivational orientations. Positively motivated individuals (i.e., individuals with motive to approach success stronger than their motive to avoid failure) prefer difficult tasks over easier tasks, whereas negatively motivated individuals (i.e., subjects with motive to approach success weaker than their motive to avoid failure) prefer performing moderately easy tasks (Cooper, 1983). Thus, individuals high in motive to approach success are expected to be more quickly engaging in challenging tasks than individuals low in motive to approach success. Individuals high in motive to avoid failure are expected to be less willing to engage in challenging tasks and more easily switching to routine tasks than individuals low in motive to avoid failure. This was demonstrated in a recent study with students from a Dutch university (De Pater, 2005). Students participated in an assessment centre and they were told that their management potential would be established based on their task performance. They were encouraged to show their capacities as best as they could during the assessment centre. Participants were free to choose three tasks from among a set of ten that could be performed during the assessment. The assessment centre tasks were pre-tested with another group of students who had rated the tasks as challenging or non-challenging. The participants in the assessment centre were asked to rank order the three tasks of their choice. There were clear differences among the

students regarding their task choices. Although all of them realised that the challenging tasks were more informative for establishing management potential than the non-challenging ones (as measured after the assessment centre), a substantial part of the participants yet chose to perform non-challenging tasks. Their task choice was most strongly related to the motive to avoid failure: Participants that rated high on this motive didn't want to perform the challenging tasks, whereas participants that were motivated to demonstrate their abilities preferentially performed the challenging tasks.

Self-Efficacy

Pursuing challenging tasks may also depend on individuals' self-efficacy regarding these types of tasks. If individuals feel less confident in carrying out tasks that are beyond their usual tasks, they will probably stick to the types of tasks they are used to. Recently, this type of self-efficacy has been conceptualised as role breadth self-efficacy, that is: "the extent to which people feel confident and that they are able to carry out a broader and proactive role, beyond traditional prescribed technical requirements" (Parker, 1998, p. 835). According to Bandura's (1986) original self-efficacy theory, self-efficacy is considered being dynamic and task specific: it refers to people's judgments about their capability to perform *specific* tasks. Hence, role breadth self-efficacy differs from this task-specific conceptualisation of self-efficacy. Rather, it refers to an array of tasks comprising challenging tasks. As task specific self-efficacy, people's role breadth self-efficacy is not necessarily fixed but it can be influenced, for instance, by earlier and more frequent exposure to challenging tasks.

Self-efficacy beliefs are acquired and modified through four informational sources (Bandura, 1986): enactive mastery or performance attainment (repeated performance success), vicarious experience (modelling), verbal persuasion, and physiological states and reactions.

Personal success experiences with a given task tend to raise efficacy estimates, while repeated failures lower them. Lent and Hackett (1987) have stressed the importance of having enough opportunities for performance attainment. If a person is provided with relatively few enactive mastery experiences, one will be deprived of valuable information for developing competence beliefs. Indeed, Parker (1998) found that employees' role breadth self-efficacy was significantly related to the breadth of activities they had within their job.

Observing similar others succeed or fail at a particular activity (vicarious experience) may also affect one's self-efficacy, especially if one has had little direct experience upon which to estimate personal competence. People's role-breath self-efficacy may be enhanced if they see others effectively dealing with broader and more challenging tasks.

Verbal persuasion, that is telling people that they possess capabilities, may help to determine choices of activities and environments. Noe, Noe, and Bachhuber

(1990) found that career motivation was positively related to supervisor support. In a similar vein, employees will perform challenging tasks if their supervisor encourages them to do so. According to Bandura (1986), social persuasion can contribute to self-efficacy, but social persuasion alone may be limited in its power. One's physiological state when performing a task may also affect efficacy judgments. Evidence of anxiety, fatigue or depression during task performance may diminish inferred self-efficacy, whereas calmness, resilience or excitement may enhance perceived task proficiency. Of the four principle sources of information, physiological states and reactions have been shown to have the least influence on self-efficacy (Gist & Mitchell, 1992). Although enactive mastery seems one of the most influential sources of efficacy information, the relative effects of the four sources apparently depend on how they are patterned within a given learning context (Van Vianen, 1999). Since challenge denotes higher levels of arousal, physiological reactions as experienced during the performance of a challenging task may yet affect efficacy beliefs after task performance. Future research should scrutinise this issue because the balance between positive and negative emotions (excitement and/or fear) might be of greater importance for role breath self-efficacy than expected from existing research.

Enactive mastery may result from the initiatives of individuals themselves as well as from organisational practices. Thus, both the individual and the organisation contribute to providing the sources of self-efficacy. However, people's motives are the driving force for seeking or ignoring opportunities for performance attainment that in turn influences the building of role breadth self-efficacy.

Proactivity

In general, individuals differ with regard to showing behaviour. Proactive individuals "select, create, and influence situations in which they work" (Seibert, Crant, & Kraimer, 1999, p. 417). They are more likely to engage in career management activities and they are more likely to identify and pursue opportunities for self-improvement (Seibert, Kraimer, & Crant, 2001). De Pater (2005) examined the early work and learning experiences of bachelor students during their internship at different companies in The Netherlands. Students' proactivity ratings as measured with the *Proactive Personality Scale* (see Seibert et al., 1999) were indeed positively related to having challenging experiences. Proactive students reported to have more of these experiences during their internship.

Proactivity is conceived of as a *trait*, but there are good reasons to believe that proactivity may rather reflect a *state* as being related to certain stages of people's careers. In later career stages, people may encounter a career plateau, as has been discussed above. Mid and late-career employees may have fully mastered their current work and they may perceive no opportunities for further upward career progress. The career literature emphasises content plateauing as being negative for

organisations but also as negatively experienced by individuals (e.g., Allen, Russell, Poteet, & Dobbins, 1999). The latter is questionable as many organisations report that their older and tenured employees are not willing to change their jobs and have no interest in improving their employability. A recent study among a large sample of employees working in health care institutions showed, for example, that employees who were satisfied with their career were less willing to accept other assignments or jobs within their organisation (Nauta, Van der Heijden, Van Vianen, Preenen, & Van Dam, 2007). Indeed, why should individuals change their work situation if this situation is experienced as comfortable? A basic principle of human motivation is that people become motivated and activated in situations of deprivation, but not when their needs are already fulfilled. On the contrary, research has revealed that positive affect, that is a state of positive mood, may even lead to higher levels of risk-aversion because unknown situations may be viewed as having the potential of loss (Isen & Geva, 1987).

Career Anchors

Schein (1996) has organised people's motives, self-efficacy and personality into a higher order pattern of eight career anchors that guide career directions and decisions. The anchors are: autonomy/independence, security/stability, technical-functional competence, managerial competence, entrepreneurial creativity, service or dedication to a cause, life style, and pure challenge. Some of these anchors point to the seeking of challenging experiences, such as: autonomy/independence (i.e., the need to be autonomous and self-reliant regarding work and career development), entrepreneurial creativity (i.e., preference for starting new projects or businesses), and pure challenge (i.e., desire to conquer, and preference for problem-solving and constant self-testing). Also individuals with a managerial competence anchor are expected to seek challenging opportunities, because they have an interest in occupying positions that encompass broader managerial responsibilities. They, therefore, will pursue a career that involves challenges.

In contrast, people guided by the security anchor will avoid challenging and insecure situations, because they seek career stability and job security. Also, people with career anchors of technical competence (i.e., motivated to develop one's skills in a specific discipline), service/dedication (i.e., driven by core values of helping others rather than the work itself), and life style (a need to balance work and other aspects of life) may tend to neglect challenging opportunities at work. These categories of workers seem to be most vulnerable in a turbulent market where employees themselves carry the main responsibility for their own career and work experiences.

Of course, people's specific work experiences are not only determined by their own initiatives, but also by factors in the work environment. Organisational practices and supervisor behaviours may largely determine employees' exposure to enactive mastery experiences.

Challenging Experiences: Assigned

In many educational and work settings, individuals are not entirely free to choose which activities to engage in, and thus, what experiences to have. Teachers assign tasks to their students and supervisors assign tasks to their employees. Moreover, since assignments in educational and work settings are often organised in groups, tasks are allocated among group members. Whether or not individuals have challenging experiences will to a certain extent depend on the behaviours of peers and supervisors. Thus, despite the important role of individuals' own characteristics in pursuing specific activities as mentioned above, their role breadth self-efficacy and opportunities for its enhancement are at least partly affected by the behaviours of others.

The role that peers may play in task choice decisions has been demonstrated in a study that examined the division of tasks among men and women (De Pater, Van Vianen, Humphrey, Sleeth, Hartman, & Fischer, 2004). In this study, the researchers created a situation in which challenging tasks were scarce (as they often are). Based on earlier literature that suggested that women might be less eager than men to perform challenging tasks (Dickerson & Taylor, 2000), it was proposed that women would less likely end up with performing these tasks after task division in mixed-sex groups. The researchers first examined the task preferences of male and female students and found no gender differences in task preferences. Thereafter, they created mixed-gender dyads with males and females having similar task preferences. The dyads participated in an assessment centre advertised to investigate their management potential. They were informed that both members of a dyad were not allowed to perform the same tasks. Therefore, they were asked to allocate the tasks among each other before starting to work on the tasks. The results of this study showed that male and female participants did not differ in the total number of initially chosen tasks they maintained during the task allocation. However, they did differ in the number of *challenging* tasks maintained after the task allocation. From the original set of challenging and non-challenging tasks they had chosen, males stuck to their initially chosen challenging tasks during task allocation whereas female participants more often held their initially chosen non-challenging tasks. Moreover, although the female participants actually performed more tasks in total during the assessment centre, male participants completed more challenging tasks. Thus after task allocation, females had *fewer* challenging tasks than males had, although they had similar preferences for these types of tasks. Female participants may have shifted their task preferences in the direction of more non-challenging tasks under the influence of gender stereotypes, that is, the belief that responsibility for challenging tasks is more appropriate for men than for women. This study clearly shows that employees' opportunities for performing challenging tasks depend on the specific characteristics of group members and the process of task allocation among them. If employees stay in their work group for a substantial amount of time, "standardised" processes of task allocation may easily arise with some group members being repeatedly deprived from challenging experiences whereas few others become showered with these experiences.

Supervisors, even more so than group members, strongly influence the types of task experiences of their employees. For instance, through delegation of some of their tasks to subordinates they may stimulate the development of subordinates' skills, knowledge, and even careers (Vinton, 1987; Yukl & Fu, 1999). Delegation may concern both challenging and routine tasks, but most supervisors will be particularly careful in delegating challenging tasks. Delegating challenging assignments to subordinates involves a certain risk for the supervisor (Van de Vliert & Smith, 2004). They will try to reduce that risk by delegating assignments exclusively to those subordinates they trust to be both willing (Hersey & Blanchard, 1993) and able (e.g., Leana, 1986) to perform well. Bauer and Green (1996) indeed found that supervisors' delegation behaviours were positively related to the job performance ratings of their subordinates. Also other factors may play a role in supervisors' delegation behaviours, such as supervisors' impression of subordinates' ambition and similarity. Ambitious subordinates may impress their supervisor as being eager to perform challenging assignments in order to improve their promotability. At least the risk of task failure due to subordinates' lower effort might be reduced if the subordinate is ambitious. Moreover, research has shown that supervisors evaluate the contextual performance of ambitious subordinates higher than those of non-ambitious ones (Hogan, Rybicki, Motowidlo, & Borman, 1998).

Perceptions of similarity influence initial interactions between supervisors and subordinates, which support the development of leader-member exchange relationships. Supervisors develop separate exchange relationships with each subordinate, as a result of social exchange between the leader and subordinate (e.g., Graen & Uhl Bien, 1995). Exchange relationships can either be high or low, with high exchange relationships being characterised by strong mutual trust and loyalty (Yukl & Fu, 1999). High exchange relationships are related to both subordinate performance (Graen & Uhl Bien, 1995) and the delegation of tasks and responsibilities (Bauer & Green, 1996).

Although supervisors' delegation behaviours have received some attention in the literature, supervisors' assignment of challenging tasks has hardly been addressed yet. Only recently, De Pater, Van Vianen, and Bechtoldt (2007) have examined supervisors' willingness to assign challenging tasks to their subordinates. They assumed that the proposed similarity mechanism as discussed above might cause male supervisors to assign fewer tasks to their female subordinates than to their male subordinates. In their study, they investigated to what extent supervisors' task assignment intentions were affected by subordinates' job performance, ambition, similarity with the supervisor, gender, and the quality of the leader-member exchange relationship. Supervisors were first asked about their intention to assign challenging tasks to their subordinates and then to provide their impression of each of their subordinates. Results showed that subordinates' perceived ambition, job performance, similarity, and gender were related to supervisors' assignment of challenging tasks. Ambitious, well performing, similar males were most likely to receive challenging assignments.

To summarise, the task allocation behaviours of peers and supervisors in particular significantly influence employees' opportunities for development and learning. The

assignment of undemanding tasks will seriously jeopardise employees' subsequent interests, role breadth self-efficacy, and employability orientation. Since only few supervisors may realise the far reaching consequences of their daily task allocation behaviours most of them actually may not manage the development and careers of their employees. No wonder that some older and tenured employees are less willing to learn and change. Generally, organisational support is of great importance for on the job development, particularly so for individuals that tend to rely more on environmental cues than on their self-concept to guide their development (Brutus, Ruderman, Ohlott, & McCauley, 2000).

Discussion

Building a Career Through Paving the Path with Challenging Stones

The career literature claims that future careers will change dramatically. During their careers, individuals will work in a larger number of different jobs and organisations (e.g., Tesluk & Jacobs, 1998). Job changes are particularly expected to occur *within* rather than *between* organisations, since no empirical evidence yet exists that supports an increase in external mobility. For example, mobility figures in The Netherlands have remained stable over the past 20 years (Gesthuizen & Dagevos, 2005). Moreover, external mobility appears to be strongly related to specific career stages, with career starters showing higher mobility rates than individuals in midlife and late careers. Additionally, external mobility rates highly depend on economic factors that affect demand and supply on the labour market. Therefore, the dramatic change in careers may be less concerned with external mobility. It will, however, unquestionably concern organisations' internal mobility because economic market mechanisms force organisations and people to change their activities regularly.

Nowadays, organisations struggle with the low employability of specific categories of employees and they expect to face even more of these problems in the near future. Job rotation was one of the attractive solutions that were proposed by human resource managers. Lateral transfers between job assignments within the organisation would be a good strategy to enrich the quality of employees' work experiences (Campion, Cheraskin, & Stevens, 1994). Yet, it seems that only few organisations were actually successful in implementing systems of job rotation. Most of them employed job rotation mainly in management development programs for the young group of management trainees. Besides, many organisations are simply not large enough to be able to rotate jobs among their members. Job rotation might indeed be a useful instrument for higher level and general management jobs, but it will be less appropriate for those categories of employees whose development is mostly in danger, such as the specialists and security seekers.

About 30 years ago, Hackman and Oldham (1976) proposed a job characteristics model that describes the satisfying and motivating ingredients of jobs: skill variety, task identity, task significance, autonomy, and feedback. These characteristics remain to be highly relevant for future jobs; yet another characteristic should be added. Skill variety should be complemented with "skill challenge". Jobs should provide employees the opportunity to perform challenging activities, that is, activities that are new and ask for non-routine skills and behaviours, test one's abilities or resources, and may involve higher levels of responsibility and visibility.

The career literature emphasises that employees will be held more and more responsible for their development and employability. Individuals who fail to develop during their careers will be like a drifting ship that has lost its control on a stormy sea with a captain who forgot to check the machinery before and after leaving the port. In order to adequately manage their nonlinear careers, people first need to focus on their own criteria of career success rather than those of others. It is a necessity to find out what really matters to us and to depend less on what others might want. Do I want to sail around the world in 12 months or do I wish to travel around and to see as much as I can? Answering these types of questions will not be easy and most people will, therefore, need the suggestions and support of others. Career self-management, thus, also involves seeking the help of others, such as professional counsellors: We need some crew to check our machinery.

A stronger focus on the self may, however, have some hazards as well. Schwartz (2004) notified that "as people become free to do whatever they want, they get less happy" (p. 70). The more options for choice people have the more they tend to strive for the most optimal outcome (i.e., the maximum) rather than an outcome that is satisfying. Maximisers, as these people are called, are more prone to rumination and disappointment. Therefore, counsellors should take care not to overstate people's control of their own life. A healthy striving for one's own goals also means that environmental obstacles should be taken into account and that in some occasions one has to settle for a second best option. Having said this, we would like to note that many employees might not be aware of the consequences of their daily activity choices. Furthermore, those employees that may be more consciously dealing with their career strivings may do this with "restricted" motives, for example, with the intention to outperform others. A mastery-approach orientation will, however, be more suitable and healthy for setting one's goals in future careers.

The mechanisms and positive outcomes of goal striving have been extensively discussed in the goal setting literature. A basic premise of goal setting theory is that goals should be difficult and attainable. In a similar vein, work experiences should be challenging and attainable. Brutus et al. (2000) rightly noted that challenging job assignments have two sides of a coin: a beneficial one and a risky one. Challenging experiences are beneficial in case they are successfully dealt with. Challenging experiences have, however, also the risk of failure. Failure in itself will provide individuals with useful information about their weaknesses. It may, however, also lower individuals' self-esteem and interest in exploring other job facets. Challenge may even hurt peoples' development if the challenge is too much and/or too soon (Van Velsor & Hughes, 1990). Challenges may easily become too much of a good thing

if individuals experience lack of control and become anxious rather than excited. Challenging experiences, therefore, should be attainable in such a way that there are good options and no serious obstacles for successful mastery. A challenge differs from a goal in that it is subjective rather than objective: it should build on existing experiences and skills, as perceived by employees themselves.

Besides modest optimism about successful performance, employees need to have positive expectations about the support they will receive from their supervisors and peers. Organisations and supervisors in particular can manage the challenging experiences of their employees in several ways. First, they can provide frequent feedback and support in case employees engage in challenging activities. Secondly, they can create a culture of tolerance where employees are allowed to fail on their challenging experiences. Moreover, if the task performance was less successful than expected they can, together with the employee, seek for other challenges that fit the employee better. A continuous learning culture encourages employees to seek for challenging opportunities and lowers their fears of failure. Thirdly, if employees do not initiate and direct their development, organisations can do. Not only employees but also supervisors might be reluctant to change existing routines, as we have noted in this paper. Hence, in a turbulent market, employees but organisations as well should be aware of their risk-avoidant behaviours.

The human resource instruments that are most common nowadays seem risk avoidant: they aim for selection and cure. For example, personnel selection instruments have been developed to reduce the number of "false positives", specific training programs were organised to bridge missing skills, and career self-management training programs were set up to cure employees from learned helplessness. However, formal career self-management training is generally not very successful in getting people to actually engage in career self-management activities and may even backfire if the company has mandated employees' training participation (Kossek, Roberts, Fisher, & Demarr, 1998). Future human resource management practices should aim for more challenging strategies, for instance by breaking down the daily routines of employees and supervisors and by encouraging experimentation and risk-taking. It is too easy and an illusion as well to assume that employees could manage their careers entirely on their own. Employees will need the coaching of others, such as organisations and counsellors.

DeFillippi and Arthur (1994) have stressed the importance of three career competencies: know-why, know-whom¸ and know-how competencies. Know-why competencies relate to individuals' self-concept as reflected in their career motivation, values, and interests. Know-whom competencies relate to the building of career supportive networks. The know-how competencies concern individuals' skills and development. In this paper, most attention has been paid to the latter competency, since this competency can be viewed as the most basic one. If people neglect their development, know-why and know-whom competencies will become almost useless for building a satisfactory career in a flexible job market. The human resource management approaches that are traditionally related to individuals' know-how competencies are job-analysis, job design, performance appraisal, and training (see DeFillippi & Arthur, 1994). We aimed to stress the point that these

HRM instruments remain to be valuable yet insufficient. Employees' development is a matter of new "routines", that is the routinely initiation or assignment of challenging work experiences.

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Chapter 15
QUALIFICATION STANDARDS FOR CAREER PRACTITIONERS

Nancy Arthur

Introduction and Driving Forces

Although the term career has an array of meanings, a converging point of view is that career is associated with work (Arthur, Hall, & Lawrence, 1989; Blustein, 2006; Richardson, 2000). This association is complex due to people's varied experiences with academic preparation, employment, unemployment, and the personal meanings that they associate with careers versus jobs. There are also many variations in people's cultural norms and values about work, their motivation for participating in the labour market, and how they determine their degree of satisfaction or success (Brown, 2002). Further, people's career development must be viewed in light of many contextual influences that support access for some members of society to meaningful employment while continuing to pose barriers for others (Arthur, 2005a; Arthur & McMahon, 2005). Career practitioners are encouraged to review some of the excellent sources that detail the historical development of the concept of career, e.g., Blustein, 2006; Collin & Young, 1990).

While notions of career continue to evolve, career development practices also need to be revised. Career practitioners need to be familiar with the broader changes that are taking place in society and their relevance for guiding career practice (Herr, 1993a, 1993b, 2001). One of the key roles of career practitioners is to interpret for clients how changes in the world of work impact career planning and decision-making. Career practitioners need to be knowledgeable about theories and models that account for adult working lives that are characterised by multiple transitions (Guichard & Lenz, 2005).

Career practitioners may be involved in a variety of roles ranging from direct services with individual clients who are seeking educational or vocational opportunities, consulting to organisations, informing policy makers, and a range of other roles that may involve working directly or indirectly to promote community capacity-building and greater access for clients to employment. It should be remembered that the roots of social justice can be traced to Parson's (1909) vision of social respon-

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J.A. Athanasou, R. Van Esbroeck (eds.) *International Handbook of Career Guidance*,

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sibility in the provision of vocational guidance (Hartung & Blustein, 2002). Career practitioners have a large role to play in advocating for clients who have been disadvantaged by social and political conditions.

Just as the term 'career' has evolved to reflect changes in the world of work, the practice of career development must also evolve. The seminal work of Parsons (1909) left a legacy of trait and factor approaches to understanding people's career development, but unfortunately, Parson's view of empowering clients within their social and occupational roles is often left out of models of career decision-making (Hartung & Blustein, 2002). Contemporary approaches to career-decision making require the incorporation of factors within the individual, interpersonal factors, and broader social and contextual influences to explain people's career-related behaviour (Patton & McMahon, 2006). As the world of work becomes increasingly complex, career practitioners must be skilled at navigating through the myriad of presenting client issues, available resources, and ever-pressing need to prepare people for entering the labour market. The focus on life-long learning is paramount in developing holistic approaches to the provision of career and guidance services (Van Esbroeck, 2002). Given the widespread nature of changes in the world of work, it is timely for us to consider the preparation of career development practitioners for working in local and global contexts.

The purpose of this chapter is to acquaint readers with background contexts and contemporary issues regarding qualification standards for career practitioners. The chapter will begin by reviewing selected changes in the field of career development that represent the driving forces behind national and international initiatives to design and implement qualification standards. The second section of the chapter will discuss the proposed benefits of standards of practice for practitioners, including the changing consumer base. The third section of the chapter will outline some of the difficulties in developing and managing qualification standards. The fourth section of the chapter will focus on recent initiatives to develop international standards for career development practitioners, highlighting promising directions and challenges associated with integrating and implementing tans-national perspectives. The fifth section of the chapter will provide a selected focus on diversity and social justice as an example of how qualification standards can be leveraged to provide leadership for positively embracing changes in the global context of career development. The concluding remarks will summarise key areas for future consideration in the development of qualification standards for career practitioners. Examples of qualification standards and guidelines from several countries will be incorporated into the discussion.

The Changing World of Work

The North American work society has evolved from an agrarian-based, to an industrialised, to a highly information-based and globalised economy (Herr, 2001). The "globalization of business and industry are having profound

effects on career" (Young & Collin, 2000, p. 10). Trends in immigration and mobility between countries mean that there are increasing opportunities to work alongside people with diverse cultural backgrounds and for greater interaction between workers from other nations. There are opportunities and pressures for people to be mobile within and between countries to address temporary and longer-term shortages of skilled labour. In response, educational systems are being transformed through internationalisation initiatives to prepare students for participation in an international labour market. Consequently, students and workers need to shift their mindset to become "globally minded" workers and develop international and cross-cultural competencies (Arthur, 2000, 2002). The implication is that career practitioners need to be informed about work force trends, support clients to acquire skills for working across cultures, and help them to access local, national, or international employment opportunities.

The shift from job-based employment to contingency-based contracts and career portfolios requires a fundamental shift in thinking to connect career development and life-long learning (Patton & McMahon, 2006). In order to respond to changing life circumstances and new developments in work systems and technology, workers are learners who must be prepared to constantly update their skills. The term, career adaptability captures the need for "readiness to cope with changing work and working conditions" (Super & Knasel, 1981, p. 195). At the heart of career adaptability is the capacity for flexibility and ability to fit into new or changing circumstances (Savickas, 1997). The surge and decline of resource-based economies, shifts in consumer markets with stronger demand from emerging nations, and rapid technological advances pose immense challenges for predicting future labour market trends. It appears that workers of the future need to be ready, willing, and able to update and transfer their learning into marketable skills and creative ways of designing work-related activities.

Individuals are challenged about how to chart their academic preparation and skill enhancement to prepare for labour market fluctuations. People must revise their view of career planning and decision-making from a one-time event to a series of learning activities that support their entrance into and mobility within the labour market. It is imperative that consumers have access to trained service providers to help them explore who they are, explore the world of work, and to make informed decisions about charting a course of action to enhance employability. There is currently a wealth of resources available to support clients with planning and decision-making. However, along with the burgeoning growth in consumer products, there are strong variations in the quality, costs, and usefulness of available material. Few products are effectively used as stand-a-lone resources; rather, they should be used in conjunction with a supported learning process of career development planning and decision-making. In turn, service providers need to be skilled at selecting the processes and resources that meet a diverse range of client needs. The emphasis shifts from available products to an emphasis on meeting consumer needs. These issues underscore the importance of qualification standards in the preparation of career practitioners.

Benefits of Standards of Practice

Standards of practice for career development practitioners offer several potential benefits. In the document, *Applying the Standards and Guidelines: A Practical Guide* (Canadian Standards and Guidelines for Career Development Practitioners, n.d.), five potential benefits are identified for career development practitioners and the clients they serve. These include, (a) enhancing the quality of services, (b) recognising career development as a distinct and specialised discipline, (c) advocating for quality career development services, (d) supporting progress and consistency in career development educational programs, and (e) promoting accountability in service delivery. A number of related benefits are extrapolated from the document and expanded in this section of the discussion.

First, standards outline the distinct practices and qualifications of career development practitioners. It is important to emphasis that the career development field is currently an unregulated industry. This means that anyone can claim to be a career practitioner and offer public service. A major implication is that the academic backgrounds and preparation of practitioners are highly varied, ranging from "life experience", learning on the job, through to doctoral degrees specialising in career development theory and/or practice. There are debates about what background qualifications are minimally acceptable for standards of practice. Most countries have preferred to use the term career practitioner to recognise the broader range of backgrounds that can lead to related expertise and to recognise the broad range of professional services provided. For example, it is believed that the term career practitioner is a broader umbrella term that incorporates specialist functions.

Most standards of practice suggest three or four core domains and then specify additional domains of specialisation. For example, the *Canadian Standards and Guidelines for Career Development Practitioners* (CSGCDP) (National Steering Committee for Career Development Standards and Guidelines, 2004) outline core competencies in the domains of (a) professional behaviour, (b) interpersonal competence, (c) career development knowledge, and (d) needs assessment and referral. Areas of specialisation are defined as advanced competencies required to provide specific career development services in domains such as (a) assessment, (b) facilitated individual and group learning, (c) career counselling, (d) information and resource management, (e) work development, and, (f) community capacity-building. The core and specialisation competencies define what makes the practice of career development a unique helping profession, "that helps citizens manage and make the most of their learning and work opportunities throughout their lives" (CSGCDP, p. 4).

Second, standards of practice are designed to improve the accountability of professional services. Codes of ethics provide minimal standards for professional conduct. Standards of practice expand upon ethical principles and outline foundation competencies that are required for offering quality services to the public. The *Code of Ethics and Quality Standards in Career Counselling* (Euro/guidance, 2004)

published in Europe provides an excellent example of jointly considered principles of practice. Standards of practice are intended to maximize the competency levels of career practitioners, and conversely, strengthen the quality of services delivered to the public. Consumers are often in a position of choosing between various types of service providers. Standards of practice provide consumers with a benchmark for assessing the qualifications of career practitioners and for strengthening confidence about professional services.

Third, at an organisational level, standards of practice can be used to establish service objectives or improve the delivery of services. For example, a local employment agency concerned with the needs of workers ages 45 and older used the standards to strengthen the capacity of the organisation to serve a more diverse range of unemployed workers. The standards were used in strategic planning to determine the group professional development needs of staff. In these ways, standards can be used to direct current and future learning needs of career development practitioners.

Fourth, standards for practice provide individual practitioners with a template for determining professional development needs. Practitioners can self-assess where they stand in light of core and specialisation domains. Therefore, standards of practice can be used to determine career practitioners' learning needs. This benefit is relevant for practitioners who are new to the field of career development and those who have practised for several years. Individuals who are exploring career development practice roles as a potential career choice can review standards of practice to gain a better understanding about the kinds of roles and functions performed. Practitioners who have several years of experience benefit from reviewing standards of practice to determine new developments and to target learning goals for continuing education topics.

Fifth, standards of practice can be used as framework for curriculum design in courses and programs related to career development. For example, in designing graduate-level courses, the CSGCDP was used as a reference for establishing course objectives and planning the learning activities and course assignment. In one course, the learning activities for classes focus on reviewing topics related to career development theories, ethics, and diversity. Students are invited to access related domains on the CSGCDP standards of practice and complete the web-based self-assessment process called *Taking Charge*, available at http://www.career-dev-guidelines.org. This exercise fosters knowledge development about the related competencies. Students then integrate the completed self-assessment into a professional development plan as one of the required course assignments.

Sixth, standards of practice provide a framework that can be used to advocate for career development services. As noted in *Applying the Standards and Guidelines: A Practical Guide*, designed as accompanying materials to the CSGCDP (available at http://www.career-dev-guidelines.org), standards of practice "provide a framework for policy-makers and funding agencies to understand the scope and contribution to career development. They can be used to lobby for the availability of, and entitlement to, career services" (p. 4). Career development practitioners are encouraged to be active about influencing the direction of services. However, to do so requires

effective strategies for defining the nature of our work, the needs of our clients, and how career development services can make a positive difference. Standards of practice can be used to educate people involved in policy and funding decisions about what we do and the scope of our expertise. In turn, career development practitioners can leverage standards of practice to show funding personnel the types of services that are required to effectively meet client needs. These examples illustrate McMahon's (2004) position that quality standards provide a foundation for shaping a career development culture.

Challenges in Developing and Managing Qualification Standards

Despite the multiple benefits associated with standards of practice for career practitioners, there are a number of challenges associated with developing and managing qualification standards. Some of the challenges include (a) inconsistencies of language, (b) diversity of practice settings and practitioner backgrounds, (c) promoting the adoption of qualification standards by career practitioners, and, (d) monitoring of standards.

Finding an Inclusive Name

Earlier in the discussion, it was noted that the term *career practitioner* is used in most standards of practice as a broad umbrella term to capture the variety of roles associated with career development practices. Debates have occurred about the nomenclature to be used to in directing standards of practice for career practitioners. Although using the terminology "career practitioner" is intended to be inclusive, questions remain about who should be using the standards and if the net has been cast too broadly. Some practitioners have objected to the broader classification term, arguing that their specialisation qualifications need to be recognised. For example, professionals with expertise in career counselling and/or vocational psychology may feel that the term practitioner does not adequately acknowledge their professional training and credentials.

Qualification standards in the field of career development are written for educational and vocational guidance practitioners, including counsellors. However, counselling may be only one of several functions performed by educational and vocational guidance practitioners (Repetto, Malik, Ferrer-Sama, Manzano, & Hiebert, 2003). Counsellors may need additional training to competently facilitate educational and vocational guidance and to meet the career development needs of a wide variety of clients (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD], 2004; Repetto, in press a). Curriculum on career development and career counselling is often absent, available as optional courses, or not seen as a priority in counsellor education programs. When curriculum exists, it

may only be limited to one course that is not integrated with a practicum or direct experience working with clients. One implication of devaluing career development curriculum in counsellor education (Dadgle & Salter, 2004) is that it should not be assumed that counsellors have the requisite skills for providing competent career development services. Additionally, the scope of services extends beyond counselling and may be effectively performed by personnel with backgrounds other than counsellor education. Therefore, the standards have been built upon competency frameworks to outline essential attitudes, knowledge, and skills for specific domains of practice (Repetto Ferrer-Saman & Manzano, in press). It is important to emphasise that career development practitioners should only be performing the tasks for which they have adequate training (National Career Development Association, 1997).

The term career practitioner may also have different meanings within career practice communities across countries and be more or less accepted as representative of professional identity. A major challenge then, in developing standards of practice is the issue of applicability to a broad range of practitioners across a broad range of practice settings. For example, the disparity of roles and tasks performed by career practitioners poses a challenge in defining the core components of practice. In other words, common standards of practice need to be defined as a foundation for all practitioners. In turn, the public can hold expectations about the basic qualification standards held by practitioners in any area of career development practice.

Diversity of Practice Settings and Roles

The diversity of practice settings and roles poses as both strengths and limitations in articulating standards of practice. For example, the field has grown beyond individual client services for career decision-making. Standards of practice need to be sufficiently broad for all practitioners to see their roles and functions represented. However, there are also objections raised when practitioners feel pressured to incorporate standards of practice that are not applicable to their roles. For example, practitioners with a clear scope of practice for serving individuals may not see the relevance of standards in domains directed at community-capacity building or policy-making. Consequently, there is a need for both core requirements in standards of practice along with flexibility of specialisations so that all practitioners can see their roles and functions reflected.

Considerable time, expertise, and dedication has been given to the development of standards of practice for career practitioners. Personnel involved in the developmental stages of such initiatives are indeed the champions in promoting their utility for the field of career development. However, the development of standards must be accompanied by efforts to gain recognition of their importance and acceptance by career practitioners. Otherwise, the fate of standards of practice will be seen as the domain of only a few with vested interests, and not be integrated into practice settings and associated roles. The rationale for adhering to the standards, and their

usefulness for career practice, need to be clearly articulated. The bottom line for any professional initiative is that people need to be able to see the benefits for themselves, for their practice, and for their clients.

The field-testing process associated with the development of the CSGCP provides an excellent example of bridging the written competencies with practice. A range of pilot projects were funded with the requirement of providing feedback regarding the standards (Hiebert, in press). This provided the opportunity for hundreds of career practitioners in Canada to be exposed to the standards and to give input into their applicability for practice. The *Promising Practice* document (National Steering Committee for Career Development Standards and Guidelines, 2003) provides examples of how the CSGCDP have been incorporated into a wide range of practice settings.

Adoption of Qualification Standards

Promoting the adoption of qualification standards by career practitioners requires an integrated effort at both pre-service and in-service levels of practice. As illustrated earlier in the discussion, educational curriculum can be designed to expose students to standards of practice on general terms and in targeting specific curriculum objectives. This provides students with the expectation that standards of practice should guide their subsequent practices and provides opportunities for trying out the standards through course assignments and discussions. Perhaps the bigger challenge is to promote the adoption of standards through continuing education for practitioners in the field. Partnerships with professional associations, ongoing workshops and other training opportunities, and promotion of the standards through written materials and website information are paramount. The ideal scenario is to support practitioners to move from a position of considering the standards as something external to their roles to actively incorporating standards and using them for ongoing professional development planning.

Assessment and Monitoring Issues

The development of standards of practice was intended to provide guidelines for career practitioners about the kinds of competencies that support their roles. The development of self-assessment tools is an important step to help practitioners monitor their current levels of competencies and to target areas for future learning. Despite the utility of such initiatives, there are issues associated with compliance and monitoring. Key questions are raised, such as “How will the standards be monitored?”, and “What methods can be used to assess competences associated with standards of practice?”

Currently, the standards are monitored predominantly through self-assessment methods. That means that individual career development practitioners are responsible for reviewing the standards, defining their personal competencies, and taking responsibility for learning activities to improve their competencies. An emphasis on self-assessment is positive in that it relies on the professionalism of practitioners for self-monitoring and targeting their learning needs. However, self-assessment of competencies is plagued by discrepancies between *knowing that* and *knowing how*. For example, practitioners may be familiar with the content of competencies but not have sufficient skills for translating competencies into practice. For example, standards of practice associated with diversity usually contain competencies associated with respect for clients from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds. One can have an intellection appreciation of diversity but that may not match with personal attitudes, nor does knowledge automatically translate into respectful career practices (Arthur, 2006) The bottom line is that standards of practice are intended to improve practitioner competencies in key domains of attitude, knowledge, and skills. This requires further consideration of what kind of behavioural indicators can be linked to specific competencies.

Although a number of instruments have been developed for the purpose of evaluating counselling skills (Repetto et al., in press a), these instruments are fraught with issues of reliability and validity. A key concern is that practitioners overestimate their abilities. Self-report questionnaires may measure the desire to posses and utilise specific competencies but not provide accurate information about actual abilities (Kruger & Dunning, 1999). Observation of practice is suggested as a supplement to self-assessment measures. However, there are additional methodological issues such as consistency between raters, and the expense and time required to use an external evaluator. The subjectivity of an evaluator can also be problematic as evaluation is not value-neutral (House, 2004). Biases may be introduced when standards for performance are evaluated according to personal preferences. The use of career portfolios is suggested as a method for practitioners to document the ways in which they are applying competencies in practice. Portfolios may include formal and informal evaluation, documentation from clients, supervisors, and other artifacts to authenticate the nature of a practitioner's experience and related competencies.

The emphasis in this discussion has been placed on the responsibility of career practitioners for monitoring their adherence to standards of practice. There are considerable debates about the responsibilities of professional associations for monitoring standards of practice. Professional associations who adopt qualification standards for career practitioners typically emphasise the standards as a condition of joining the association. However, it is unclear as to their role in providing leadership, training, and monitoring of adherence to standards of practice. Perhaps as professional associations associated with career development become more formalised, more discussion will take place regarding how standards of practice are integrated into membership renewal. Until career development practice is regulated and receives a professional designation the monitoring function rests with compliance by individual practitioners.

International Standards of Practice for Career Practitioners

The need for career development services has gained increasing recognition worldwide (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD], 2004; United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO], 2002; Watts & Sultana, 2004). There are wide disparities across countries regarding client access to counselling and guidance services, particularly for people seeking assistance outside of the school system (Hiebert & Borgen, 2002). There is also wide variation across countries in the professional training available to practitioners involved in counselling and guidance functions. As different countries attempt to improve the career development services available to a wider range of clientele, it is important/timely to consider the main competencies that define career development practice in the international arena (Repetto, in press b).

Although national qualification standards for career practitioners have been developed in several countries, they tend to be directed towards the national context of career development practice, for example, United States, Canada, Australia. In the increasingly global world of work, it is important to ascertain the kinds of competencies that define the work of career practitioners that would transcend national borders. A publication in Europe (Euro/guidance, 2004) resulted from collaboration by colleagues in the fields of education and labour for the development of codes of ethics and quality standards.

An exemplary initiative was undertaken by the International Association of Educational and Vocational Guidance (IAEVG) to lead the development of *International Competencies for Educational and Vocational Guidance Practitioners* (Repetto et al., 2003). This initiative focused on establishing a common ground for practitioners in clarifying the competencies that career practitioners require to effective work with their clients, regardless of specialisation or country of residence. According to Hiebert (in press), international competencies have the potential to foster practitioner self-awareness, determine professional education and training needs, and support closer working relationships for all stakeholders involved in the delivery of career guidance services. Details of the process involved in developing the *International Competencies* are available on the IAEVG website (IAEVG, 2003) and in a forthcoming research monogram (Repetto, in press a) to be published in the *International Journal for Educational and Vocational Guidance*.

The work completed by the steering committee who led the International Standards initiative raises the bar in terms of how we view the work of career development practitioners, how they might be viewed by their clients, and in defining specific competencies that underpin the practice of career development. This initiative demonstrates how leaders in the field of career development can collaborate across countries, languages, and practice contexts to negotiate agreement about career development in the global arena. This groundbreaking work is to be commended for opening another level of dialogue about the global applications of career development practices and the competencies required to

support practitioners and their clients. It sets the stage for the process of establishing international credentials which will support the identification of practitioners who can work both within and across countries.

Challenges for Integrating International Standards

Despite the appeal of developing international standards for career development practitioners, there are a number of challenges associated with integrating and implementing tans-national perspectives. Some of these challenges are related to issues of representation and the cultural and contextual validity of standards of practice within and across nations.

A number of key steps were taken in developing the IAEVG International Standards (Repetto, in press a). Experts from specific countries provided feedback regarding the content of the competencies. The IAEVG process involved nine content experts representing Argentina, Australia, Canada, Germany, Japan, Mexico, Slovenia, South Africa, and United States, with a broad range of background expertise and experience in different practice settings. Incorporating expert review in the early stage of competency development is considered to be a strength as it encourages multiple opinions to be incorporated. The use of expert opinion through approaches such as the Delphi technique (Collins, 1998; Martorella, 1991; Spinelli, 1983) is considered as a valuable method in research; however, it is important to be transparent about whose perspectives are privileged. One of the inherent issues in developing international standards is determining which experts should speak for many nations. To what extent can a small number of people adequately represent the diversity of opinion within a single country and be relevant for other countries and cultures?

In subsequent phases of the pilot background research to develop the competencies within the international standards, efforts were made to include career practitioners from various roles, types of service provision, and practice settings. Therefore, steps were taken to diversify the sample in terms of practitioners and their practice settings when data was gathered for the pilot study and the main study. The questionnaire was also translated into seven languages, including Spanish, English, French, German, Italian, Greek and Finnish. These efforts enhanced the quality of data collected regarding the competencies which practitioners consider important for their work, and also the training they have received.

Issues of Representation and Cultural Validity

Although the research process used for the pilot and main study in developing the International Standards followed an impressive process, there are some limitations. Specifically, concerns must be raised regarding representation and cultural validity.

For example, the geographical areas represented in the distribution of the pilot study data show a higher number of participants from Eastern Europe, Japan, and South and Central America, with lower participation rates from European Union member States. The pilot study data also illustrates that reaching consensus about the competencies that should comprise international qualification standards is difficult. For example, one of the groups who rated the competencies very high was from countries in South and Central America. In contrast, a smaller number of participants from the European Union and Japan were more critical of the proposed competencies (Manzano, Ferrer-Sama, & Repetto, in press). Despite efforts to include a broad range of practitioners, the majority of participants who provided responses are those who work in educative and/or employment work settings, with few participants coming from other community settings.

Similar issues pertaining to sample representation are evident in the main study in which practitioners completed a questionnaire based on the final version of the international competencies (Repetto, Ferrer-Sama, & Manzano, in press b). This research provided evaluation of 11 core competencies (that every practitioner must have regardless the tasks they perform) and 81 competencies that were distributed in 10 areas of specialisation. Although a sample size of more than 800 practitioners is noteworthy, it is important to consider that data was collected from practitioners in eight geographical areas and there was considerable variation in the response rates. Access to participants within some geographical areas was limited. For example, due to the inadequate number of respondents, data obtained from Asia and Africa was not included. Issues of generalisability arise when data is used from only a few respondents from individual countries within such large geographical areas such as the European Union or Latin America.

Future Directions

As the emphasis on career development shifts to the global arena, it is timely to be reflective about the utility of international standards of practice. The effort expended in the process of developing IAEVG's International Standards is commendable; this research marks the first extensive examination of competency based career practitioner training needs at an international level. In total, more than 900 career practitioners from 39 countries were involved in identifying the most relevant competences and in evaluating the competencies for which further training is needed (Repetto, in press b). Nonetheless, we must exercise caution about the cultural and contextual validity of international standards. A key question remains to be answered: how well do the international standards apply trans-nationally and across practice settings? The relevance of practitioner competencies, including the roles and functions assigned to them, differs according to countries (Manzano et al., in press). All standards of practice must be considered as "living documents" to be tested and revised through additional exposure to practitioners working in a variety of roles, job functions, and in a variety of practice settings. Future research is also

required to consider how well the international standards serve career practitioners in other countries and practice contexts, for example, emerging countries where career development practice is in its infancy and in countries such as Thailand where there is a large and well organised national association of guidance counsellors. The next steps appear to be reaching out to a larger audience of career development practitioners to incorporate their perspectives about foundation competencies that support effective service provision.

Expanding Social Justice Competencies in Standards of Practice for Career Development Practitioners

As previously stated, there is growing interest in career development services in many different countries to meet the needs of a broad range of consumers (OECD, 2004; UNESCO, 2002; Watts & Sultana, 2003). Shifting borders of trade, travel, and immigration are impacting employment patterns throughout the world, including who is available for work in an international labour market (Arthur, 2000, 2002). Although some may argue that the attention paid to globalisation is to promote capitalism and address skilled labour shortages, there are also opportunities to mobilize career development services to address social and economic inequities (Watts, 2000). We can no longer ignore the fact that the career development of individuals within many countries is strongly influenced by the systems that surround them, acknowledging broad, systematic societal inequities and oppression (Hansen, 2003). Within and across nations, there continue to be social and political forces that limit career development of individuals and there are inequities in terms of who can access career-related resources and services. More attention needs to be paid to the structural barriers that impede the career development of individuals who are disproportionately represented by individuals from non-dominant groups in our society (Arthur, 2005b). As a guiding value, social justice is a strong foundation from which to guide career practitioner roles and career interventions. Consequently, as standards of practice are developed and implemented, it is timely to consider how they may be leveraged to address social justice issues in career development.

Although there may be general agreement about the importance of social justice, there are many perspectives about the meaning of this term. It is even less clear how the concept of social justice should be applied in the practice of career development. Perspectives on social justice incorporate a number of principles related equity, self-determination, and fair distribution of resources (e.g., Prilleltensky, 1997). Emphasising distributive justice, social justice is a value directed towards the "full and equal participation of all groups in a society that is mutually shaped to meet their needs. Social justice includes a vision of society in which the distribution of resources is equitable and all members are physically and psychologically safe and secure" (Bell, 1997, p. 3). Helping people meet their needs for safety, security, and helping them to access resources is inextricably linked with the work performed by career practitioners. However, we might also incorporate ideas from

Young's (1990) work on the politics of difference in which it is argued that social justice should involve helping people reach their full potential. Guichard (2003) challenged us to consider the ultimate goals of today's career guidance practices. A focus on human development is central to the work of career practitioners in helping others to achieve their full potential. Blustein (2006) argued for an emancipatory communitarian approach to foster a better balance between the self-determinism of individuals and needs of the community. A common element in these perspectives on social justice is acknowledging the role that dominant cultural values and mores have in shaping concepts of career, notions of "on-track" and "off-track" career development, and how we define career problems, interventions, and suitable resources. Social justice interventions focus on advocacy for "helping clients challenge institutional and social barriers that impede academic, career or personal-social development" (Lee, 1998, pp. 8–9). This requires career practitioners to think of themselves as agents of social change. Lee (2007) noted that counselling for social justice requires a paradigm shift in which professionals need to step outside of their usual roles, and examine how their personal and professional values are committed to social justice. This call for action appears relevant for the practice of career development.

The General Assembly of IAEVG has taken an important stand in linking advocacy and leadership at the core of career development practice. Social justice is named as a foundation competency in the *International Competencies for Educational and Vocational Guidance Practitioners* (Repetto et al., 2003): *Demonstrate advocacy and leadership in advancing clients' learning, career development and personal concerns*. This is an important statement in naming social advocacy as a core value in career development practice. However, there is considerable work to be done to help translate the value of social justice into career development practices.

An overriding issue is that standards of practice are inevitably limited in terms of scope and depth. They are often written to provide entry-level guidelines for practice and there are variations in how practitioners build upon core and specialisation competencies. Aspirational guidelines provide a starting point for addressing competencies for quality practice but they often do not provide sufficient depth of detail to support practitioners in translating standards into practice. To illustrate, diversity competencies are incorporated as core content in the *Canadian Standards and Guidelines for Career Development Practitioners* (National Steering Committee for Career Development Standards and Guidelines, 2004) and in the Counseling Competencies of the National Career Development Association (NCDA, 1997) in the United States, and in standards of practice for the careers industry in Australia (McMahon, 2004; Miles Morgan, 2005). Diversity competencies tend to be associated with interpersonal skills for working with individuals. However, diversity competencies need to be understood and practiced as fundamental to developing and effective working alliance in career development practice (Arthur & Collins, 2006). From the European context, Launikari and Puukari's (2005) edited collection provides several papers that illustrate the importance of diversity competencies for the provision of effective guidance and counselling.

A key debate is whether diversity competencies go far enough in specifying how to help clients overcome some of the external barriers that impact their career development (Arthur, 2005a, 2005b). There is a growing literature challenging the role of career practitioners as social agents in which their roles are constrained to helping people adjust to difficult conditions or circumstances in their environment. Helping people adjust to oppressive conditions does nothing to change the environmental influences that are negative or debilitating influences on people's career development (Vera & Speight, 2003). Alternatively, career practitioners could actively focus on empowering individuals and community groups to overcome barriers that adversely impact their career development (Cook, O'Brien, & Heppner, 2004; Herr & Niles, 1998). Lee (1998) stated that the goal of social action "is both remedial and preventive in nature. Social action aims at preventing individual from returning to disempowering environments by establishing social structures that empower people" (p. 12). On an international level, there is growing concern that sensitivity to cultural differences falls short of addressing the social, economic, and political systems that are inextricably linked to employment access and mobility. In order to help individuals from culturally diverse backgrounds overcome systemic barriers, career practitioners need to be informed about social justice and how they can incorporate multiples levels of career development interventions (Arthur & Collins, 2005; Arthur & McMahon, 2005).

The incorporation of social justice as an overriding value in standards of practice is an important direction. However, there is considerable work to be done to translate the value of social justice into an expanded scope of career development practices. The next step is to articulate the specific competencies that would support social justice practices in career development. As a starting point for this discussion, Arthur (2005a) provided examples of social justice competencies that are represented by five domains:

1. Knowledge about the potential impacts of systemic forces, including oppression, on the presenting career issues of clients
2. Consultation with local community groups to direct strategic planning about career development services
3. Expansion of career development interventions to include multiple roles and multiple levels of intervention
4. Increasing client access to services and the availability of culturally appropriate career resources
5. Professional development for increasing competencies related to social justice and career development

We appear to be at a crossroad in connecting social justice with career development practices. Although there might be general agreement that this is a desirable direction, this needs to be followed by commitment that leads to action. A critical point is raised regarding scope of practice for career practitioners. Is the primary role of career practitioners to work with individuals using remedial interventions and helping people to adapt to their environment, or is it to improve the conditions that enhance people's career development through interventions aimed at personal empowerment

or social change? Community capacity building needs to be more directly aligned with social justice initiatives for helping client groups to increase their agency for self-sufficiency and self-determination. This places career practitioners in an active facilitative role for helping to improve community access to career opportunities and resources. There is strong potential for career practitioners to increase their involvement in community capacity building. Competencies for community capacity building outlined in the CSGCD (National Steering Committee for Career Development Standards and Guidelines, 2004) are relevant for social justice but are not explicitly documented in this way.

A more challenging point is whether career practitioners actually see themselves and their roles connected to social justice. If career practitioners are not willing or able to function in advocacy roles for their clients, it does not seem reasonable to expect clients to address social change by themselves. The further development of social justice competencies in standards for career development practitioners requires systematic examination of how career development practice is linked to social justice, how career practitioners apply social justice interventions, and the barriers and enablers that they face in service delivery.

A research initiative in Canada and Australia funded by the Social Sciences and Research Council of Canada is designed to address these gaps (Arthur, 2006). The project involves a review of conceptual literature to derive competencies in the domains of self-awareness, knowledge, and skills related to social justice. Similar to the process involved in the development of the International Standards, 10 content experts were invited to provide feedback and recommendations regarding the wording of the competency statements. The final version of the *Social Justice and Career Development Survey* (Collins, Arthur, & McMahon, 2007), consists of 41 competency statements and is designed for administration on-line. Career practitioners will also be asked to describe their understanding of the linkage between social justice and career development practices, provide examples of critical incidents related to social justice interventions, and describe any barriers that they have faced for implementing social justice competencies in their roles as career practitioners. Data collection was completed in 2007. This research will potentially offer many insights into the ways that career practitioners view social justice competencies and their ratings of current competency levels. In turn, the research has strong potential to provide examples of social justice interventions, perceived barriers, and directions for future training.

Ultimately, the competencies outlined in standards of practice need to be linked to the training of career development practitioners. Social justice competencies are no exception. Even though career practitioners may recognise the importance of systemic influences on the lives of their clients, they often lack training about how to implement related interventions (Burwell & Kalbfleisch, 2007; Hansen, 2003; Herr & Niles, 1998). Curriculum for career practitioners typically provides an overview of barriers to career development, minimal content on systems theories, and does not sufficiently prepare students with competencies for addressing systemic change. Additional curriculum content to broader social and structural issues was one of the key priorities identified at a think tank on the future of career counsellor education in Canada held in November, 2006 (Burwell & Kalbfleisch, 2007).

Career practitioners often lack understanding about what it means to be an advocate and what kinds of activities might be adopted to improve social conditions. Revisions to career development curriculum are needed to help practitioners see the importance of social justice as an underlying value to their work and to translate that value into practical career intervention strategies at individual, group, and systems levels. If we are to enhance the inclusiveness of career development services for people from all cultures and from all countries, practitioners must be adequately trained to incorporate social justice competencies into career development practices.

Concluding Remarks

This chapter outlines background information regarding qualification standards for career practitioners, including their purpose, and some of the benefits and challenges associated with developing career practitioner competencies at national and international levels. To recap, the movement towards competency-based standards of practice is to provide direction about the common and specialisation attitudes, knowledge, and skills required of career practitioners in a variety of practice settings and in a variety of roles. Standards of practice define foundational competencies that are important for delivering quality services in the practice of career development. They provide a common language for helping multiple shareholders to understand the nature of career development practice and what to expect from service providers. In summary, standards of practice are a key reference for the education of new practitioners and for the continuing education of practitioners in the field.

The development of standards of practice is one of the most important initiatives undertaken to consolidate the practice of career development. Considerable effort has been expended on determining scope of practice, wording of documents, gathering feedback from practitioners, and launching standards of practice in several countries. Plant (2004) observed that power issues lie embedded with the development of such efforts, including who defines, maintains and controls qualification standards. There are also issues associated with the maintenance of the standards. For example, who will 'house' the standards, who will regulate them, and who will ensure that they are updated? It may seem logical for standards of practice to be adopted in principle by career development associations, and indeed, many members have toiled to bring standards of practice forward as a priority for members. Several professional associations, including IAEVG, are moving to the next step of using standards of practice as the basis for determining membership credentials. However, it will take ongoing resources of time, financial support, and personnel, to provide the kind of support and infrastructure necessary for charting future directions. It will take concerted effort to ensure that standards of practice continue to be adequately promoted. It is also essential that a process of review is built into the longer term planning process, following the initial development and implementation phases. We do not know the extent to which qualification standards for career

practitioners are utilised nationally and internationally. Research initiatives are needed to provide this information.

Given the rapid changes in the world of work, we need to continually assess the relevancy of standards of practice for supporting the work of career practitioners. If the past predicts the future, our roles and functions will in career development practice will continue to evolve. The rapid pace of change requires a parallel process to make sure that our standards of practice are relevant for the work performed in the field of career development.

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Chapter 16
THE EMERGENCE OF MORE DYNAMIC COUNSELLING METHODS

Norman Amundson and Erin Thrift

As we move into the 21st century there is little doubt that social and labour market changes (globalisation, demographic shifts, advances in technology and information processing) have created a very different type of workplace (Amundson, Jang, & To, 2004; Feller, 2003; Herr, 1999). In the middle of the 20th century there seemed to be many jobs and lots of possibilities for anyone with skills and a good work ethic. This was followed by a period of imbalance in the 1980s and 1990s during which there seemed to be too many workers and too few jobs. This downturn created more contract workers and also changed the attitude of many people towards work. The psychological contract between workers and employers changed with the downturn and workers realised that they must assume greater responsibility for directing their own career development. And now we find ourselves changing again, this time driven by fears that there won't be enough skilled trades or professional workers to compete effectively in a global market place. These changes have helped to set a new agenda for many governments and companies. There is now a greater focus on learning, a desire to look more closely at prior learning assessment, and increased interest in a more global economy and the movement of workers from one country to another.

In the face of all these changes career counsellors are learning to value a more dynamic, imaginative and flexible approach to career counselling (Amundson, 2003a, Bright, Pryor, Wilkenfeld, & Earl, 2005; Feller, Russell, & Whichard, 2005; Duncan, Hubble, & Miller, 2004; McMahon & Patton, 2002). Counsellors often find themselves dealing with a broader range of clients with more complex issues. They also find themselves working in a context where they need to adopt a lifelong career guidance perspective (Amundson, 2006).

As part of an exploration of the way in career counselling is changing this chapter will start by examining and questioning some of the underlying traditions and conventions of career counselling, and then based on this foundation, will move on to a broader discussion and description of some of the dynamic counselling methods that are emerging. There are many dynamic counselling approaches that could

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J.A. Athanasou, R. Van Esbroeck (eds.) *International Handbook of Career Guidance*,

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be explored, but this chapter will focus on metaphors, storytelling and some of the more paradoxical questioning methods. These methods all focus on different ways of changing perspective so that people can develop new ways of seeing themselves and their problems. They enable clients to build new possibilities and realistically assess the viability of various options (Pryor, Amundson, & Bright, in press).

The Underlying Traditions and Conventions

There are many traditions and conventions associated with career counselling that need to change in order to support a more active and dynamic counselling approach. Some of these traditions include the physical space that is available for counselling, the standard way that time is organised, the exclusive focus on the individual, the artificial separation of personal and career issues, and the over reliance on verbal methods of inquiry (Amundson, 2002). Many clients come to counselling because in some way they feel "stuck", they are dealing with a crisis of imagination. To create new perspectives counsellors must be prepared to be more imaginative and innovative in their counselling approach (Bloch, 2005; Bright & Pryor, 2005).

A traditional counselling room usually includes a couple of chairs facing one another in a small space. This structure helps to determine the type of interpersonal exchange that occurs, the assumption being that little physical movement will be required and that the discussion will be primarily verbal in nature. More dynamic counselling methods expand the use of physical space and encourage counsellors to make use of hallways and other larger spaces. For example, if a counsellor is using a brief/solution oriented approach (De Shazer, 1985; Friedman, 1993) they might ask their clients to "walk their problems," starting at one end of the hallway with the problem and then moving to the other end where there is a solution. With this process there is the opportunity to physically identify some of the steps along the way. There also is the suggestion that people can shift their vantage point so that they are looking at problems from a position of success (the solution end of the hallway). This infusion of physical activity into standard counselling exercises helps to create a more powerful and memorable experience for many clients.

The allotment of time for counselling also tends to follow a very traditional pattern. Each session usually has a standard set of time (anywhere from 20 minutes to 50 minutes) and sessions often occur on a weekly basis. A general expectation is that most clients will come for three to six sessions. While this standardisation helps with timetabling it is not necessarily the best structure for all clients. For example, in working with indigenous clients McCormick and Amundson (1997) found that many people would prefer one longer session – a personal workshop with involvement from other community members. When clients do not respond well to the structure they are often labelled as resistant. With one "resistant" client one of the authors (NA) tried lengthening the time of the session and this was all that was necessary. There can be some real advantages to using more flexibility when scheduling client sessions.

The expectation of dialogue patterns within sessions also follows some rather predictable patterns. While counsellors have learned to use silence at times there still is a general expectation that the dialogue with the counselling session will be continuous. There are times when it can be helpful to break the session into segments. Between each segment there can be 2 or 3 minutes for reflection. This reflective time can be helpful for both the counsellor and the client. With the additional reflective period there are more opportunities for changing direction when this is warranted.

In describing the individual counselling process there usually is the expectation that the client and counsellor are meeting directly with one another without involvement of others. While this may fit for many situations there also are times when it might be advisable to invite others to the counselling session. As with the indigenous example, there are other situations where it can be helpful to have input from family members and from the broader social community. With many dual career families it is easy to see how career is more than just an individual matter. There also are times when parents can play a role in the career counselling process. Amundson and Penner (1998) have developed and researched a procedure for situations where young people are willing to allow their parents to be part of the counselling process. With this process parents are put in the role of observers. They watch the counselling discussion that occurs and are only invited to provide their opinion after some discussion and exploration has occurred.

Another shift in process is the growing acceptance of the fact that good career counselling involves an integration of personal and working life issues (Arthur, Inkson, & Pringle, 1999). Career interventions at their core help people to focus on the development and use of their talents throughout each stage of their lives. There is an emphasis on empowerment and helping people to "make meaning of their life experiences and translate that meaning into appropriate occupational and other life role choices." (Niles & Harris-Bowlsbey, 2002, p. 1). The infusion of general life issues into career counselling helps to create a perspective that is broadly based and in touch with the real issues of people.

Lastly, there is the issue of expanding problem solving to include verbal, visual and physical methods. The earlier discussion on space included some mention of how more physical methods can be implemented. With the visual, it is helpful to structure the room in such a way there is easy access to a flip chart, a white board, or just some paper and pens. With a flip chart close at hand there is a natural tendency to start drawing and making lists on the paper. This small structural change helps to create a very different process where there is often a greater awareness of metaphors and the tools close at hand to start working with these visual images. One of the visual images (see Fig. 16.1) that has been quite useful in the beginning stages of counselling has been a career wheel to describe the various components of career counselling (Amundson, 1989; Amundson & Poehnell, 2003). The wheel is helpful as a way of discussing with clients the various elements that need to be explored before moving to the centre, the career options. One of the goals of counselling is to fill in the various parts of the wheel and discuss how these elements all point towards certain career options. Integrating the information helps to pinpoint some career possibilities.

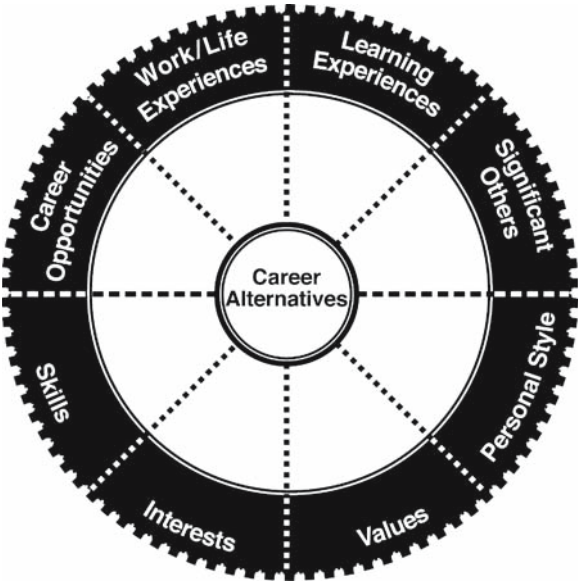


Fig. 16.1 Career Wheel (From Career Pathways by Norman Amundson and Gray Poehnell, Copyright 2003, Ergon Communications. This material is used by permission of Ergon Communications)

There are undoubtedly many additional traditions and conventions as well as exercises that could be mentioned. Certainly the use of A-V equipment and the internet might be an area that could be explored further. Young and Valach (1996) in a research context use processes where they play back segments of earlier discussions between parents and youth. This could be expanded with the right technology and become a regular part of the counselling process. There are many different processes that might evolve in line with technological advances. What is important here is that counsellors step back and critically look at how they might have taken some of these processes for granted. It is not that everything needs to change, it is simply that we all need to be more critical and strategic about the various forms of counsellor-client engagement.

The Counselling Relationship

There was a time in middle of the 20th century when most counsellors sat on one side of the desk and clients on the other. The power dynamics in this type of relationship were very obvious – counsellors clearly occupied the dominant position. Counsellors through their information and position power were clearly in the dominant position. Carl Rogers (1951, 1961, 1980) and others challenged this relationship structure and

suggested that a more egalitarian relationship be established. Removing the desk was one form of moving toward a more collaborative and equal relationship.

In describing this more collaborative relationship Rogers suggested that there were three essential conditions: genuineness, unconditional positive regard, and empathic understanding. These relational building blocks became the foundation for most theory and practical counsellor training. Theorists such as Egan (1998) took this further and created practical learning strategies for developing empathic skills.

These core conditions are undoubtedly central to any successful counselling relationship. At the same time, there is a question as to whether there are any additional conditions that should be added to this list. In exploring some of the reflections of Carl Rogers (see Boy & Pine, 1990) there are other words such as "flexibility" and "openness" that Rogers uses to describe his process. To be flexible one has to be adaptable and to be willing to accept changes. Earlier there was discussion about clients coming with a crisis of "imagination". Creative problem solving requires a certain degree of flexibility and adaptability in order to be able to look at the problem from different angles and "think outside the box". As well, counsellors need to come to sessions with an attitude of "openness", a willingness to suspend judgement and to follow one's natural curiosity. Hansen and Amundson (2006) referred to a sense of stillness, wonder and openness; a willingness to suspend judgement and follow one's natural curiosity.

The initial steps in relationship building are often regarded as an open ended process where people discuss events from every day life. While this certainly represents a natural way of building a relationship, there also are other more dynamic methods that can facilitate relationship building. *The Favorite Things Activity* (McCormick, Amundson, & Poehnell, 2002) for example, starts by having people make a list of some of the things that they enjoy in life (from all aspects of life). After making the list the activities are discussed and analysed with respect to the following questions:

1. How long has it been since they did these activities?
2. What costs are involved with each of these activities?
3. What proportion of the activities is planned or spontaneous?
4. What proportion of the activities is done alone or with others?
5. In what ways do the activities involve the mind, the body, emotion or the spirit?

In discussing these activities there is an opportunity for some self disclosure by the counsellor (finding common ground). This activity also leads to a more holistic view of the client and some of the interests and strengths that can be built upon, and provides clues as to the types of metaphors that might be used in a meaningful way with the client at some future point in the counselling process.

The importance of a strong counselling relationship (sometimes called the counselling alliance) to counselling outcome is something that has considerable research support (Horvath & Symonds, 1991; Lambert, 1992; Martin, Garske, & Davis, 2000). Also, as researchers have sought some common factors in counselling process there has been a general recognition that the relationship plays a key role in all forms of counselling and therapeutic processes (Bertolini & O'Hanlon, 2002).

Illustrations of Dynamic Counselling Methods

Metaphors

Metaphors are the ways in which we understand and experience situations in terms of their connections to other events. For example, someone might describe feelings of elation with a metaphor such as "feeling on top of the world." Lakoff and Johnson (1980) stated that "our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature" (p. 3). Pistole (2003) went on to say that metaphors help us to open up possibilities, to highlight experiences and also to develop coherence and meaning for our experiences. Metaphors help to bring order and structure to situations that might seem confusing. They also are able to give expression to some underlying feelings and thoughts. For example, people may express the feeling of frustration with any of the following metaphors: "I feel like I'm banging my head against a wall," "I feel like I'm spinning my wheels," "I feel like I'm up a creek without a paddle." Each of these expressions is different and help to clarify what exactly is being felt in any given situation.

Clients often use metaphors in discussing their situations and it can be helpful to highlight some of these metaphors. One of the metaphors that is common in our culture in discussions of career is that of the "journey." The career journey might take the form of a pathway, navigating a river or perhaps, climbing a mountain. By exploring the image in greater detail new insights start to emerge. For example, climbing a mountain starts with a decision that this is something that you want to do. Then there are preparations that need to be made. Moving forward is never in a straight line and sometimes you need to move backwards before you can make progress up the mountain. There also might be some guides that need to be in place. And then there is the timing for the journey. Often it cannot be accomplished in a day, but requires ongoing commitment and perseverance. There are base camps that might need to be established and lastly there is the final ascent and realisation of the goal. And then, of course, there are always other mountains that need to be climbed and so it goes. By analysing the journey in this way it is possible to isolate various facets of the problem and then to think about what types of decisions and actions might be necessary. One of the advantages of discussing career problems in metaphoric terms is that it allows clients to step outside the parameters, or pressing concerns, of the problem and to look at their options in a different way.

In addition to just talking about a problem it can be helpful to make a drawing of the metaphor and then use this image as a focus for discussion (Amundson, 1988). Having a flip chart and some coloured felt pens in the counselling room can be a great way to get this started. In pursuing this addition it is important to stress that this is not an exercise in fine artistic expression. All that is happening is that we are trying to get an image from which to work. This is particularly helpful for people who are visual thinkers, and less inclined or able to explore a problem verbally. However, others may be resistant to drawings because of earlier experiences and if this becomes too much of an issue then it is important to put this aside and

return to working with activities that they are more comfortable with (Stone & Amundson, 1989).

The development of a metaphor should be a collaborative effort between the counsellor and client. While usually the starting point comes from a metaphor that the client initiates this does not always have to be the case (Babits, 2001). Counsellors can also suggest metaphors and then work together with clients for further development. For example, an emotional roller coaster metaphor has been used with unemployed clients to discuss some of the ups and downs associated with job search (Borgen & Amundson, 1987). With the *Starting Points* career assessment program, a road map model with roadblocks and stopovers is used to describe the various employability dimensions that characterise the unemployment experience (Borgen & Amundson, 1996; Westwood, Amundson, & Borgen, 1994). The opening exercise with this program begins with the roller coaster model and a discussion of emotion. Following this there is a goal setting exercise using the road map metaphor where people choose between various points on the journey that is, Readiness, Career Exploration, Skill Enhancement, Job Search, Job/Work Maintenance. Building on this initial foundation there is then a self esteem building exercise. The self esteem enhancement then leads to a review of goal setting (the road map) and to action planning. It is interesting to note that in some cases the goals change when people begin to feel better about themselves.

It can also be helpful to add a physical element to metaphors as a way of making the images come to life. For example, take a simple activity like throwing a ball back and forth. Imagine that on one side you have a person looking for work and on the other side you have employers looking for workers. If you look closely at the process you see that both parties need to stretch themselves in order to catch the ball. If there is insufficient stretching then very few balls get caught. Another metaphor that has also proven to be effective involves the use of the "backswing" to describe how change occurs (Amundson, 2003b). A backswing is needed to generate the power to move an object forward. Whether using a broom, a hammer, or a golf club, the backswing is a key part of the process. The same applies to counselling, in order to move forward you often first need to move backwards. This backward motion is short term, focused, and it is designed to build energy. The backswing leads to contact and then the follow through ensures a good result. Several problems can be understood using this metaphoric image. Some people want to get going but for a variety of reasons may not take the time to build their positive energy. Others enjoy the backswing so much that they never get to the point of contact and moving forward.

While metaphors are extremely useful as a way to expand understanding they also have their own limitations. It is always important to keep in mind that they are just a representation of an event, and should not be confused with the event itself. Also, metaphors suggest a particular perspective and there are times when we could benefit from multiple perspectives. Combs and Freedman (1990) made an interesting observation in this regard. They suggested that when people only have one metaphor this limits their creativity. By adding more metaphors there is more choice and flexibility and this leads to an increase in creativity. In order to expand creativity and develop multiple perspectives it may be helpful to explore a range of metaphors.

Inkson (2004) has proposed a series of what he calls archetypal career metaphors as one way of expanding our metaphoric possibilities. The metaphors identified by Inkson are as follows: legacy – career as inheritance; craft – career as construction; seasons – career as cycle; matching – career as fit; path – career as journey; network – career as encounters and relationships; theatre – career as role; economic – career as resource; and narrative – career as story. While these images are certainly compelling, there are many other images that could be considered. For example, one could look at career as anomaly, breakthrough, calling, dance, aesthetic, garden, a kaleidoscope, a ladder, management, puzzle, quest, stages, venture, and so on (Amundson, 2006). Some of these additional images fit well with current career theory and practice, particularly with contemporary focus on career uncertainty, spiritual direction and holistic integration (Amundson, 2005).

Whatever the images that are used to view career, it can be helpful to use the strategy proposed by Inkson and Amundson (2002) to explore a series of career images. With this process clients are asked to start by exploring their initial image (similar to what has been described earlier) and then to consider their career by using other metaphoric possibilities. Given time restrictions usually the focus is on two or three extra images. In many situations it is interesting to let the client choose one of the extra images and then to have the counsellor do the same. This collaborative effort helps to expand perspectives and often leads to new insights. To illustrate this process consider a case where a young woman, Kristina, started by choosing an image of a journey down the river as her career metaphor. As part of this journey she was enjoying the leisurely pace of the boat ride. However, she was now facing a situation where the water was moving faster and there appeared to be some rapids ahead. The increased speed and the threat of rapids had left her with a sense of panic and loss of control. As we worked through the image it became clear that she needed to develop some additional skills (build a stronger boat) and find the courage to continue to move forward (having the right support system was a big help). Moving to another image she chose the picture of a dance and through this exploration realised that it was not all about her and her boat, she needed to respond to the shifting challenges she was encountering (both of the river and her dancing partner). The counsellor focused on another image, that of inheritance or legacy. This additional exploration helped her to realise that completing the journey was important to her, it was part of her legacy. As part of her contribution she needed to get past the rapids and realise her true sailing potential. With each new image there is new understanding and the possibility to expand one's options.

Storytelling

Our stories (also called narratives) help us to interpret and make sense of the world (Cochran, 1997). As such, stories are an essential part of interpreting and understanding career experience (Young & Collin, 1992; Thrift & Amundson,

2005). Stories involve plots and characters and generate emotion through the poetic elaboration of symbolic material (Gabriel, 2000). Stories have the power to change our thinking and our emotions and to move us to action. The starting point for many people coming to counselling is to describe their situation by telling their story. As people tell their story they organise the various events into a coherent whole. The main benefit comes from having another person (the counsellor in this case) listen to the story that is being told. The sense of "being heard" by someone is very powerful and helps to validate the person and create a sense of "mattering" (Dixon Rayle, 2006; Schlossberg, Lynch, & Chickering, 1989).

Given the power of the story one would assume that this would be a foundation for most counselling relationships. Unfortunately, based on our experience, this is not necessarily the case. Many counsellors, in their rush to solve problems, cut stories short and move to advice giving. This is a real problem for some cultural groups where the telling of the story is considered to be an essential part of the process. Indigenous groups, for example, place a heavy emphasis on finding one's life/career story (McCormick, Amundson, & Poehnell, 2002). Stories are appreciated for their rich imagery and their spiritual significance.

Stories also play an important role within counselling. Savickas (1997), for example, uses early childhood memories (stories) to identify basic career/life themes. He also uses stories about significant others and role models to identify patterns. As clients become aware of the dynamics within their stories they are in a better position to start re-telling the stories and also creating new stories for themselves.

The process of identifying patterns within stories can be facilitated by using activities such as "achievement profiling" (Amundson & Poehnell, 2003). With this method clients are encouraged to describe in detail an achievement from any part of their life. For example, someone who enjoys basketball might describe a time when their team won an important game. Building on this interest, the counsellor would ask them to fully describe the game in question. Some of the questions that might be used are as follows:

1. What makes this activity stand out for you?
2. What was your role in achieving the success?
3. Were others involved? What roles did they assume?
4. What did you like and dislike about the activity?
5. What personal characteristics and attitudes helped you to be successful?
6. How did you prepare for this event?
7. Do you see any ways in which this activity might relate to other things in your life?

Once the full story has been generated the counsellor and client work together to identify some of the important aspects of the story. Continuing with the example of the basketball game, this event might illustrate qualities such as hard work, athletic ability, a willingness to put considerable time and effort into preparation, being able to work with a team, being creative in play selection, competitiveness, and the ability to overcome obstacles. These qualities are transferable to many new situations and also serve to build self-esteem.

Stories can be easily exchanged between counsellors and clients through all aspects of the counselling process. While the major focus in counselling should always be upon the client's story, there also are some instances where counsellors can provide other inspirational stories. Denning (2001) described what he calls the "springboard story." These stories can come from the counsellor's personal experience or from other sources. The stories are used to provide some additional perspectives on a situation.

Up to this point we have been focusing on the many positive aspects of storytelling. There also can be some limitations. Sometimes clients can be overwhelmed by problems and begin to focus exclusively on their negative stories. Solution focused counsellors would suggest that there is a need to interrupt excessive negative storytelling and ask for other more positive stories that create a better balance (De Shazer, 1985; Friedman, 1993; O'Hanlon & Weiner-Davis, 1989).

Overall, stories represent an important part of the career counselling process. Clients need to be encouraged to tell their stories and also learn how to adjust and develop new dynamic stories that build confidence and emphasise possibility and optimism.

Paradoxical Methods

Some theorists such as Gelatt (1989) and Mitchell, Levin, and Krumboltz (1999) have introduced concepts such as "positive uncertainty" and "planned happenstance" to explain processes of career decision making. These paradoxical notions suggest very different ways of working with career exploration and problem solving. There is a movement here to move away from "either-or" thinking to an approach that acknowledges and accepts ambivalence and flexibility (i.e., a "both-end" approach). Chaos theory also fits well here and places an emphasis on understanding how patterns and new forms of order emerge from environments where there appears to be disorder and unpredictability (Bloch, 2005; Pryor & Bright, 2003).

Helping people to increase flexibility often requires an expansion of cognitive frameworks. This may involve the presentation of new information but there are many instances when this is not enough to enact change. People have an uncanny ability to hang on to ideas even in the face of contradictory evidence. One way to deal with this is to use a process that starts by letting people explain their rationale for the ideas that they hold. Even the most self-defeating concepts have at their core some reasons for these beliefs. After fully hearing the story new possibilities often emerge. Take for example Melanie, a 36 year old woman who believed that she was too old to go back to school and learn anything new. She had been working for the airlines in the travel industry and with downsizing had lost her position. Initially she had thought that this would not be a problem but soon discovered otherwise. Her confidence was soon shattered and she found herself riding an "emotional roller coaster" (Borgen & Amundson, 1987). Going

back to the earlier idea of a "crisis of imagination" she could not extend her job search beyond the travel agency and she certainly was not open to further educational study. In articulating the reasons for this belief it became clear that she had many bad educational experiences studying in a traditional classroom. She was not prepared to go down that road again. In exploring her interests, however, it became clear that she loved to learn. The main problem was that education, for her, was not about learning, it was about sitting in desks, doing tests, and focusing on materials that were not of interest. Once she could more closely connect her interests to a more flexible and relevant educational process she was ready to begin a retraining process. This retraining led to exciting new work possibilities that were more closely aligned with her interests.

Another way to expand perspectives is to use the second order questioning process (Amundson, 2003a, 2003b). As before, this framework starts by allowing the person the opportunity to explain their reasons for the beliefs that they hold (called the confirming evidence). As a counter to this evidence, this method uses the solution focused idea of searching for exceptions (De Shazer, 1985; Friedman, 1993). While there may be many reasons for holding on to a particular belief, there also may be times when things turn out differently. For example, suppose that someone believes that they can't speak in front of groups. They may have many illustrations of how this has gone badly for them but there also may be times when they were able to speak effectively in a group situation. Following this exploration of the evidence, there are considerations of two other factors. There is the issue of development over time and how this idea became solidified. Continuing with the example of fear of speaking in front of groups, there is exploration of how this first developed and how it seems to be progressing. The other factor involves an enquiry about the perspectives of others. Is this something that other people agree with (and thus support) or are there some differing viewpoints? Again, the intent here is to explore whether there are alternate perspectives. After a full exploration of the issue the question is raised about the overall impact of continuing to hold the initial idea. If someone believes that they can't speak in front of groups this will invariably affect both their working and personal life. Given this impact, are they willing to consider changes and to work towards that end?

Sometimes all that is required to expand perspectives is to allow the full story to emerge. Mitchell et al. (1999) for example, described how people often have a tendency to ascribe their successes to luck or chance. While there undoubtedly is some involvement of fortunate circumstances this is often not the full story. In examining the underlying dynamics of events certain skills and personal attitudes often emerge, listed below are some illustrations:

1. Curiosity: the willingness to explore new learning opportunities.
2. Persistence: the ability to exert effort despite setbacks.
3. Flexibility: the ability to adjust responses to unexpected attitudes or circumstances.
4. Optimism: the belief in oneself and the willingness to view new opportunities as possible and attainable.
5. Risk Taking: the willingness to take action in the face of uncertain outcomes.

Mitchell et al. (1999) went on to say that in career counselling we should be encouraging clients to learn how to view unplanned events as opportunities for learning. They provide the following four step approach to furthering this process:

Step One: Normalise unplanned events.
Step Two: Use imagination to broaden perspectives
Step Three: Develop the skills and attitudes mentioned above.
Step Four: Focus on constructive ways to overcome roadblocks.

With the planned happenstance approach there is an emphasis on imagination, learning, and the development of skills and attitudes that position people for new opportunities.

From a chaos perspective the challenge is often to maintain hopefulness even in the midst of chaotic circumstances. This may require a shift from "probability" thinking towards more of a focus on "possibility" (Pryor et al., in press). For people who are willing to think "outside the box" there always are new possibilities that can emerge in even the most discouraging circumstances. Learning to challenge assumptions is one way of opening up new options. People may be limiting their choices because of constraining beliefs about gender, culture, disability, or age. Challenging some of these beliefs may open up a world of new possibilities.

Summary

Economic and social changes have created a much more fluid and unpredictable work environment. In helping clients to adjust to these changes career counsellors are increasingly learning to value a more dynamic, imaginative and flexible approach to career counselling. This is more than just expanding the "tool box," it is also learning to question some of the basic assumptions and structures underlying the career counselling process. Questions are being asked about the way to use space, how time should be allotted, how to vary dialogue patterns, the involvement of significant others, how to integrate life and career issues, and how to expand problem solving so that it includes verbal, visual and physical counselling methods. The answers to these and other questions is helping to shape a very different type of career counselling process.

There also is an exploration of the relational dynamics underlying the counselling process. In addition to the core conditions of genuineness, unconditional positive regard and empathic understanding there is the suggestion that "flexibility" and "openness" need to be added. This addition seems consistent with earlier counselling theory and also helps to support a counselling process where imagination and creativity are valued.

Lastly, there are illustrations of more dynamic counselling methods. Of particular note are different ways to use metaphors, stories and paradoxical questioning as part of the counselling process. These techniques help to expand perspectives and help to focus clients on their personal strengths and the pursuit of new possibilities.

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Chapter 17
CAREER GUIDANCE AND PUBLIC POLICY

A. G. Watts

Until recently, remarkably little attention has been paid to public policy in the career guidance field. With rare exceptions, there has been no tradition of policy studies in the professional literature. Little consideration has been given to policy matters in the training of career guidance practitioners.

Yet, as Herr (2003, p. 8) pointed out, "it can be argued that career counseling, in its many manifestations, is largely a creature of public policy". Most career guidance services are funded, directly or indirectly, by governments, whether at national, regional or local level. The nature of such funding imposes constraints on the kinds of services that are offered and to whom they are made available.

In belated recognition of the importance of policy matters, the last few years have seen a rapid growth of interest in the application of public policy to career guidance. A number of policy reviews have been published by influential international bodies (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD], 1996, 2004; Sultana, 2004; Watts & Fretwell, 2004; Watts, Dartois, & Plant, 1988; Watts, Guichard, Plant & Rodriguez, 1994). International symposia have been held on career development and public policy (Bezanson & O'Reilly, 2002; Hiebert & Bezanson, 2000). Critical studies have been conducted of the nature and impact of policy developments both internationally (Pryor & Watts, 1991) and at national level (e.g., Meijers, 2001; Watts, 1995, 2001).

This chapter is divided into four main parts. The first examines the rationale for policy interest in career guidance services. The second analyses the potential roles of public policy in relation to such services. The third identifies the main philosophical models which can underpin public policies in this field, distinguishing between social-welfare, market and quasi-market models. The fourth and final section explores a number of policy issues, including the relative merits of stand-alone and embedded delivery models, the distinction between reactive and proactive policy models, mechanisms for strategic leadership, and ways of influencing policy.

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J.A. Athanasou, R. Van Esbroeck (eds.) *International Handbook of Career Guidance*,
© Springer Science + Business Media B.V. 2008

Rationale

The key rationale for policy interest in career guidance services is that career guidance represents a public good as well as a private good. If it was viewed merely as a private good, it could be argued that provision of such services should be left to the market: that if people want the services, they should pay for them. It is because career guidance also represents a public good that governments are interested in assuring and shaping its provision.

An analysis by OECD (2004) of the policy goals which policy-makers seek to achieve through career guidance services indicated that they fell into three broad categories.

The first are *learning* goals. These include improving the efficiency of the education and training system, and managing its interface with the labour market. If individuals make decisions about what they are to learn in a well-informed and well-thought-through way, linked to their interests, their capacities and their aspirations, and the needs of the labour market, then – in line with human capital theory (Becker, 1993) – the huge sums of money invested in education and training systems are likely to yield much higher returns.

The second are *labour market* goals. These include improving the match between supply and demand, and managing adjustments to change. Career guidance can support the individual decisions through which the labour market operates, can reduce its market failures, and can support reforms designed to improve its normal functioning (Killeen, White, & Watts, 1992). If people find jobs which utilise their potential and meet their own goals, they are likely to be more motivated and therefore more productive.

The third are *social equity* goals. These include supporting equal opportunities and promoting social inclusion. Career guidance services can raise the aspirations of disadvantaged groups and support them in getting access to opportunities that might otherwise have been denied to them.

The precise nature of these three sets of goals, and the balance between these categories, varies across countries (OECD, 2004). A challenge for all countries is to maintain an appropriate balance between them in the provision of services. Emphasising social exclusion, for example, can lead to targeted services which may undermine the more universal provision required by learning and labour-market goals (Watts, 2001).

These three sets of goals are long-standing. But they are currently being reframed in the light of policies relating to lifelong learning, linked to active labour market policies and the concept of sustained employability. Career guidance is arguably crucial to the success of lifelong learning policies. Governments regularly state that such policies need to be significantly driven by individuals. The reason is simple: schooling can be designed as a system, but lifelong learning cannot. It needs to embrace many forms of learning, in many different settings. It is the individual who must provide the sense of impetus, of coherence and of continuity. This places career guidance centre-stage. It means that if, as many governments believe, lifelong learning is crucial to their country's economic competitiveness and social

wellbeing, then their country's future is significantly dependent on the quality of the decisions and transitions made by individuals.

This is reflected in recent OECD work on human capital (OECD, 2002), which suggests that the career management skills that are now a growing focus of career guidance policies and practices may play an important role in economic growth. It points out that less than half of earnings variation in OECD countries can be accounted for by educational qualifications and readily measurable skills. It argues that a significant part of the remainder may be explained by people's ability to build, and to manage, their skills. Included in this are career-planning, job-search and other career-management skills. Seen in this perspective, career guidance services have the potential to contribute significantly to national policies for the development of human capital.

Policy Roles

The potential roles of public policy in relation to career guidance services fall into four categories: legislation, remuneration, exhortation, and regulation (Watts, 2000).

Legislation. The role played by legislation varies between countries (OECD, 2004; Sultana, 2004). In some countries, specific legislation is the precondition for action (though it does not necessarily mandate it); in others, legislation plays a more limited role, in comparison with other steering methods. Most current legislation is concerned with enabling or requiring particular organisations to offer career guidance, rather than prescribing citizen entitlements to services. Commonly, attention to career guidance services is embedded within legislation concerned with broader aspects of education, training or employment policy; commonly, too, it addresses provision within particular sectors. Denmark is a rare example of a country with specific legislation covering all sectors of career guidance provision.

Remuneration. The remuneration role may take a variety of forms (OECD, 2004; Sultana, 2004). Funds can be managed directly by central government, can be delegated to a government agency (as in the case of many public employment services), can be devolved directly to local-level institutions such as schools, can be devolved indirectly through a lower level of government, or can be subcontracted to community or other organisations. Sometimes the funding is specifically earmarked for career guidance; sometimes it forms part of block grants for wider purposes. These different funding methods can affect the nature and quality of services. Such systematic funding needs to be distinguished from initiative funding, usually provided on a short-term basis to encourage innovation and change.

Exhortation. Whatever its funding role, governments may seek to influence the nature of career guidance provision through exhortation. Such influence can be exerted in various ways, ranging from ministerial speeches to formal guidelines. It may include setting a vision to encourage concerted action, and facilitating collaboration and partnership to implement the vision. It may also include, for example, supporting the development of voluntary quality standards (Plant, 2004).

Regulation. In some cases, governments may intervene more strongly, through regulation. This is particularly likely where they are directly responsible for funding, and so can exert financial sanctions for non-compliance. In the UK, for instance, any adult guidance service in receipt of public funding has to meet a set of prescribed quality standards (Plant, 2004). Alternatively, governments may seek to regulate the field as a whole by requiring a licence to practise. An example is Quebec in Canada, where anyone who wants to practise as a guidance counsellor or career counsellor has to be a member of the relevant *ordre* (one of 45 *ordres* – professional regulatory bodies which control access to selected professions in the province) and to meet its professional requirements (OECD, 2004).

There are differences between countries in the level at which these various policy roles are influential: national, regional or local. In several large countries (e.g., Australia, Canada, Germany, USA), national governments have limited powers in the field of education, where many career guidance services are located; policies at state/provincial level are more significant. Whatever the structure, there is a strong argument for strategies at local level to bring partners together and co-ordinate their efforts (Watts, Hawthorn, Hoftbrand, Jackson, & Spurling, 1997; Bezanson & Kellett, 2001).

There are also differences in the balance between the policy roles across sectors. Funding for career guidance provision embedded within education is normally included in the general funding of educational institutions. Decisions on the extent of investment in career guidance services, and the form which these services should take, are left largely for each institution to make. Accordingly, the role of government is often confined to exhortation, through policy guidelines and models of good practice; sometimes these are supported by inspection procedures which provide a degree of regulation. In relation to embedded provision by employers, policy interventions tend to be even weaker, confined to voluntary quality-mark schemes and, in countries where training levies exist, allowing career guidance as allowable expenditure against such levies (OECD, 2004). It is free-standing services that are the main focus of stronger forms of government intervention. In relation to such services, governments have to take direct decisions about whether to fund the services or to leave them to the free play of the market; where they provide funding, their direct responsibility for it means that they are likely to impose a relatively strong degree of regulation.

Policy Models

Within the free-standing guidance sector, governments can in principle adopt one or more of three policy models. The first is a social-welfare model; the second a market model; the third a quasi-market model (Watts, 1996).

Social-welfare model. In most countries, career guidance services have traditionally been viewed as part of public-sector social-welfare provision. Such provision can in principle be based on the notion that career guidance is a "worthy good"

(Savas, 1987), which is so intrinsically desirable that individuals have a right to have access to it regardless of the resources at their disposal. But the main underlying rationale is that mentioned earlier: that it offers public as well as private benefits, and so is a public as well as a private good.

Market model. In the 1970s and 1980s a strong critique of the welfare state was launched by the "new right" in a number of countries. The bureaucratic structures of the welfare state were alleged to reduce freedom in six respects: by infringing the freedom of taxpayers to dispose of their property as they pleased; by limiting the range of services; by paternalistically directing citizens towards defined choices; by imposing bureaucratic and/or legal restrictions on individuals; by producing dependency among welfare recipients; and by creating its own supporting interest groups among bureaucrats and beneficiaries, who then opposed alternative social and political arrangements (Goodin, 1982). It was argued that market-based provision of services was not only more efficient because of the profit incentive, but also enabled consumers to exert pressure on providers through "exit" (going elsewhere) as well as through "voice" (consumer feedback) (Hirschmann, 1970).

This launched a debate in a number of countries about the way in which career guidance services should be funded (Pryor & Watts, 1991). It was argued that independent career guidance is best assured where the service is paid for directly by the user rather than indirectly by the taxpayer. Accordingly, a market in career guidance should be encouraged to grow.

In practice, the extent of such markets hitherto has been limited. OECD (2004) identified two areas where markets were reasonably vibrant: publishing of career information and other careers materials; and outplacement services, which are usually paid by employers but commonly include impartial career counselling for individuals. In some countries, a limited market has also developed for career guidance services paid for by individuals. Little currently is known about the nature of this market (the most extensive national study is Watts, Hughes, & Wood, 2005). But in general, individuals appear reluctant to pay for career guidance services – or, at least, reluctant to pay at full-cost rather than marginal-cost rates. This might be a transitional problem, based on individuals having been accustomed to free services and taking time to adapt to market-based provision. Or it might be a systemic problem, based on the intrinsic difficulties of treating career guidance as a commodity in the way a market would require (Watts, 1999).

There are several reasons why career guidance might be difficult to handle through private markets (Grubb, 2004). Both supply and demand are difficult to specify and define: service providers are often not able to agree on how to describe the services they offer. Career guidance is highly variable in nature, and often subsumed within other services such as education or job placement. Personal interviews are hard to standardise and associate with economies of scale. For some needs, acceptable alternatives such as self-help tools on websites are available free of charge. Finally, many of the individuals who most need personal services are least able to afford to pay for them, and least likely to be willing to do so.

On the other hand, OECD (2004) suggested that the wider adoption of market-based funding methods could allow those who can afford it to make a financial

contribution towards the costs of the services that they need, and for government funds to be concentrated mainly upon those least able to pay. This indicates that governments should consider what steps they might take to encourage the wider use of private markets in the provision of career guidance. OECD outlined three possible roles for government in this respect: stimulating the market in order to build its capacity; regulating the market and assuring the quality of services, both to protect the public interest and to build consumer confidence; and compensating for market failure where this is appropriate.

The issue of market failure is critical in ensuring accessibility to career guidance as a public good. In market language, guidance can be viewed in these terms as a "market-maker": a means of making the education/training and labour markets work more effectively, by ensuring that the supply-side actors within these markets have access to market information and are able to read market signals. The issue, then, is whether a market in career guidance is likely to deliver the public interest in career guidance as a market-maker. Where it does not do so, public intervention needs to be maintained.

Quasi-market model. Some advocates of market principles accept this argument, but contend that even where services are free at the point of delivery, quasi-market principles should be applied where possible to the administrative mechanisms through which the services are delivered. This can be done either on a contract basis, in which contracts for services to stated groups are allocated to specific providers; or on a voucher basis, in which individuals are able to choose between a range of accredited providers. In the UK, initiatives using both of these mechanisms were launched in the 1990s: contracts for services for young people; vouchers for services for adults (Watts, 1995). The assumption is that the competitive mechanism implicit in such arrangements drives up quality. In principle, too, they can pump-prime a range of market-based provision which can accelerate the development of a complementary market in which individuals pay (OECD, 2004). On the other hand, the UK voucher experiments proved problematic (Watts, 1995); and experience in the Netherlands indicates the potential for contract-based marketisation to undermine rather than strengthen provision (Meijers, 2001).

In general, OECD (2004) supported exploring the concept of a "mixed-economy" approach. A plausible formulation is that services for young people and for unemployed adults should be free of charge, but that services for employed adults – other than those offered by their employer – should be charged.

Policy Issues

Stand-Alone Versus Embedded Models

OECD (2004, p. 102) suggested that "the priority for policy makers in most OECD countries should be to create separate, and appropriate, occupational and organisa-

tional structures to deliver career guidance". The exemplar cited was the all-age career guidance service in Wales (Careers Wales), which comprises a confederation of seven regional careers companies that operates through one-stop shops accessible to all ages, through a helpline and website, and also through supporting services in schools, colleges and community locations.

The issue here is whether it is ultimately likely to be sufficient for career guidance services to be embedded in a wide variety of other structures, or whether some kind of professional service-delivery spine is needed to support and supplement such embedded services. Most career guidance services are a part of, and often a rather marginal part of, some other structure – whether it be a school or college, a university, a public employment agency, an employer, or a voluntary and community organisation. This location may distort the extent and nature of the services, causing them to be driven by organisational agendas that are not always congruent with the interests either of the individual on the one hand or of the wider society on the other.

A number of countries have accordingly established stand-alone careers services, to be available alongside the embedded services. Examples include not only Wales but also New Zealand and Scotland. A review of Careers Scotland, benchmarked against the OECD review, identified a number of distinctive strengths of this model (Watts, 2005). First, the fact that the organisation is focused totally and exclusively on career guidance means that it can give this its full and undivided attention. Since this is its business, it has developed sophisticated business methods to implement it. These include much stronger attention to such issues as quality control and impact measurement than tends to be the case elsewhere. Second, its remit is to address the whole population, helping all Scots to be more effective career planners. Its customer segmentation model divides the total population of Scotland into a number of potential customer groups, as a basis for defining how they might be reached and how Careers Scotland's resources should be distributed between them. This is linked to the third point, which is that Careers Scotland recognises it can only achieve its goals by working closely with a variety of other partners, including schools, colleges, universities, employers, the public employment service, and the voluntary and community sector. It has accordingly given significant priority to establishing partnership agreements with the main career guidance providers in all these sectors. It sees its role as being to supplement and, where necessary, to support their provision.

An important policy issue is whether such stand-alone services should be designed on an all-age or age-specific basis. In this respect, the policy that has been adopted in the United Kingdom differs significantly across its constituent parts (Watts, 2006). In England, the previously stand-alone careers service has been subsumed within a Connexions Service, based on *horizontal* integration of a wide range of youth services, targeted particularly at young people at risk of social exclusion. By contrast, in Scotland and Wales, steps have been taken to achieve *vertical* integration of careers services on an all-age basis; a broadly similar policy is being introduced in Northern Ireland.

OECD (2004) noted that age-specific services enable attention to be focused on the distinctive needs of the age-group in question. On the other hand, it pointed out

that all-age services have a number of organisational and resource-use advantages. Potentially this allows them to be more cost-effective, avoiding unnecessary duplication of resources. To this might be added two further advantages. First, it enables career guidance of young people to be informed by the up-to-date knowledge of changing career patterns provided by day-to-day work with adults. Second, it enables young people to be introduced to services which they are able to use subsequently throughout their lives. In Germany, for example, all young people while they are at school visit the local career information centres (*Berufinformationszentrum* – BIZ) which are established in every sizeable town and city (OECD, 2004). This is partly so that they know where to go for guidance if and when they need it later in their lives, and what kind of service they can expect.

Reactive Versus Proactive Models

Within lifelong learning strategies, there is a strong case for viewing career guidance in more proactive terms than has been the case hitherto. Until recently, such services have been viewed largely as a reactive device, designed to help young people to manage the necessary transition from education to the labour market, and unemployed people to return to work as quickly as possible. This means that services need to be made available only when they have a problem which services can help them to solve. This is often linked to a rationing mind-set. Far from promoting their provision, many services take care to limit their publicity for fear of being over-run (OECD, 2004).

Within the context of lifelong learning, however, it can be argued that career guidance services need to be available at times and in forms which will encourage all individuals to continue to develop their skills and competencies throughout their lives, linked to changing needs in the labour market. Such services accordingly need to be viewed as a proactive process in which individuals are encouraged to engage. This requires rationing mind-sets to be replaced by active marketing strategies linked to cost-effective models of service delivery.

The need for such a proactive approach was recognised in the 2004 Resolution of the Council of the European Union on guidance. This stated that:

> Services need to be available at times and in forms which will encourage all citizens to continue to develop their skills and competences throughout their lives, linked to changing needs in the labour market. Such services need to be viewed as an active tool, and individuals should be positively encouraged to use them. (Resolution 9286/04 EDUC 109 SOC 234, 18 May 2004 – see http://ec.europa.eu/education/policies/2010/doc/resolution2004_en.pdf)

The proactive model needs, however, to be reconciled with pressures on public expenditure. As noted earlier, stimulating and quality-assuring market-based provision may be one way in which this can be done. Another is to seek more cost-effective forms of service delivery, without sacrificing standards. Harnessing information and communication technology has considerable potential in this respect, not only in enabling some standardised services (e.g., web-based services) to be repeatedly used by different users without additional human resource cost, but also through

technically mediated counsellor-client interactions (e.g., telephone, email) on either a synchronous or asynchronous basis (Watts, 2002a). An important issue is how these, alongside direct face-to-face counsellor-client interactions, can be optimally blended in effective service delivery, attending to clients' varied needs and preferred learning styles.

This has implications for the training of guidance counsellors, which has hitherto paid limited attention to such matters (McCarthy, 2004). It also has implications for wider public policy, which can either discourage (see, e.g., Watts & Dent, 2002) or encourage the harmonisation of services using different delivery methods. In principle, such harmonisation can enhance access, and achieve significant productivity gains (Watts & Dent, 2006).

Strategic Leadership

One of the key lessons from the OECD and related reviews conducted between 2001 and 2004 (OECD, 2004, Sultana, 2004; Watts & Fretwell, 2004) was the importance of viewing career guidance services within each country as a coherent system. In reality, of course, they are not a single system. Rather, they are a collection of disparate sub-systems, including services in schools, in tertiary education, in public employment services, and in the private and voluntary sectors. Most of these, as noted above, are a minor part of some wider system, with its own rationale and driving forces. But in the OECD and related reviews these different parts were brought together, and viewed as parts of a whole. From the lifelong perspective of the individual, it is important that they should be as seamless as possible.

The reviews accordingly concluded that if career guidance systems were to play their role in national strategies for lifelong learning linked to sustained employability, the holistic vision adopted in the reviews needed to be maintained and collectively owned by co-ordination and leadership structures with the breadth and strength of membership to sustain and implement the vision (Watts & Sultana, 2004). Such mechanisms were required at three levels: within government, where responsibility for career guidance services was often fragmented across a number of ministries and branches; across the various career guidance professional bodies, to strengthen their voice and their influence; and also, more broadly, through a national forum to bring together government and the professional bodies with other stakeholders (education and training providers, employers, trade unions, community agencies, students, parents, and other consumers). Initiatives at the latter level within the European Union have been supported by the European Commission, which has provided stimulus funding for member-states that wished to develop such national fora for lifelong guidance.

If such fora are to establish themselves in a sustainable form, they need to have a clear purpose. One purpose is to identify gaps in services, and develop action plans for addressing them. Another is the development of strategic instruments which can be operationally useful across the full range of the career guidance field

and hold it together. The international reviews identified three such instruments. The first was competence frameworks for career guidance practitioners (e.g., the Standards and Guidelines for Career Development Practitioners developed in Canada; these strongly influenced the international standards developed by the International Association for Educational and Vocational Guidance which provide a useful reference point for such processes in other countries). The second was organisational quality standards, covering how individuals are helped and how services are managed (e.g., the Matrix standards developed in the UK). The third was a list of the competencies which career guidance programmes aim to develop among clients at different stages of their lives, with accompanying performance indicators (e.g., the Blueprint for Life/Work Designs, developed in Canada drawing from earlier work in the USA). Together, it was suggested, these three instruments could co-ordinate the range of provision, particularly if they could be linked to common branding and marketing of services (Watts & Sultana, 2004).

Influencing Policy

If the role of career guidance in relation to public policy is to be effectively addressed, more effective communication is needed between the career guidance profession and policy-makers. The international symposia mentioned earlier on career development and public policy (Bezanson & O'Reilly, 2002; Hiebert & Bezanson, 2000) have been designed to foster such communication.

One of the main outcomes of these discussions has been the need for a stronger evidence base, a point also emphasised by OECD (2004). In particular, more evidence is needed on impact measurement, communicated in forms that are accessible to policy-makers. A review of the existing evidence by OECD (2004) concluded that there was substantial evidence of the learning outcomes which individuals derive from career development interventions, including attitudinal changes and increased knowledge; that there was also growing evidence of positive behavioural outcomes in terms of impact upon participation in learning and in work; but that on long-term benefits in terms of success or satisfaction with these paths or placements – to which some policy outcomes in terms of economic and social benefits are linked – adequate studies had not yet been conducted. The methodological difficulties and cost implications of the long-term longitudinal studies that would be required are formidable. There is a case for a major international initiative, possibly linked to continuing OECD work on human capital, to determine what is feasible in this respect. Meanwhile, it can be concluded that the available evidence on the benefits of career development services is not comprehensive, but that what exists is very positive.

Such evidence is necessary; it is not, however, sufficient. On its own, it assumes that policy-making is a rational business, whereas in practice it is "messy and dirty", strongly influenced by balancing the interests of different lobbies (Watts, 2000, p. 306). A policy-maker is quoted (by Peck, 2004) as saying that there are

two things in life which one should not see being made: sausages and public policy. Certainly the evidence base has to be there, because if it is not, opponents will use its absence to undermine the case. But on its own it is not enough.

A potentially effective strategy is to harness the support of stakeholder groups, including employers, trade unions, students, and parents. National fora as discussed above can be helpful in this respect. The career guidance profession's voice has professional authority but on its own can too easily be dismissed by sceptics as representing provider self-interest.

A discussion with policy-makers on tactics for influencing policy offered four items of practical advice (Watts, 2000). One was "don't underestimate the press": politicians and their advisers regularly scan the press, and it is important that they see evidence there of public interest in career guidance issues. A second was "the phone has to ring": active pressure is crucial, particularly from individuals with political influence. A third was "recognise the importance of personal experience": politicians are often strongly influenced by their own experiences of career guidance services, or those of their children. The fourth was "provide the sound-bytes": career guidance professionals need to translate their complex professional concepts into language that policy-makers can understand and use.

Beyond this, policy-makers need to be helped to understand the nature of career guidance work. Career guidance is essentially a "soft" rather than a "hard" policy intervention (Watts, 2000). At its heart is the notion of the "active individual": that individuals should be encouraged to determine their role in, and their contribution to, the society of which they are part. The primacy of the individual's interests is commonly a core principle in codes of practice for career guidance services. There are practical as well as ethical reasons for this, not least that such services can only serve the public good if they retain the confidence and trust of the individuals they serve.

For policy-makers, this raises the issue of whether they expect practitioners to pursue the outcomes defined by policy objectives in their dealings with an individual client; or whether they are willing to support practitioners in addressing the individual's interests, in the confidence that, when aggregated, this will meet the public objectives too. In principle, career guidance could be viewed as a classic case of Adam Smith's famous dictum that individuals encouraged to pursue their own interests are led by an "invisible hand" to promote an end that is no part of their intention – the public interest – and to do so more effectually than when they intend to promote it (Smith, 1776). In this sense, career guidance services could represent Smith's "invisible hand" made flesh. Their role is to not to determine what individuals should do, but to ensure that their decisions are well-informed (in terms of, among other things, the needs of the labour market) and well-thought-through. If there could be a clear understanding between policy-makers and practitioners on this issue, it would greatly enhance collaboration between the two (Watts & Sultana, 2004).

One of the most telling points that emerged from the international symposia on career development and public policy was that each side in the debate tended to believe that they "owned" the public good, and were protecting it from the other

side's malign grasp. Career guidance practitioners tended to assume that they were protecting the public good against the political machinations of policy-makers. Policy-makers tended to believe they were protecting it against the sectoral self-interest of practitioners (Watts, 2002b). If both sides could recognise and respect their common ground, this could provide a stronger base for working together, which in turn would produce more effective policy-making.

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Chapter 18
TRAINING CAREER PRACTITIONERS IN THE 21ST CENTURY

Spencer G. Niles and Azra Karajic

Formal and informal training programs for career practitioners have increased in both quantity and quality over the past decade. For example, career development facilitator training opportunities have increased substantially during this time period. With an increase in credentialing (e.g., the Global Career Development Facilitator, the Master Career Counselor option via the National Career Development Association) and universities offering training in career development interventions, a growing number of people engage in the delivery of career services.

It is no coincidence that the increasing attention being given to career services comes at a time when the nature of work is changing dramatically (Rifkin, 1995). Increases in corporate downsizing, technological advances, various countries increasingly relying upon outsourcing of numerous occupations, growing numbers of dual-career couples, and a burgeoning contingent workforce all represent changes in the work experience. Those involved in training career practitioners must keep abreast of such changes because they provide indicators as to the challenges confronting workers as they attempt to manage their careers effectively. Knowing the challenges confronting workers enables practitioners to construct interventions that are relevant to the current context. Thus, training experiences for career practitioners must constantly be updated and adjusted so that trainees have relevant knowledge, awareness, and skills to assist people as they attempt to cope with contemporary career concerns.

Developing a Common Language in Training Career Practitioners

There is even a more basic challenge, however, that confronts the career development field. Specifically, the field of career guidance has, for most of its existence, been linguistically challenged. That is, many consumers of career services (and,

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J.A. Athanasou, R. Van Esbroeck (eds.) *International Handbook of Career Guidance*,
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unfortunately, practitioners) have misused many of the key terms within the field. For example, career services providers occasionally talk about "doing career development" as if "career development" were an intervention rather than the object of an intervention (Herr, Cramer, & Niles, 2004). Similarly, practitioners often confuse the terms "career guidance" and "career counselling." This lack of precision confuses practitioners, students, and clients and, therefore, is a barrier to advancing the efficacy of career development theory and practice globally. When language lacks precision, the implication is that terminology does not matter. However, words have power in that career development practitioners are "engaged in a verbal profession in which words and symbols frequently become the content of the interactions they have with clients" (Herr, 1997, p. 241). Thus, the need exists for greater clarity and specificity with regard to the key terms related to career development interventions. Such specificity enhances the credibility of our profession and provides a common ground for training career guidance practitioners. Developing a common language for the profession enhances the globalisation of training practices and enhances the internationalization of training opportunities,

In this chapter, key terms are defined as follows:

Career development. This concept refers to the lifelong psychological and behavioural processes as well as contextual influences shaping one's career over the life span. As such, career development involves the person's creation of a career pattern, decision-making style, integration of life roles, values expression, and life-role self-concepts (Niles & Harris-Bowlsbey, 2002).

Career development intervention. If defined broadly it involves any activities that empower people to cope effectively with career development tasks (Spokane, 1991). For example, activities that help people develop self-awareness, develop occupational awareness, learn decision-making skills, acquire job search skills, adjust to occupational choices after they have been implemented, and cope with job stress can each be labelled as career development interventions. Specifically, these activities include individual and group career counselling, career development programs, career education, computer-assisted career development programs, and computer information delivery systems, as well as other forms of delivering career information to clients.

Career counselling. This involves a formal relationship in which a professional counsellor assists a client, or group of clients, to cope more effectively with career concerns (e.g., making a career choice, coping with career transitions, coping with job-related stress, or job searching). Typically, career counsellors seek to establish rapport with their clients, assess their clients' career concerns, establish goals for the career counselling relationship, intervene in ways that help a client cope more effectively with his or her career concerns, evaluate a client's progress, and, depending on a client's progress, either offer additional interventions or terminate career counselling. Career counsellors often must have advanced training in counselling, psychology, and career development.

Career coaching. It also involves a formal relationship in which a career coach serves as a personal consultant to an individual seeking to deal with work-related

concerns such as balancing home, work and career; learn interview skills; strengthen managerial skills; identify skills and enhance marketability; and make effective career choices. Career coaches may have advanced training that is similar to the training of career counsellors (career counselling competencies include career coaching) but they may have less training and focus on job search coaching and goal setting rather than the psychological aspects of career decision-making.

Career education. This is the systematic attempt to influence the career development of students and adults through various types of educational strategies, including providing occupational information, infusing career-related concepts into the academic curriculum, offering various worksite-based experiences, and offering career planning courses (Isaacson & Brown, 2000). Many educators engaged in career education as they incorporate career concepts into subject areas such as math, language arts, and science. Often, those providing career education have minimal training in career development and no training in counselling. In many instances, they work in conjunction with counsellors who possess such training.

Career development programs. These can be defined as "a systematic program of counselor-coordinated information and experiences designed to facilitate individual career development" (Herr et al., 2004, p. 28). These programs typically contain goals, objectives, activities, and methods for evaluating the effectiveness of the activities in achieving the goals. Career counsellors who function independently in career development program delivery or who work as part of a delivery team including other counsellors, career coaches, and/or educators often design such programs.

Defining terms becomes essential for discussing training career guidance practitioners. It clarifies who is being trained to perform what services to which population(s). There is, unfortunately, too much variation across nations relative to the terminology used to describe career development interventions. When coupled with the already existing language differences, this variation makes communicating about training career practitioners even more challenging. As implied previously, keeping abreast of the various contexts in which people live and careers are constructed is also an essential task for career practitioners.

International Contexts

Because contexts vary, career services vary within and across national boundaries. It would be naïve to assume, therefore, that there is, or that there should be, uniformity in the training career practitioners receive. Uniqueness within national contexts requires career practitioners to develop specific competencies to respond to their respective settings. What follows is an extremely brief overview of the some factors within national contexts that shape career development needs and, therefore, the training required for providing effective career services with specific attention paid to Argentina, Europe, Asia, Australia, and North America.

Argentina

Argentina was significantly impacted by the immigration of Europeans in the 20th century, predominantly from Spain and Italy. In addition, Argentina experiences challenges that are similar to those experienced by many other countries, specifically: unemployment, poverty, income distribution inequalities, and the deterioration of social services (Aisenson, de Faletty, & Del Compare, 1999).

Argentina's Psychological Techniques and Professional Guidance Institute was developed in 1925 and has served as a training institute for guidance counsellors since 1929. Lack of public policies and funding addressing professional guidance limited the growth of institutes promoting career services. Despite this, career services have made their way into national universities and high schools in Argentina. In the 1980s and 1990s, career services in Argentina increasingly focused on activities such as developing job search skills and providing job skills training related to occupational areas offering the greatest likelihood for employment – an obviously important response for addressing the country's frictional and structural unemployment. In response to the need of the economically challenged, schools, universities, and hospitals in Argentina provide free guidance programs. In schools there are counsellors who provide career guidance to students, however, service providers tend not to be trained specifically in career development interventions. In some schools, the responsibility for providing career guidance rests with the teachers.

Europe

Many European countries provide career services under the umbrella title of the Public Employment Services (PES). The goals of services provided at a PES tend to be short-term and oriented toward helping an individual gain employment. Public Employment Services also help individuals to gain eligibility for financial support and to access publicly funded training services. More specifically, PES has four identified functions: (a) job broking, (b) labour market information, (c) administering labour market programs (e.g., job search programs; training programs; direct job creation programs) and (d) administering unemployment benefits (Sultana & Watts, 2006). Sessions with PES career practitioners typically range from 45 minutes (Germany) to an hour (Finland). They often include diagnosis in respect to the clarifying the individual's concerns, goal setting, and developing a plan of action to achieve the identified goals. Individuals requiring more intensive career assistance tend to be referred to staff members with more advanced training in areas such as psychology, education, and sociology. In many European countries, the employed can also receive services from PES; however, it is unknown how much this population uses PES (Sultana & Watts, 2006). Austria, Belgium, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Norway, Portugal, and Slovakia are some of the countries where substantial labour market

information is provided to PES clients. PES staff members also visit schools and universities to present information about the labour market. In addition, PES staff members may offer work-experience programs to students to help them become familiarised with the world of work.

Sultana and Watts (2006) have observed four trends related to PES career services: (a) self-service provision; (b) tiering of services; (c) decentralisation from the government; and (d) a move towards outsourcing. Self-service provision involves individuals use self-help strategies while having access to career and labour information. Self-help strategies include using career resource centres, self and career exploration packages, web-based job-search resources, and creating one's own web pages for job search purposes.

Tiering of services refers to the several levels of career services provided: self-service, group-based services, and intensive case-management. Decentralisation implies that PES is moving away from using federally based employment policies and relying more upon local management and design of services for the implementation of employment policies within regions and provinces. Outsourcing refers to the movement towards being an organisation able to manage specific relations with other agencies to provide services instead of being a largely self-sufficient organisation (Sultana & Watts, 2006). Thus, being able to identify client needs and then link clients with appropriate service providers is a primary function in outsourcing.

The largest country in the European Union is Germany with a population of over 82 million. Historically, the Federal Employment Service was the provider of career services, but since this service was abolished in 1998 career services providers in non-profit and private sectors have emerged (Haas, 1999). Educational institutions also assume responsibility for providing career guidance to young people.

Germany has compulsory schooling for student from age 6 to 15 where students are divided between three types of schools (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD], 2002). These are the *Hauptschule*, the *Realschule*, and the *Gymnasium* (academic secondary school). Decisions based on which school system and which type of school students should attend are based upon student preferences and performance as well as parents' and teachers' recommendations. Students also have the help of guidance teachers trained in pedagogy and psychology. Guidance teachers help students make decisions about their educational development. In addition to a curriculum that often contains career education concepts, students are exposed to work visits for a few weeks in grades 9 and 10. There is an established network of school-business partnerships across the country, which facilitates students' exposure to the workplace.

Germany is well known for its government controlled apprenticeship program, which involves more than 400 professions. Training lasts on average between 3 to 3.5 years. Larger businesses offer training courses or send their employees to special public courses. Higher education institutions in Germany are universities of applied sciences, specialising in a single professional field. Many universities have developed a centralised student counselling service where students receive career information and advice. The staff that provides career guidance for students represents a variety of academic backgrounds some of whom are trained in guidance.

Unlike most other countries, Germany's *Arbeitsamt* (Federal Employment Service) is funded by the social-insurance contributions from individuals and their employers. This office is the only one authorised by federal law to offer career development and employment services. This is an autonomous public body with three equal partners: employers, trade unions, and government. In addition to career guidance, they offer placement into training programs and jobs, promote both initial and further vocational training, aid with vocational rehabilitation, administer subsidies to preserve and create jobs, administer unemployment and redundancy payments, and promote gender equality in the labour market.

After the funding source for Arbeitsamt changed from the federal government to social insurance and employer contributions, private and non-profit agencies delivering career services started developing. Coaching, career planning and job guidance are some of the ways that private career development agencies describe the services they provide. Career practitioner training in Germany is primarily connected with the Arbeitsamt. Arbeitsamt staff members are trained in a 3-year course at a private Arbeitsamt university. Persons entering an Arbeitsamt program must have *gymnasium* training, an apprenticeship degree for any trade, and a minimum of 2 years of work experience. Training combines psychology, education, sociology, law, economics, and medicine. It also entails practical training in Arbeitsamt offices.

In Ireland, compulsory education is from age 6 to 16. Secondary school education is divided into secondary, community and vocational options. Students in their final years of compulsory education mostly chose the leaving certificate program, which allows admittance to higher education and training. Higher education is considered to be universities, institutes of technology, specialisations and private colleges.

The National Training Authority provides career information and guidance services to the public. McCarthy and Coyle (1999) noted that the guidance element of the National Training Authority services is limited. Human resources departments of large organisations are, however, increasingly providing career development training for employees.

When attending the National Training Authority service interview, a job-seeking action plan is developed and put into place. The interviewee is further referred to employment openings or relevant training opportunities. Job seekers may be referred to a local employment service for more intense guidance and counselling, or referred to another relevant agency. The National Training Authority worker stays in touch with the job seeker throughout the process to ensure progress and success. Priority is on job seekers who are unemployed and in a disadvantaged group. Additional services are confidence building and providing resources for intensive job searching.

Spain is a constitutional monarchy with organized autonomous communities, provinces, and municipalities (Hidalgo, Machado, & Rodriguez, 2002). In 1990, a law was passed that came into effect in the 2002/2003 academic year specifying the following (among others): (a) school-leaving age was changed from 14 to 16 years of age (16 is minimum working age in Spain); (b) providing students

who do not obtain a secondary school leaving certificate with a social guarantee program; (c) provide students with vocational training emphasising work-related training and not so much academic focus; and (d) guarantee a support system for students.

A training program passed in 1993 established three subsystems of vocational training: (a) regulated training, (b) occupational training; and (c) continuing vocational training. Regulated training focuses on young people and is governed by the education authorities. Occupational training targets the unemployed providing them with guidance and training to increase employability. Continuing vocational training targets the employed and is governed by employers and unions seeking to provide training in various employment sectors with the goal of raising the qualifications and skills of the employed. Clearly, career practitioners can play vital roles in each of these subsystems.

On a national level, the vocational training program aims to establish a national system of vocational qualifications and provide lifelong learning opportunities. Further, the goal is to provide training to those who leave school prematurely so they can develop increased employability. Spain's vocational training also aims to develop an integrated system of career information and guidance using the European Foundation for Quality Management (EFQM) as a model. There is also a strong emphasis on addressing the career development needs of persons who are members of diverse groups. For example, social guarantee programs target academic failure and dropout problems of people ages 16 to 21 that have limited employability. These programs aim to foster the acquisition of the technical knowledge and skills needed to perform a given type of work while also facilitating re-entry into to the educational system.

The Nordic Association for Educational and Vocational Guidance is the association in charge of the Nordic career professionals through the development and implementation of professional and ethical standards. In order to reach out to the young people in their country, Danish guidance professionals make telephone calls to ensure that guidance services are being provided. If these attempts are unsuccessful, they will go as far as a home visit to ensure a young person has been provided career assistance. As Nordic countries experience globalisation, Plant (2003) stated that individuals may make greater use of career service because in a fluid world individuals are seen as the developers of their own career. In Nordic countries, the Ministries of Education and Ministries of Labour develop policies for career services. Often, career assistance is focused more on transmitting information to the recipient and less on the actual state of the labour market and the "personal" dimension of career development. In educational institutions, career guidance is offered while students are in school or attending a university. In these settings, the guidance teacher who has an undergraduate degree and additional training in guidance offers career guidance. Plant (2003) noted, however, that very few career practitioners hold a master's degree in either guidance or education and even fewer hold doctorate degrees. To address this, Iceland, Finland and Denmark are now developing master's degree training opportunities in educational and career guidance.

Asia

Career interventions in Asia are just starting to emerge in systematic ways. Asian countries experience the challenge of implementing career services while also coping with substantial cultural shifts currently occurring as a result of factors such as governments democratising, the influx of job opportunities due to other countries engaging in off-shoring, and the questioning of long-held cultural values. Moreover, because many Asians adhere to a strong collectivistic orientation toward career development, career interventions emanating from individualistic worldviews may have little applicability in Asian countries. Certainly, theories, interventions, and decision-making models must acknowledge this important cultural distinction.

Currently in Japan there is an increase in unemployment attributed to the economic recession, changes in employees' work values and companies' attitudes toward human resources (Tatsuno, 2002). There are no professional career counsellors in Japan offering services to public. In high schools, teachers function as job placement officers. High school graduates are greatly impacted by the services provided by the job placement officers. For example, in one study 59.6% of high school students reported making a decision about a job based on the information provided by job placement officers (Research Institute of Employment and Vocation, 1989). Thus, students are being advised and influenced by those with, at best, minimal training in career interventions. Although there are graduate courses offered on the topic on career interventions, job placement officers are not required to enrol in them (Tatsuno, 2002).

In China, major political shifts are occurring as the country turns from a Marxist perspective of career development toward a system in which the individual must now take responsibility for his or her career development. Training in career development theory and practice is just beginning to emerge (Zhang, Hu, & Pope, 2002).

Career services are most visible in Taiwan within the school system. There is a call for counsellors to become more active with the adults and employee career development. Many corporate employers are establishing career management services within human resources departments. Chang (2002) stated that these programs instituted within human resources department have a strong Western bias. Additionally, because of the preference for assessment in many Western models of career intervention, Taiwanese people are being administered US instruments without being validated and standardised with that population.

Australia

Training opportunities and policies and standards for career counsellors are lacking in Australia and New Zealand, and researchers are now calling for training for career counsellors in order to serve the demands for career counselling (Flores et al., 2003). Currently, Australia is facing many challenges especially in providing career

services to remote and isolated places. Historically, guidance has been located in the school with many students per counsellor ratio. Career counsellors are growing in numbers and the Australian Association of Career Counsellors (AACC) is doing an outstanding job advancing the training of career practitioners via continuing education opportunities such as those provided at the AACC annual conference. This has led to career services being provided by a wide range of professionals most of whom do not have specific formal training in career development. Patton (2005) stated that there "a small number of tertiary institutions have developed programs designed to specifically prepare career practitioners" (p. 224). The development of career education in Australia reflects the same developments taking place in the UK and USA a few decades ago (Patton & McMahon, 2002). The Australian government designed policies and reports have not become a reality in practice in education, training and employment services although there is recognition that guidance is the key to successful transition from school to world of work. There is no formalised authoritative body that is in charge of career services provision. Most career development services are located at the school and university levels. Additionally, largely privatised companies are offering career assistance for people in transition. In Australia, many different professionals, including teachers, counsellors and career advisors, have offered career assistance.

Career Counselling Training

Clearly, career services are being provided by a wide range of professionals to a wide range of clients across the lifespan. Although the countries and regions of the world discussed are not necessarily representative of the entire world, they do provide a description of where career services are being delivered (schools, universities, communities, and workplace settings) and by whom (e.g., teachers, career practitioners with minimal training, career practitioners with extensive training, practitioners with no formal training). It is a statement of the obvious to note that it is important that services in each geographic context be as responsive as possible to the career needs of persons living and working there. On some occasions, there may be the need for constructing more unique services to address specific worker situations. Most times, career practitioners will need similar skill sets across settings and contexts. Typically, career services include providing labour market information, offering advice regarding specific training and employment opportunities, and conducting training in job search skills. Although these services are clearly useful, they represent a limited view of the career intervention process that may often translate into providing limited career assistance to students and clients. When these services comprise the totality of the career intervention process, little training is required. Familiarity with labour market resources as well as understanding and being able to communicate essential job search skills become the primary skill sets. Given the complexity of career development in the 21st century, however, broader and more sophisticated competencies are needed to

adequately address the career needs of adults, adolescents, and children. The most obvious implication of this is the need to expand training programs to properly prepare practitioners.

Career counsellor training in the United States, for example, typically requires 2 years of graduate level education comprised of extensive requirements in general counselling skills, multicultural counselling, testing and assessment, group counselling, as well as coursework in career development. The Council for the Accreditation of Counseling and Related Educational Programs (CACREP, 2001), for instance, requires coursework in career development to include:

> studies that provide an understanding of career development and related life factors, including all of the following:
>
> a. Career development theories and decision-making models.
> b. Career, avocational, educational, occupational and labour market information resources, visual and print media, computer-based career information systems, and other electronic career information systems.
> c. Career development program planning, organisation, implementation, administration, and evaluation.
> d. Interrelationships among and between work, family, and other life roles and factors including the role of diversity and gender in career development.
> e. Career and educational planning, placement, follow-up, and evaluation.
> f. Assessment instruments and techniques that are relevant to career planning and decision making.
> g. Career counselling processes, techniques, and resources, including those applicable to specific populations. (pp. 14)

The CACREP Standards related to the content that needs to be addressed in career development for general counselling training points to the centrality of career interventions in training counsellors in the United States. In many ways, however, the career counselling specialty training in the CACREP Standards serves as the "gold standard" for career counselling training. These Standards, as illustrated in Table 18.1, include a large set of training requirements. When these standards are combined with the general counsellor preparation standards (which are also part of the training program), they arguably represent the most complete set of training guidelines for career practitioners in existence worldwide. Certainly, the CACREP standards for career counsellor training demonstrate substantial increases in the sophistication of career services since their inception nearly 100 years ago.

The Evolution of Training Competencies Required for Career Practitioners

Regardless of national context, most agree that the contributions of Frank Parsons (1909) serve as the structural framework for conceptualising career development interventions and, thereby, Parsons' work also serves as a framework for training career practitioners.

Table 18.1 The CACREP Standards for career counselling specialty training (Adapted from http://www.ncda.org/pdf/counsellingcompetencies.pdf)

Foundations

A. Knowledge

1. Understands the history, philosophy, and trends in career counselling
2. Understands the settings for the practice of career counselling, including and public sector agencies and institutions
3. Understands policies, laws, and regulations relevant to career counselling and career devel opment programs
4. Understands current ethical issues which affect the practice of career counselling and the use of computer-assisted career guidance systems
5. Understands professional organisations, competencies, and preparation standards that are relevant to the practice of career counselling and career development programs

B. Skills/practice

1. Demonstrates an ability to explain career development as an integral subset of human development
2. Demonstrates adherence to ethical codes and standards relevant to the profession of career counselling (e.g., NBCC, NCDA, ACA)

Counselling, prevention and intervention

C. Knowledge

1. Understands roles and functions of career counsellors in a variety of settings and in relation to the other professionals
2. Understands theories, models, and techniques of career development, career counselling, career choice, career programming, and associated information-delivery
3. Understands consultation theories, strategies, and models

D. Skills/practice

1. Demonstrates the ability to identify and understand clients' personal characteristics and social contextual conditions (including familial, subcultural and cultural structures and functions) as they are related to clients career development
2. Demonstrates the ability to identify and understand clients' attitudes toward work and workers and the career decision-making processes
3. Demonstrates the ability to support and challenge clients to take action to prepare for and initiate role transitions by:
   a. Locating sources of relevant information and experience
   b. Obtaining and interpreting information and experiences, and acquiring skills needed to make role transitions
   c. Examining life-work roles, including the balance of work, leisure, family, and community in their careers
4. Demonstrates the ability to assist the client to acquire a set of employability and job search skills
5. Demonstrates the ability to establish and maintain a productive consulting relationship with people who can influence a client's career
6. Demonstrates the ability to recognise one's own limitations as a career counsellor and seek supervision or refer clients when appropriate

Diversity and advocacy

E. Knowledge

1. Understands (educational and experiential) the role of racism, discrimination and oppression in their own lives and career
2. Understands that contextual influences are a natural part of career interventions
3. Understands the sociopolitical and socioeconomic forces that impact ethnic and cultural minorities, such as immigration, racism, and stereotyping

(continued)

Table 18.1 (continued)

4. Understands the changing roles of women and men and the implications that this has for education, family, and leisure
5. Understands the role of racial, ethnic, and cultural heritage, nationality, socioeconomic status, family structure, age, gender, sexual orientation, religious and spiritual beliefs, physical and mental ability status, racism and oppression, and equity issues in career counselling
6. Understands the impact of globalisation on life role(s), careers, and on the workplace

F. Skills/practice

1. Demonstrates the ability to accommodate needs unique to various diverse populations
   a. Identifying alternative approaches to meet career planning needs for individuals of various diverse populations
   b. Designing and delivering career development programs and materials to hard-to-reach populations
   c. Demonstrates the ability to advocate for the career development and employment of diverse populations
2. Demonstrates and ability to assist other staff members, professionals, and community members in understanding the unique needs/characteristics of diverse populations with regard to career exploration, employment expectations, and economic/social issues
3. Demonstrates the ability to help the general public and legislators to understand the impor tance of career counselling, career development, and life-work planning
4. Demonstrates the ability to impact public policy as it relates to career development and workforce planning

Assessment

G. Knowledge

1. Understands assessment strategies for career development and career counselling programs
2. Understands bias in assessment and interpretation (including cultural and linguistic characteristics of the clients)
3. Understands assessment selection, ethical practices related to assessment, and its limitations

H. Skills/practice

1. Demonstrates an ability to administer, score, and report findings appropriately from career assessments instruments involving issues such as leisure interests, learning style, life roles, self-concept, career maturity, vocational identity, career indecision, work environment preference (e.g., work satisfaction), and other related life style/development issues
2. Demonstrates an ability to assess conditions of the work environment (such as tasks, expectations, norms, and qualities of the physical and social settings)
3. Demonstrates an ability to identify, select, organise, and provide or arrange for the career and educational components of agency or institutional appraisal service

Research and evaluation

I. Knowledge

1. Understands research and evaluation in career counselling and development

J. Skills/practice

1. Demonstrates utilisation of various types of research and research designs appropriate to career counselling and development research
2. Demonstrates the ability to apply appropriate statistical procedures to career development research
3. Demonstrates the ability to utilise research findings related to the effectiveness of career counselling interventions and programs

(continued)

Table 18.1 (continued)

4. Demonstrates the ability to evaluate the career development program and use the results to effect program enhancement by recommending institutional or agency improvements

Program promotion, management, and implementation

K. Knowledge

1. Understands organisational theories, including diagnosis, behaviour, planning, organisational communication, and management useful in implementing and administering career development programs
2. Understands the methods of forecasting, budgeting, planning, costing, policy analysis, resource allocation, and quality control
3. Understands leadership theories and approaches for evaluation and feedback, organisational change, decision-making, and conflict resolution

L. Skills/practice

1. Demonstrates the ability to plan, organise, and manage a comprehensive career resource centre
2. Demonstrates the ability to implement career development programs in collaboration with others
3. Demonstrates the ability to train others about the appropriate use of technology for career information and planning
4. Demonstrates the ability to provide effective supervision to career development facilitators at different levels of experience by:
   a. Knowledge of their role, competencies, and ethical standards
   b. Determining their competence in each of the areas included in their certification
   c. Further training them in competencies, including interpretation of assessment instruments
   d. Monitoring and mentoring their activities in support of the professional career counsellor; and scheduling regular consultations for the purpose of reviewing their activities
5. Demonstrates the ability to initiate and implement a marketing and public relations campaign in behalf of career development activities and services
6. Demonstrates the ability to analyse future organisational needs and current level of employee skills and develop performance improvement training

Information resources and technology

M. Knowledge

1. Understands education, training, and employment trends; labour market information and resources that provide information about job tasks, functions, salaries, requirements and future outlooks related to broad occupational fields and individual occupations
2. Understand the resources and skills that clients utilize in life-work planning and management
3. Understands the community/professional resources available to assist clients in career planning, including job search
4. Understands methods of good use of computer-based career information delivery systems (CIDS) and computer-assisted career guidance systems (CACGS) to assist with career planning
5. Understands various computer-based guidance and information systems as well as services available on the Internet and standards by which such systems are evaluated (e.g., NCDA, ACSCI)
6. Understands characteristics of clients that make them profit more or less from use of technology-driven systems

N. Skills/practice

1. Demonstrates the ability to manage career, educational, and personal-social information resources
2. Demonstrates the ability to evaluate and disseminate career and educational information

Parsons' tripartite emphasis on self-understanding, occupational knowledge, and "true reasoning" or decision-making guides the efforts of both theoreticians and practitioners internationally. During much of the last century, intervention strategies directed toward increasing self-understanding were grounded in a logical positivist orientation to science and resulted in interventions that relied primarily upon the use of standardised career assessments. This orientation objectified clients' characteristics and created an intervention model that some refer to as "test 'em and tell 'em". The strategy placed the career practitioner in the role of expert on multiple dimensions (e.g., with regard to identifying possible assessments, administering assessments, and interpreting assessments). Training for career interventions largely focused on preparing practitioners to use assessments in the career counselling process. Aptitude tests and interest inventories were the primary assessment domains.

The emergence of multicultural interventions and the rise of post-modern orientations have left their mark on career intervention strategies. The objectivist emphasis reflected in logical positivism is being supplemented by elevating subjectivity and perspectivity prized in post-modernism. Interventions focused on the subjective, or meaning-making process, in career interventions require the career practitioner to be a guide rather than an expert. Strategies are co-constructed between career practitioner and the client or student. Practitioners draw upon activities such as card sorts, career laddering techniques, values clarification activities, and narrative elaborations. Practitioner and client collaborate within the intervention process and the client is encouraged to take a significant role in selecting assessments and interpreting their results. Thus, this approach to career intervention requires career practitioners to be trained in counselling skills, the use of formal and informal assessments, and multicultural competencies.

The need to acquire occupational information was supported by the creation of information resources. Largely relying on print materials at first (e.g., career biographies, descriptions of occupational requirements) and then more recently computer-based career information delivery systems, these resources provide important information about the nature of work in specific occupations (e.g., training requirements, nature of the work, related occupations, etc.). Practitioners integrated information resources into the intervention process to help clients/students connect self-assessment data with occupational information. Performing this task effectively requires more than simply providing information. Practitioners need to be able to help students/clients turn occupational information into useful data that both inform and stimulate the career exploration process.

Donald Super (1957) provided the impetus for expanding the conceptualisation of career development to include career choice processes rather than only career choice content. Super's developmental model emphasised longitudinal expressions of career development. Noting the need for developing readiness for career decision-making, Super and his colleagues articulated the importance of factors such as planning, exploring, information gathering, decision-making, and reality testing as being critical for preparing for key career decision-making moments. Adapting the work of Charlotte Buehler (1933), Super described the developmental stages and

tasks people tend to encounter as they construct their careers. Super also highlighted the fact that life roles interact and that work does not occur in isolation from other dimensions of human experience. Leisure, homemaking, partner, student, and citizen roles provide examples of other life roles that influence work options and vice versa. Super's developmental stages, tasks, and life role theory segments form the basis for many career guidance programs.

Decision-making models have long been central to the career intervention process. Helping students and clients make decisions has typically meant helping them learn a rational scientific problem-solving approach to career decision-making. Various decision-making models emphasise approaches such as benefit cost analysis, values weighting, and taking a rational approach to decision making. Increasingly, intuitive approaches to decision-making are being valued in career development. Practitioners realise that the complexity of career decision-making is difficult to contain within a model that employs only part of the person's experience (i.e., rational thought). Emotions, hunches, instincts, and intuitive sensing, once viewed as poor approaches to making decisions, are now recognised as useful and, more importantly for this chapter, teachable. Strategies such as keeping a journal, meditation, and imagery exercises each contribute to developing intuition, which can influence decision-making.

In 2003, the International Association for Educational and Vocational Guidance (IAEVG) developed a set of international competencies for career practitioners. These competencies are very similar to those developed earlier by the National Career Development Association (NCDA) in the United States (the NCDA career counselling competencies were most recently updated in 1997). There are, however, some important distinctions between the two sets of competencies. The IAEVG competencies (IAEVG, 2003) address (see Table 18.2) the important area of community capacity building, thereby noting the importance of collaboration between community partners to assess human capital and community needs, as well as developing plans to address the economic, social, educational, and employment goals of the community. The NCDA competencies (NCDA, 1997) (see Table 18.3) contain sections related to diversity and technology, both critical competency areas for all career practitioners. Thus, collectively, the two competency statements (i.e.,

Table 18.2 IAEVG competency areas (From http://www.ncda.org/pdf/counsellingcompetencies.pdf)

1. Assessment
2. Educational guidance
3. Career development
4. Counselling
5. Information management
6. Consultation and coordination
7. Research and evaluation
8. Programs and service management
9. Community capacity building

Table 18.3 NCDA competency areas (From http://www.ncda.org/pdf/counsellingcompetencies.pdf)

1. Career development theory
2. Individual and group counselling skills
3. Individual/group assessment
4. Information/resources
5. Program promotion, management, and implementation
6. Coaching, consultation, and performance improvement
7. Diverse populations
8. Supervision
9. Ethical/legal issues
10. Research/evaluation
11. Technology

IAEVG's and NCDA's) provide a comprehensive overview of the knowledge, skills, and awareness career practitioners need in the 21st century regardless of national context.

Given the fact that these two competency statements contains significant overlap, it is reasonable to expect that training experiences will expose students to the common areas within both competency statements, if not all areas comprising both statements. Where greater differences likely exist are in the strategies trainers use to help students acquire skills in these area. For example, training experiences for those seeking the Global Career Development Facilitator credential (offered by the Center for Credentialing and Education in the United States) as compared to those seeking a graduate degree in counselling will vary in depth and duration. What seems to be most true is that training is needed to provide career assistance to others in an ethical and professional manner. What is also true is that this training can occur in various formats. For instance, symposia can provide relatively brief opportunities for training in modular form across multiple years. With systematic planning for the symposia meetings and for the time period between symposia, trainers could expose students to the competency areas developed by IAEVG/NCDA. For the time between symposia meetings, training can continue via e-mail and video-conferencing.

Other obvious options include using a distance education format that allows trainees to remain close to their place of residence. Technology for delivering training in this medium is now of outstanding quality and many university centres provide access to these opportunities. Additional opportunities such as podcasting provide even greater convenience allowing trainees to participate in training sessions via their personal computers. With options such as these, training can be provided to anyone with computer and Internet access.

Additional training opportunities can occur when universities establish international collaborative relationships. Numerous universities have developed such training opportunities providing international exchanges for students and faculty. Engaging in international collaborations effectively integrate global perspectives pertaining to career development theory and practice.

Professional conferences provide multiple opportunities for training and development in career interventions. In this regard, it is worth noting that recently several

professional associations have collaborated in co-sponsoring conference experiences highlighting the importance of global interactions in thinking and learning about career development.

Conclusion

Substantial variability exists regarding the training career practitioners receive. It can be argued that the variability needs to decrease by increasing the minimal training standards required for engaging in providing career services. Minimal training should include exposure to career development theory and practice, assessment, and listening skills. Technology, professional associations, and international collaborations provide important opportunities to advance training for career practitioners. Moreover, those engaged in training and practice of career practitioners need to use language more precisely to increase communication and advance research and practice. There seems to be no legitimate excuse today for situations in which those providing career services have no training in career interventions yet, too often, this is the case. Careers are much too complex to allow this situation to continue. In this regard, the CACREP standards for training career counsellors provide a reasonable goal for training guidelines worldwide.

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Part IV
Educational and Vocational Guidance with Specific Target Groups

Chapter 19
GUIDANCE FOR GIRLS AND WOMEN

Jenny Bimrose

Gender is constructed and defined by societies. It refers to membership of a particular category, masculine or feminine, which aligns more or less to the two sexes and highlights the ways in which being male and being female are valued differently and not equally (Bimrose, 2006a). Whilst distinct sets of attributes are associated with the two sexes, these are not fixed. Gender boundaries are fluid. Consider, for example, the ways in which being male or being female have changed over, say, the past 20 year period. It is becoming more socially acceptable for men to enter jobs previously regarded the preserve of women (Lupton, 2006; Simpson, 2005) and undertake childcare and domestic responsibilities (Halford, 2006). Such changes may occur not only within the same society over time, but also across societies during any one period in history.

Shifts in attitudes and values have brought about different degrees of social change in various countries, over time, regarding gender roles and responsibilities (Tang & Cousins, 2005). Analysis of labour market trends reveal that women are the chief beneficiaries of the creation of new jobs in the service economy (United Nations, 2004) and have become major financial contributors to couple households or sole breadwinners in single person and lone parent households in many countries. Yet, despite a general consensus that the international competitiveness of developing countries will be determined, in part, by the integration of skilled, female workers into the workforce, this process continues to be slow:

> Generally speaking, in the developing world, women are still largely denied access to the formal labour market, do not have equal opportunities to qualify for higher employment and are consequently less likely to occupy administrative or managerial positions, lag significantly behind in terms of career development and earnings increases. (Jütting, Morrisson, Dayton-Johnson, & Drechsler, 2006, p. 7)

Because of the extent, depth and persistency of the inequality and disadvantage suffered by girls and women across the world, this chapter will consider the case for a gendered approach to career guidance and counselling with a special focus on this group. This particular focus in no way diminishes the needs of boys and men. Indeed, research evidence highlights the particular challenges faced by this client

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J.A. Athanasou, R. Van Esbroeck (eds.) *International Handbook of Career Guidance*,

© Springer Science + Business Media B.V. 2008

group to career progression, like: the devaluation of their work; the loss of secure employment; more career shifts in lateral or downward directions; increasing ambivalence about the role of work in their lives (Ackah & Heaton, 2004); and difficulties encountered when entering traditionally female jobs (Bagilhole & Cross, 2006; Cross & Bagilhole, 2002; Lupton, 2000). However, these issues are beyond the scope of this chapter, which will first examine the nature of the barriers faced by girls and women as they make their transitions from education, into and through the labour market. Second, it will review selected career guidance and counselling approaches that have been developed, or adapted, specifically for this client group. Finally, it will draw on research evidence from a current longitudinal study that is following the career progression of 33 women over a five year period.

Women and the Labour Market

At the end of 2005, 2.85 billion people aged 15 and older were in work, an increase of 1.5 per cent since 2004 (International Labour Office [ILO], 2006). Distinctive trends of labour market participation emerge, however, associated with gender. Whilst the share of employed adult males fell by 1.3 percentage points to 80.8 per cent, the share of employed adult females grew to 52.2 per cent (compared with 51.7 per cent in 1995). Yet the overall participation rate of girls and women over the past ten years has decreased. This is because the world's unemployment rate remains at 6.3 per cent, with almost half of all unemployed being young people – signalling a commensurate decline in the labour force participation of young women (ILO, 2006).

Nevertheless, in most developed countries, female labour force participation has steadily increased, though large cross-country differences are evident. Rates range from values close to, or below, 60 per cent in Turkey, Korea, Mexico and Southern European countries (except Portugal), to values well above 80 per cent in the Nordic countries and some Eastern European countries. Some developed countries have been faster than others to increase participation (for example, the Nordic countries and the USA), with the largest increases occurring in some lower income countries (Spain, Italy, Greece, Portugal and Ireland), together with some Northern European countries (The Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg and Germany). Further, preferences for female participation (especially amongst couples with young children) are much higher than actual participation rates (Jaumotte, 2003). Whilst various policies have been found to stimulate full-time participation (for example, childcare subsidies), the major determinants of labour market participation have been identified as: "female education, well-functioning labour markets (which translate into low unemployment) and cultural attitudes" (Jaumotte, 2003, p. 6).

However, achieving an accurate measure of women's labour market participation is not straightforward. Should the number employed be taken as an indication of their level of participation, or rather the hours worked? Using a measure of

full-time equivalents (FTEs), it has been claimed in the UK, for example, that there has actually been a decline in women's total work hours since 1940, because part-time jobs were substituted by full-time jobs and married women for single women when the marriage bar was abolished in the post-War period (Hakim, 1995). The legitimacy of using FTEs as a measure of women's employment has been challenged, since it is argued that this oversimplifies complex social changes like the shifting pattern of the distribution of paid work between household members with dual-earner households on the increase (Bruegel, 1996; Ginn et al., 1996).

Irrespective of exactly how women's labour market participation is calculated, women's increased involvement in paid work is an important development in many countries across the world. Yet despite this trend, a central theme is their continued responsibilities in the domestic sphere. There is, in fact, little real evidence of fundamental change in the gendered division of labour in the home. Only more use of either substitutes for domestic labour (that is, labour saving devices and domestic help) or a reduction in the amount of domestic labour required because of the falling birth rates, both trends being offset by increasing levels of elder care (United Nations, 2004). So, given increased levels of participation, what employment patterns and types of commitment to employment can be identified?

Employment Patterns and Commitment

Increased levels of economic activity have brought with them ever increasingly complex patterns of female labour market participation which, in turn, reflect different types and varying levels of commitment to paid employment. Our understanding of these aspects of women's labour market participation has expanded and deepened over the past three decades. For example, in the UK, it was believed that a single period of not working for childbirths and child-rearing was preceded and succeeded by employment (Hakim, 1979), but this was quickly challenged by the discovery of more complex patterns of employment where women returned to work after childbirth and between childbirths (Dex, 1984). Similarly, in the USA, whilst the impact of marriage and motherhood on women's labour force participation was marked in 1970, with peaks and troughs coinciding with child-birth and child-care, by 2005 this particular pattern was no longer discernable. Overall, women's labour market participation now resembles that of men, although at a lower level (US Bureau of Labour Statistics, 2006). More recently, with the increasing recognition that early returns to work are of key importance to women's future economic prospects, together with the financial pressures associated with consumer debt, there has been a growth in employment patterns for women that have been minimally disrupted (Smeaton, 2006). In the USA, for example, the proportion of women working all year (that is, for 50–52 weeks) and full-time (35 hours or more each week) has grown over recent decades (U.S. Bureau of Labour Statistics, 2006).

Alongside this trend has developed a significant decline in satisfaction with hours worked and workload due to the intensification of work and shifts in values

(Rose, 2005). Perhaps because of this increased dissatisfaction with employment, the proportion of women aspiring to egalitarian family models (with equal distribution of earning and domestic responsibilities) has fallen with the traditional male-as-breadwinner family model increasingly favoured (Charles & James, 2005; Hakim, 2003, 2006). The labour force participation rate for women in the USA, for example, has shown no growth in recent years, compared with rapid growth during the 1970s and 1980s (U.S. Bureau of Labour Statistics, 2006).

Indeed, both work intensification and the domestic division of labour emerge as key issues in understanding women's commitment to, and patterns of employment. On average, women continue to take the primary responsibility for domestic and care responsibilities. Even where gender role attitudes have become less traditional, little change has occurred in the gendered allocation of domestic duties. A comparison of gender role attitudes in three countries, Norway, Britain and the Czech Republic, found that men's involvement in household task had actually slowed down (Crompton, Brockman, & Lyonette, 2005). In Sweden, regarded as one of the most family-friendly and gender equal countries in the world, the distribution of time spent by men compared with women on domestic work is as unequal as it was a decade and a half ago (Thörnqvist, 2006). Related to domestic responsibilities is the extent to which formal employment increasingly encroaches into domestic life. Boundaries between the public and private domains of work and home continue to be eroded by the intensification of work, characterised by, for example, long and unpredictable working hours and/or work outside formally contracted hours. This trend has particular implications for women shouldering the main responsibility for housework and caring who are consequently forced to develop various coping strategies to help manage the dual demands and stresses of paid employment and domestic duties (Court, 2004; Hyman, Scholarios, & Baldry, 2005; Mayerhofer, Hartmann, & Herbert, 2004; Metz, 2005).

A more recent conceptualisation of women's commitment to employment, therefore, is of three broad groups of women: one committed to their full-time careers; a second giving priority to their domestic lives; and the third combining work and family in different ways (Hakim, 2000, 2002, 2006; Hallett & Gilbert, 1997). However, women as a group are diverse and even this typology may not adequately capture the complexity evident in different life-styles. A comparative analysis of women's employment in five countries (France, Russia, the Czech Republic, Britain and Norway) revealed that attitudes relating to employment for both men and women varied not only according to the occupational and national context, but to the stage reached in their life cycle. Four employment orientations were identified: first, where attempts are made to succeed in both employment and family life, without giving particular priority to either; second, where family and domestic life are given priority over formal employment; third, where goals related both to employment and family life are both actively pursued with equal vigour; and fourth, where careers are given clear priority (Crompton & Harris, 1998). Yet one other study compared data from fourteen countries and similarly found that the structure of an individual's particular family situation influences both behaviour and preferences, with family responsibilities predicting women's preference for

flexibility (Corrigall & Konrad, 2006). Perhaps women's commitment to employment could, therefore, more usefully be conceptualised as fluctuating over time and according to the contexts in which they live their lives: "women actively construct their work-life biographies in terms of their historically available opportunities and constraints" (Crompton & Harris, 1998, p. 119). Not only do work-related concerns and family issues change as women age, but the type of support provided by partners also changes, with important consequences for work-life balance and job satisfaction (Gordon & Whelan-Berry, 2004).

Context, life-stage and perceived support are, therefore, all important influences on women's employment patterns. So too is personality. A longitudinal study carried out in Finland examined the relationship between personality and employment commitment. It emphasises the interaction of individual personality with time, culture and social status in directing employment possibilities for women and shaping choices. Data were analysed from a sample of girls and boys at age eight and then research participants were followed up at 14, 27 and 36. This study is of particular interest not only because it is longitudinal, but because of the social context in which it was undertaken. In Finland, there is not much difference between men and women regarding employment outside the home. Mothers typically work full-time, with only 15 per cent of Finnish families having just the father as the breadwinner (Pulkkinen, Ohranen, & Tolvanen, 1999). Despite this, many working women are family orientated and try to adjust their employment to the needs of the family. Results of this study suggest that personality characteristics indicating high self-control of emotions explain high career orientations, whilst those indicating low self-control of emotions explain low career orientation. This general finding applied not only to both women and men, but also to career orientation and career stability. There were, however, important gender differences. Characteristics conventionally described as masculine correlated positively to employment stability and independence (for example, high self-esteem, self-efficacy, internal locus of control, non-anxiety and assertiveness). In contrast, characteristics categorised as feminine weakened work involvement (for example, external locus of control, submissiveness, and emotional instability).

Women's labour market participation requires, therefore, an understanding of the complex interaction of context, culture, life-stage, perceived support and personality. A specific feature of context is the type of employment available. Part-time employment has become a particularly significant feature of women's employment patterns in many countries, together with the emergence of dual earning households.

Part-Time Employment

Part-time employees work mainly in service sector industries and are generally engaged in unskilled, low-graded and low-paid occupations (Bolle, 1997; Maxwell, 1995) which are also characterised by lack of security (O'Reilly & Fagan, 1998). In the USA, as in many other countries, women are more likely

than men to work part time. In 2005, about 25 per cent of employed women were part-time workers, compared with 11 per cent of employed men (U.S. Bureau of Labour Statistics, 2006). The UK has a higher percentage of women working part-time: 42 per cent compared with only 9 per cent of men (Equal Opportunities Commission [EOC], 2006).

However, a study carried out across eight European countries found that whilst considerable advantages accrue to the employers of part-time workers, part-time employment may not always serve the interests of employees because of lower hourly wage rates, coupled with exemption from liability for fringe benefits, like pension schemes and sick pay schemes (McRae, 1998). Moreover, the flexibility that part-time jobs provide for workplace practices may not necessarily coincide with the flexibility required by employees to accommodate, for example, care responsibilities (Bond, Hyman, Summers, & Wise, 2002; Hyman et al., 2005). Part-time employment often results in lower incomes, sometimes for the same work. It is also incompatible with career progression, since promotion is often biased towards full time workers and part-time jobs are available in only a narrow range of occupational areas (McRae, 1998; Purcell, Hogarth, & Simm, 2002).

With the increased availability of part-time work has come a rise in dual-earning households. However, cross-country variations are evident. For example, in Europe, numbers of dual-earning couples varied from 32 per cent in Spain to 61.4 per cent in the UK. However, these variations are not necessarily related to care responsibilities, since it is only in France, Germany and the UK where the number of dual earning households increases with the age of the child. An important factor is the status of jobs. Gender equality within households is likely to be effected by the status of jobs in which women are employed and part-time jobs are associated with low status and pay. Part-time employment, therefore, has a major impact on the degree of household gender equity (Smith, 2005).

Women's motivation to engage in part-time employment and the degree of household gender equity enjoyed are key issues for career guidance. Are women's choices constrained by their circumstances, or are they able to exercise choice over the way they live their lives? It has been argued that women are now able to exercise lifestyle choices not previously available and do so as a conscious strategy (Hakim, 1996, 2000, 2002, 2003, 2006). In contrast, others argued that cultural traditions, employment policies and care responsibilities constrain women's choices, with only an elite minority having the financial resources to buy exemption from domestic and care duties (Ginn et al., 1996). Whether by choice or constraint, the dominance of part-time employment patterns highlights the distinctly different relationship of women to the labour market compared with men. The growth in women's employment is linked to the availability of part-time work which, in turn, links to childcare responsibilities (Bonney, 2005; Coyle & Skinner, 1988). In the UK, for example, only 36 per cent of mothers with children under four were in employment in 2005, compared with 96 per cent of fathers (EOC, 2006, p. 15).

The different experiences of women engaged in part-time employment, compared with men engaged in full-time employment is emphasised further when gender segregation is considered.

Occupational Segregation

Occupational segregation by gender has shown a stubborn resistance to change, despite women entering the labour market more highly qualified. Two types of segregation are discernible: horizontal, referring to the tendency of women to be employed in a restricted range of occupational areas different from those in which men are employed; and vertical, referring to women being employed at lower levels in organisations. Whereas anti-discrimination legislation may have slightly reduced horizontal segregation, because of the movement of men into occupational areas dominated by women, vertical segregation has increased in some countries (Hakim, 1979; EOC, 2007).

The construction industry (traditionally male) and the health and social care industry (traditionally female) are examples of occupational sectors illustrating horizontal segregation. In the UK, for example, in both 1972 and 2005, at least nine out of ten employees in the construction industry were male (EOC, 2006). In the USA, fewer than one in ten women were employed in construction and maintenance occupations or production, transportation and occupations in 2005 (U.S. Bureau of Labour Statistics, 2006). Similarly, in the UK in health and social work, the majority of employees were female both in 1972 and in 2005 (EOC, 2006). In the USA, women were concentrated in service occupations and sales and office occupations (U.S. Bureau of Labour Statistics, 2006).

Examples of vertical segregation in the UK include: 10 per cent of senior police offices, 9 per cent of senior judiciary and 13 per cent of university vice chancellors were women in 2005 and only .5 per cent of senior ranks in the armed forces were held by women (EOC, 2006, 2007). An investigation into the barriers to women's progression to senior positions in the public sector in Australia has similarly found gender bias to be a key issue (McMahon, Limerick, Cranston, & Andersen, 2006), though in the UK it has been argued that it is women's preferences that have resulted in vertical segregation (Hakim, 2006). Country differences in vertical segregation are, however, identifiable with women more likely to achieve senior management positions in the USA (11 per cent) than in Sweden (1.5 per cent) (Rosenfeld & Kalleberg, 1990).

The cost of occupational segregation to economies is substantial. In the UK, it has been estimated that removing barriers to women working in occupations traditionally done by men and increasing further women's participation in the labour market could be worth between £15 billion and £23 billion, or 1.3 to 2.0 per cent GDP (Women & Work Commission, 2006). Strenuous efforts have, therefore, been made to identify strategies to combat occupational segregation, with the policy imperative tending to stress the importance of recruiting women, rather than men, into non-traditional jobs (for example, in the UK: Dale, Jackson, & Hill, 2005; Fuller, Beck, & Unwin, 2005; Miller, Neathey, Pollard, & Hill, 2004; Miller, Pollard, Neathey, Hill, & Ritchie, 2005).

Gender segregation in the labour market is now recognised as a major source of inequality and a number of causes have now been recognised (Crompton &

Sanderson, 1990). One such cause relates to the way in which organisations operate to construct and maintain barriers to women's career progression, specifically, the negative impact of deep-rooted power differentials and their consequences (Cassell & Walsh, 1993; Hatt, 1997; Kottke & Agars, 2005; Mattis, 2004; Ragins & Sundstrom, 1989). Additionally, it has been found that particular features of organisational cultures also militate against women's career progression, for example, some recruitment and selection policies and procedures (Lyness & Judiesch, 1999). Part-time work is also thought to sustain, if not increase, gender segregation (Robinson, 1988), though much relevant international research does not mention the issue of part-time work. Little systematic analysis exists, therefore, which relates to the way gender segregation differs across full and part-time employment in different countries. However, where analyses include part-time employees part-time women employees are more segregated than full-timers (Elliott, 2005). It is perhaps unsurprising, therefore, that the question of whether part-time workers are studied separately from full-time workers (Hakim 1998) or included in any comparative analysis of occupational segregation (Fagin & Rubery, 1996) is contested.

In addition to organisational structure, culture and part-time employment, another mechanism for maintaining occupational segregation is sexual harassment. Precise quantification of workplace sexual harassment is difficult (Wirth, 2001). This is partly because of problems with identification, which may be due to a general lack of understanding and awareness (Thomas & Kitzinger, 1997), since the use of term sexual harassment without definitions or examples has been found to lead to lower percentages of reporting (McKinney, 1994). Nevertheless, its incidence is increasingly acknowledged to be widespread. In the USA, sexual harassment has been recognised as a "social problem of enormous proportions" (Fitzgerald, 1993, p. 1070). The ambiguity that exists regarding what actually comprises sexual harassment is reflected in the varied definitions of the term. One (Stockdale, 1993) noted that, legally, sexual harassment comprises just two forms of behaviour: the exchange of sexual favours (quid pro quo) and hostile work environments (sexual comments, leering, ogling, posters). Negative consequences on the victim include: humiliation, self-blame, anger, loss of self-confidence, reduction in the ability to perform the job, resignation, transfer, demotion, loss of job, decreased job satisfaction, decreased morale; damage to interpersonal relations and various economic loss (Fitzgerald, 1993; Frazier & Cohen, 1992; Handy, 2006; Landrine & Klonoff, 1997; Livingston, 1982; Stanko, 1988). This is of particular relevance to career guidance as practitioners are often expected to encourage and support girls and women to enter non-traditional occupational areas – and heavily criticised for not doing so (for an example from the UK, see: Women & Work Commission, 2006, chapter 2). Some ethical implications of sexual harassment for career guidance for girls and women have been examined, since encouraging clients to consider non-traditional occupations may result in physical and/or psychological harm (Bimrose, 2004). A combination of occupational segregation and part-time working has resulted in women's pay being consistently set at levels lower than men's.

Pay Levels

Women generally earn less than men because of: their concentration in employment sectors and occupations with relatively low pay; the nature of their employment contracts; the smaller number of hours of paid work they undertake; and because mothers, rather than fathers, reduce their labour market participation because of children (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD], 2005). Whichever way the gender pay gap is measured, women's hourly earnings remain consistently below those of men in all developed countries (OECD, 2002).

On average, hourly rates of pay for women are 84 per cent of men's, corresponding to a wage gap of 16 per cent either when measured for full-time workers only or for all workers, including part-timers. The pay gap between men and women, based on the median measure, rather than hourly rates, appears narrowest in Belgium (6 per cent), followed by Australia, Denmark, France, Italy, Spain and Sweden. In the UK, the gender pay gap was 17.1 per cent for those in full-time employment in 2005. For part-time work, this gap increases to 38.4 per cent. It is largest in Switzerland and the USA (21 per cent). The USA also provides examples of gender pay differentials according to ethnic group. In 2005, black women earned 89 per cent of the earnings of black men; among Hispanics, the earnings ratio was 88 per cent; in contrast, white women's earnings were 80 per cent of white men's and Asian women's earnings were 81 per cent of Asian men's (U.S. Bureau of Labour Statistics, 2006). The pay gap has particularly serious implications for retirement, when, for example, women in the UK receive 47 per cent lower weekly income than men because of time out of employment to raise children (EOC, 2006). This, despite legislation introduced over 30 years ago to address differentials in pay levels, which Clarke (1995) acknowledged "is routinely criticised for having failed to deliver much of what it promised" (p. 55).

Pay levels are, therefore, just one symptom of a range of disadvantages women experience in employment that spills over to their private lives. Perhaps more than any other feature of women's employment, it operates to maintain inequality, by ensuring their economic power in all domains of their lives remains marginalised: "The systematic discrimination which women face in employment contributes to the lack of power women experience within the private world of home and family: women become and remain dependent upon a 'male' breadwinner, or increasingly, the state" (Clarke, 1995, p. 57).

Ethnicity, Gender and Employment

Any examination of the relationship between women and the labour market needs to take account of the ethnic dimension. White, middle-class, educated women may be struggling for economic, social and political equality, but the combination of white racism and sexism often make these issues secondary considerations for women from

minority ethnic groups. Dealing with the consequences of oppression emanating from the interaction of gender and race, priority is given to establishing and maintaining their cultural identity (Chung, 2005; Peterson, 2000; Braun Williams, 2005).

Whilst women's position continues to be different and unequal compared with men, these trends are exacerbated for some ethnic groups in the labour market. Much available data on women's employment actually relates only to white women, since Black women are so under-represented in many occupational sectors, for example, television in the UK (Skillset, 2005). Additionally, for some women (as for some men) ethnic groups are segregated in particular industries and occupations (Green, 1997, p. 82). It is, therefore, important to avoid regarding women as a homogeneous group and to acknowledge the extent and degrees of inequality amongst ethnic groups. The importance of paid employment for Black women is emphasised by Mama (1997), since they are so often head of their families. In this capacity, they are more likely to have more dependants, more likely to have unemployed men as members of their family, and where men are in work, wages are low: "…. what is bad for women is worse for Black women" (Mama, 1997, p. 40).

Women's career choices are, therefore, often multi-dimensional, vary over time and are structured by context. So can career guidance respond effectively to the particular challenges faced by girls and women as they make their transitions from education and training into and through the labour market?

Career Guidance for Girls and Women

> *Some researchers strongly argue that the creation of theories unique to women is required because of the singular and complex nature of women's career development.* (Hackett, 1997, p. *185)*

Even though some progress has been made in integrating women into the labour market, this process has been slow, with only small increases discernible when, for example, the promotion of women to senior-level executive jobs in employing organisations is taken as an indicator (Terjesen, 2005). North America has made most progress in this area, but worldwide it remains extremely modest, with negative consequences predicted for economies as organisations increasingly face a shortage of qualified and talented leaders (Burke & Vinnicombe, 2005). Nor are barriers to career progression only faced by women with children. Both those with children and those without report barriers to their career progression, though different types of impediments are identified by these two groups of women (Metz, 2005).

The distinct employment patterns of women are considered sufficient justification to consider women's career development separately from men's (Höpfl & Hornby Atkinson, 2000; O'Neil & Bilimoria, 2005) and given the breadth and depth of the disadvantage suffered by women in labour markets across the world, it is certainly not unreasonable to suppose that they may have different career guidance needs from boys and men. Yet early career theory, developed mostly by men for men, remains a dominant influence on the practice of career guidance (Bimrose,

Barnes, Hughes, & Orton, 2004; Savickas, 1997). Collin (2006) discussed how the lack of a gendered perspective represents a major limitation and Hansen (2003) argued that gender continues to be "the dimension most neglected or ignored" (p. 46). Indeed, the under-representation of women in research populations from which traditional theories were developed is now regarded as a critical weakness (Fitzgerald, Fassinger, & Betz, 1995; Marshall, 1989; Meara, Davis, & Robinson, 1997; Savickas, 2003).

Some have extended their criticisms beyond gender to inter-related dimensions of social inequality: gender and ethnicity; gender and social class; and gender and sexual orientation. In an historical review of career development and practice, Herr (2001) noted how the growing attention to the career development of women and minority ethnic populations represents an important, recent development, predicting how the expansion of its theoretical and research base will inevitably move beyond the restrictive traditional models that have originated in North America or Europe. However, the current lack of careers models for Black women that take account of the interactive effects of racism and sexism was highlighted by Gainor and Forrest (1991) and research into the career development of high achieving African American-Black and White women confirms the "inappropriateness of applying career theories written by and based on white men to white women and people of color" (Richie, Fassinger, Linn, & Johnson, 1997, p. 145).

Research into the impact of socio-economic group on career development and career decision-making has also been identified as "an important omission in the field of vocational psychology" (Brown, Fukunga, Umemoto, & Wicker, 1996, p. 159). The working lives of women from lower socio-economic groups have been studied to illuminate the inter-relationship between gender and social class (Meara et al., 1997). Poverty and deprivation, sometimes existing alongside physical and emotional abuse, were found to be associated in this social group with both low levels of educational achievement and poor employment skills. Combinations of these factors were found to limit vocational opportunities and horizons for self-advancement. Consequently, the relevance of traditional career theory, with its emphasis on client autonomy and choice, is questioned.

The interaction of gender and sexual orientation is yet one other neglected area of research. Morgan and Brown (1991) studied the career development of lesbians and observed that, although women's career development has attracted attention, the "unique career development issues of lesbians have not been addressed" (p. 273). Evidence in this area is currently limited, with gay and lesbian career research only just beginning to develop (Pope et al., 2004).

With new bodies of knowledge that incorporate a gender dimension on the horizon, it is essential to avoid falling into the same theoretical trap of generalising findings from one research population to another. A particular challenge for career theory is to ensure future developments respond more effectively to varied aspects of social inequality, including gender (Brooks, 1990; Fitzgerald & Betz, 1994; Guindon & Richmond, 2005; Hackett, 1997; Hansen, 2003, Harris-Bowlsbey, 2003; Parmer & Covington Rush, 2003). Many are now trying to fill this gap, but much remains to be done (Hansen, 2003; Parmer & Covington Rush, 2003). Whilst

the study of careers counselling for women has been described both as "the most active and vibrant area of research and theory in all vocational psychology" (Fitzgerald et al., 1995, p. 67) and "the fastest-growing area within counselling psychology today" (Betz & Fitzgerald, 1993, p. 346), the attention it has attracted has varied over time. This may, at least in part, reflect how career counselling and other career interventions can function as socio-political instruments in delivering policy goals, with the different emphases placed on developing the body of knowledge informing career practice reflecting differing policy priorities (Herr, 2003). The need, however, for new research into the career needs of particular client groups, including women, continues to be emphasised (Harris-Bowlsbey, 2003; Hansen, 2003), with encouraging progress evident (Cinamon, 2006; Cook, Heppner, & O'Brien, 2002; Dagley & Salter, 2004; Flores et al., 2002; Guindon & Richmond, 2005; Pringle & McCulloch Dixon, 2003; Quimby & DeSantis, 2006).

This expanding body of knowledge provides some interesting leads, though much data available in this area have been produced by the academic discipline of psychology with its tendency to separate the individual from their context – considered a particular weakness when studying women because: "who can deny on simply intuitive grounds that women's vocational behavior is a product of the interaction between individual and social contextual variables?" (Brooks & Forrest, 1994, p. 128). Nevertheless, these contributions comprise a positive development to the body of knowledge underpinning careers guidance.

Career Theory for Women

The needs of girls and women as a distinct client group have been a focus for career development theorists since the 1960s (Farmer, 1997). Even though a substantial body of evidence now exists on factors that both enhance and inhibit women's career development (Bimrose, 2001), the "lack of unifying theory" has made it difficult to assess which variables are most influential (Fassinger, 1985, p. 124). Nevertheless, a number of theoretical frameworks to guide practice are now available. Four of these will now be briefly reviewed, with some implications for practice considered.

Circumscription and Compromise

One framework suitable for working with women is Gottfredson's theory of circumscription and compromise (1981). Its aim was to explain "how the well-documented differences in aspirations by social group (e.g. race, sex, social class) develop" (Gottfredson, 1983, p. 204). Major influences were the theories of Holland and Super (Gottfredson, 1996, p. 181), with a key assumption relating to job satisfaction being determined by a successful match between job requirements and an individual's preferred self-concept (Gottfredson & Lapan, 1997). However, an important difference

is the way Gottfredson's approach prioritises the implementation of a social self over that of a psychological self (Gottfredson, 1996, p. 181) with career choice achieved by narrowing choices by eliminating options. A process of compromise is evident in the choice process as individuals often find they have to reconcile personal aspirations with harsh reality to achieve career goals.

Vocationally relevant elements of the self-concept are developed during four stages of cognitive development. The first of these involves an orientation to size and power. The second involves the development of a gender self-concept. During the third stage of development, abstract concepts are developed related to social class and intelligence. The final stage involves a refinement of an individual's values, traits, attitudes and interests (Gottfredson, 1981). As individuals progress through these four developmental stages, they successively reject occupations. Those unsuitable for their gender are the first to go; then those inappropriate for social class and ability level; and finally, those on the basis of personal interests and values. The result is a "zone of acceptable alternatives" or a "set or range of occupations that the person considers as acceptable alternatives" (Gottfredson, 1981, p. 548). Only unusually will an occupation outside this range be considered. According to this theory, then, occupational preferences are the result of judgements about the compatibility between the self, the job and the accessibility of the job. Compromise becomes necessary when the jobs people view as suitable are not always available. The typical pattern of this compromise process involves a hierarchy of preferences. People first sacrifice interests, then prestige, and finally sex type.

As an explanatory and predictive tool, this theory can assist our understanding of the type of resistance often encountered when trying to encourage an individual to consider a non-traditional occupational choice as part of the career guidance process. According to this approach, women end up in lower-status, lower-level jobs because they are compatible with their gendered self-concepts and views about accessibility.

The 1996 formulation of the theory is "the same in most respects as the 1981 version" (Gottfredson, 1996, p. 183), but differs "in providing a clearer definition and account of compromise, more discussion of cultural change and/or race and gender differences, and more guidance on counseling applications" (Gottfredson, 1996, p. 183). The elaboration of the theory in 2002 focuses on within-group differences: "why individuals differ regardless of their group membership" (Gottfredson, 2002, p. 85). A basic tenet is that individuals are active agents in determining their own destiny since their genetic tendencies help create their own environments and experiences.

Implications for practice of Gottfredson's theory of circumscription and compromise are discussed both at the individual level – one-to-one client work, and at the organisational level – for careers education programs. According to this theory, career practice should encourage both "exploration and constructive realism" (Gottfredson, 1996, p. 227). That is, practitioners should discuss why some job options have been ruled out with individual clients, and/or why some compromises appear more feasible than others. This approach can help young people: gain awareness of options available to them in their culture; acquire relevant experiences that increase self-awareness; and recognise how they are active agents in creating

their own future by seeking out particular experiences and rejecting others (Gottfredson, 2002). At an organisational level, careers education and guidance programmes should deal explicitly with ways in which individuals restrict their career choices and be sensitive to the ways in which circumscription and compromise take place (Gottfredson, 1996). Crucially, the theory highlights the need for careers work with individuals at a very early age for there to be any hope of influencing gendered perceptions of occupational roles.

Given the recent policy priority attached to filling skills gaps in many countries by ensuring women are recruited into occupational areas in which they have not, traditionally, been employed (for example, in the UK see: Women and Work Commission, 2006), this theory offers an evidence-based approach to combating gender stereotyping in career practice. Indeed, it even offers a scientifically developed instrument for this purpose, the *Mapping Vocational Challenges*, which represents an example of "theory-based assessments and interventions to counteract inappropriate circumscription" (Gottfredson & Lapan, 1997, p. 432).

Career Self-efficacy

Another notable example of a theoretical development that has particular relevance for career practice with women and girls is career self-efficacy theory (Betz & Hackett, 1981; Hackett & Betz, 1981. This argued that there was a need to move beyond "listings of barriers" to women's choices and achievements to an investigation of the mechanisms that are effective in embedding society's beliefs and expectations in women's vocational behaviour and achievement (Hackett & Betz, 1981, p. 327). Career self-efficacy theory places a strong emphasis on thinking processes (in contrast to behaviour) and focuses on the strength of the individual's belief that they can successfully accomplish a goal. It borrows key concepts from Bandura's social learning theory (1977) by proposing that belief is more powerful than interests, values or abilities in determining behaviour. Career behaviour, like other types of behaviour, is regarded as a result of interaction between self-efficacy, expectations of outcome and personal goals. An individual may not persist with a difficult task if they believe they are unable to complete the task successfully and/or feel discouraged or overwhelmed by the task. Judgements of self-efficacy influence: whether behaviour will be initiated; the degree of effort that will be expended; and how long the behaviour will be maintained in the face of obstacles (Bandura, 1977, p. 191). This can help explain why some women (and men) might not apply for higher level positions and/or non-traditional jobs.

Whilst acknowledging that their theory requires research on various key aspects, Hackett and Betz (1981) suggested that a "self-efficacy approach to the career development of women appears promising due to its explanatory power, implications for counseling practice, and research potential" (p. 337). Some 15 years later, they were still arguing that the theory and measures of career-related self-efficacy are useful (Betz & Hackett, 1997). They advocated the use of methods like the

structured measures of career-self efficacy and informal assessment techniques to establish the extent to which gender role socialisation may have limited a client's range of options. In parallel, a focus on male dominated occupations, mathematics, science and technology can ensure that options have not been limited:

> …our job as counselors is not to make a client's decisions or to push a client toward a non-traditional career, but to restore options that may have been *de facto* removed by sexism and gender role stereotyping as well as by other environmental barriers. (Betz & Hackett, 1997, p. 398)

The relevance of the concept of self-efficacy for minorities has been questioned since it rests on the premise that individuals are able to define their own reality and minorities, often marginalised, occupy a weak power base (Leong & Hartung, 2000; Osipow & Littlejohn, 1995). This criticism has particular resonance for ethnic minority women, victims of both racism and sexism (Betz & Fitzgerald, 1995). It may, however, only be applicable to certain ethnic minority groups since a review of research into the career development of Hispanics suggest that for them, it is, indeed, a relevant construct since self-efficacy expectations are predictive of both career choice and academic achievement (Arbona, 1995).

Like Gottfredson's theory of circumscription and compromise, self-efficacy theory has considerable potential for boosting self-confidence and broadening options in careers practice with women. For example, the practitioner could organise work shadowing experiences with female role models in areas in which women are not usually successfully. Desensitisation procedures could be used to reduce excessive anxiety about career choice or performance (for example, relaxation techniques). Or the provision of high quality information could be used which project images that challenge common stereotypes (Brown, 1990, p. 374). Whilst self-efficacy theory may only be relevant when individuals have both the necessary skills and motives, it does offer practical strategies for working with women who are, for example, returning to the workplace after a period of absence following childbirth and may consequently suffering from lack of self-confidence and low self-esteem.

Feminist Approaches

Feminist counselling is a philosophy rather than a comprehensive theory of practice. Chaplin (1990) defined it as "a different way of being, having different attitudes to each other and different values and ways of thinking" (p. 2). She argued that it is about working towards a different future, as well as living more fully in the present. This future refers to a society in which so-called feminine values and ways of thinking are valued as much as masculine ones. In careers, it has been advocated that careers theory needs to shift its emphasis away from male agency, where tension is reduced by controlling and changing the world, to female communion where collaboration and co-operation are preferred ways of coming to terms with uncertainty (Marshall, 1989, p. 279).

Establishing and maintaining an equal relationship is a key feature of feminist career counselling. To implement this principle, practitioners aim to: establish collaborative and facilitative relationships with their clients; inform clients about framework underpinning their practice; encourage feedback to the practitioner; and expect the client to use discretion about the practitioner with whom they work. The overall goal of career practice is the empowerment of the client towards self-determination (Brooks & Forrest, 1994), often requiring special techniques and strategies, including the use of support groups and female role models.

Some practice implications of applying this approach to careers counselling were detailed by Brooks and Forrest (1994). In addition to the assessment of individual attributes such as abilities, interests and preferences in the careers guidance interview, it is necessary to assess ways in which gender-role issues may have impacted on the client and created barriers. Two stages are necessary to achieve this goal: pre-assessment and assessment. The first stage refers to the preparation of the practitioner. It involves familiarisation with research into the relationship between gender and career development, which is likely to include the interaction between gender and demographic variables such as race and class, together with discriminatory practices that might occur in education and the workplace. The second stage, the assessment process with the client, focuses on how the client has experienced gender-role socialisation. This could involve gathering contextual data on the culture of the family of origin, family roles for men and women, client's perception of societal gender-role prescriptions for her age cohort (Brooks & Forrest, 1994). An important, additional focus relates to helping clients develop a political awareness of the ways the social structure has moulded and limited them. By developing an awareness of the ways in which context affects women's career choice, clients can reduce self-blame for conditions over which they had no control (Brooks & Forrest, 1994). This may have particular relevance for minority ethnic women, given evidence of an ethnic penalty suffered by them in the labour market (Cross, 1991, p. 311).

Like other theories developed for career practice with girls and women, this approach has not yet had a major impact on practice, perhaps because confronting and challenging the impact of gender in society in the explicit way advocated by the approach can be regarded as sensitive. It does, however, usefully challenge practitioners to examine their own values and attitudes regarding the position of women in society and reflect on the extent to which these are allowed to infiltrate their work.

Systems

Chartrand, Strong, and Weitzman (1995) suggested that the systemic perspective incorporates "the complex, multi-level nature of environments" and is evident in the work of several influential theorists (p. 50). They argued that the sheer complexity of a systems approach represents both a strength and a weakness: a strength

since it takes account of individual and societal factors in career development; a weakness since validation of the theory has proved difficult.

A Systems Theory Framework (STF) specifically for career practice is proposed by Patton and McMahon (1997, 1999). Two key components are identified, content and process. Content refers to the variables applicable to the individual and the context, which emphasise the key influences on career development. Process refers to the "recursive interaction processes" (Patton & McMahon, 1999, p. 155) within the individual and context, as well as between the individual and context. This relates to decision-making, change over time and chance. The individual is placed at the centre of the career choice and development process (Patton & McMahon, 1999), which is represented diagrammatically by a circle containing a range of features influencing career development (like personality, values, knowledge of the world of work, age, gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation, disability, interests, skills, beliefs and self-concept). Each individual is regarded as a system in their own right. However, as a discrete system the individual exists as part of a much larger system. This is conceptualised as two subsystems: social contextual systems (like family, media, community groups and workplace) and environmental/societal contextual systems (like geographical location, globalisation, labour market and political decisions). All are described as open systems. In terms of practice, careers professionals become part of the interconnected system of influences, affecting the career development of their clients.

This theory examines the interconnections between internal and external variables influencing career development (Arthur & McMahon, 2005), integrating both psychological and sociological approaches. Consequently, it is argued that it is particularly adaptable for particular client groups like ethnic minority groups (Arthur & McMahon, 2005) and suitable for particular purposes, like conceptualising a family-friendly approach to careers (Collin, 2006). It also offers new strategies for practice. For example, theories and assessment methods are no longer used to predict and direct behaviour, but rather are fed into the system for processing by the individual client. It is they who identify important issues in their lives, with practitioners acting as facilitators, helping and supporting clients make sense of their stories (Patton & McMahon, 1999). Indeed, its emphasis on context, the empowerment of the client as central to the process of making sense of their own career development and its dynamic nature makes the STF a particularly relevant framework for working with women.

A Case Study Approach to Understanding Women's Career Guidance Needs

A review of a decade of research into women and career development concluded that "women's lives are complex" (Phillips & Imhoff, 1997, p. 49). This chapter has so far examined some of this complexity and reviewed frameworks that are particularly suitable for career practitioners working with this client group. But what of the

individual stories of women trying to make their way in the labour market and who have sought career guidance support? The final section of this chapter will consider the enhancers and inhibitors of women's career development, drawing on evidence from a longitudinal study, currently underway in the UK that is tracking the career progress of 50 clients over a five year period (Bimrose et al., 2004; Bimrose, Barnes, & Hughes, 2005, 2006).

A substantial body of research has provided us with a clear indication of factors that both enhance and inhibit women's career development (Bimrose, 2001). These include a combination of structural and individual factors. Structural factors that enhance career progression include: a supportive family background; strong educational qualifications; later marriage or single status; few or no children; and rejection of traditional attitudes towards women's roles. Individual factors enhancing progression include: high self-esteem; career self-efficacy; instrumentality; multiple role-planning ability; a strong "locus of control"; values (for example, relational value systems rather than hierarchical); and relationships (for example, emotional separation from parents and a strong mother-daughter relationship). Structural factors that have been found to inhibit women's career progression are many and include: the subtle ways in which some educational institutions operate (for example, girls and women being excluded from various activities and feeling "put down"); lack of positive role models; career-family conflict (penalties associated with having children); lack of mathematical and/or scientific qualifications; prejudice, discrimination, sexual harassment and the cultures of many employing organisations. Betz (1994) also identified gender-biased career counselling, particularly the lack of unbiased information and the tendency to steer women and girls towards traditional roles.

So what sort of help do women want from career guidance and what do they value? A five year research study is currently underway in England, which is examining the exact nature of effective guidance and the impact it has on clients' lives. Fifty in-depth case studies of career guidance interventions in a variety of professional contexts have been completed and clients are being followed up over a further four year period (2003–2008) to track career progression. Of the 50 clients who participated in the first phase of data collection (2003–2004), 33 were women. Three years into this study, data provide rich insights into the way careers are unfolding and barriers to women's career progression. The following three case studies illustrate various impediments to women's career progression and consider how frameworks developed with women in mind are applicable to work with this client group.

Angela

Angela (25 years old at the start of the research study) has a first degree in fashion and started employment in retail when she finished her course. Despite being in a job which was well paid and had prospects for progression, at her career guidance

interview, she told the practitioner she wanted something more challenging. A whole range of possible ideas were discussed, including marketing, advertising, becoming a personal assistant, working in human relations and being an events organiser. The last of these was the most attractive to her. One year on, Angela had researched a number of career options and tried them out through temporary work. Although she had wanted to move out of retail, the opportunity to train as a retail manager had presented itself, so she had applied and was successful. However, she had soon become dissatisfied once more. Then her partner was re-located to a different region in his job. She left her job to move with him and spotted an advertisement for a store manager at nearly three times her previous salary. Since they wanted to buy a house, she applied for this job and was successful. Two years on, Angela is still working as a retail store manager for the same company, though in a new store which she had recently been asked to start up and manage. Her store was breaking all financial targets set. Initially, she had found this exciting, but is now finding the long hours too onerous. She is usually away from home for 12 hours a day, sometimes for seven continuous days and has no time either for a social life or to gain the further qualifications that would enable her to move. Her long term career goal is still to be an events organiser: "That would be my dream job". She has recently applied for several vacancies of this nature, but has not even been invited for selection interview because of lack of relevant qualifications.

She and her partner have now bought their first home, so feel under less financial pressure than previously to establish themselves in the housing market. The initial excitement of starting up a new store has passed and her long working hours are now causing real concern: "We've got what we want, we've got the house and we can afford it. I'm in quite a nice place now, but I could do with having a life other than work." She and her partner plan to get married next year and are thinking about having a family in the near future. They have discussed the possibility of her either having a year off work when she has a child, or returning to employment part-time. She would then aim for a career change: "I'm at a turning point where I can take a step back, maybe wait a few years, have a child and then tackle something different…I'm getting excited about…my work life changing completely."

Angela's story illustrates many features of women's employment. She is, for example, working in the service sector, a traditionally female occupational area – retail. She has risen quickly to a senior management position, but the hours she is expected to work demonstrates the level of work intensification that has occurred over the past decade or so in many occupational sectors (not solely a characteristic of female employment). Her current job can be typified as a, greedy career, that often becomes all-consuming, especially at senior levels (Hakim, 2006, p. 291). As a member of a dual-earning household, financial responsibilities are shared. However, since she earns considerably more than her partner, they are unable to forgo her earnings and consequently her freedom to pursue her dream job has been severely limited. Her particular life-stage (characterised by single marital status and childlessness) has enabled her to commit herself fully to her employment, though this seems set to change. Despite her earning capacity, the discussions about her future (which she envisages as involving marriage and children) assume that Angela will

leave the labour market to shoulder the main responsibility for childcare by either taking a year out and/or working part-time.

In terms of making sense of Angela's situation, the theory of circumscription and compromise seems particularly relevant. The financial pressure to take a higher paid job in an occupational sector and at a level she dislikes so that she can buy a house with her partner and make a significant contribution to the mortgage has clearly forced her into a series of compromises about her occupational choices. Her ability to follow her dream has been constrained by the pressure of work commitments and her own perceptions of what is possible for her and what might be available. Challenging her imagined future in a career guidance process by helping her to consider the range of job alternatives that she has, to date, rejected could prove to be a constructive way of progressing her thinking. This client does not lack proof of her ability to operate in a highly pressurised and demanding job. She has a clear and justifiable belief in her capabilities and clarity about the alternative career path she wants to progress, together with the route she would have to follow to achieve her goal. She has, however, become trapped in a situation where the lifestyle she is sharing with her partner is largely dependent on her earning power. In this situation, the solution that seems to make most sense to her as an escape route is to adapt her career trajectory to one that prioritises family over job – at least in the short to medium term. What would be the impact of this scenario on her and her partner? Would this option necessarily deliver the opportunity to re-train for her desired change of career?

One other framework arguably relevant to this client's situation is a feminist approach. Angela appears to hold quite traditional views of women's responsibilities regarding childcare, which could be usefully explored. She assumes that she would stay at home and assume primary responsibility for a baby, re-entering the labour market only on a part-time basis. It would be relevant to explore how issues related to gender roles have so far impacted on Angela and how she experienced gender role socialisation. Are there alternative models of family that might be acceptable to her and her partner and what might be the wider implications for employment and lifestyle?

Pauline

Pauline (aged 40 at the start of the research study) was taking the first steps in thinking about returning to work following an acrimonious breakdown of her marriage. She was a single parent, living temporarily with her sister and in receipt of benefit payments. Ideally, she wanted to take up learning opportunities but was constrained by the timing of courses (to fit with school hours) and by limited financial resources. She could not afford childcare. The main areas discussed at her interview were hairdressing, retail, and reception work. One year on, Pauline was still trying to resolve the practical details of a difficult divorce, which were proving to be time consuming and restrictive in terms of financial outlay. She was

still aiming to fulfil her ambition of becoming a hairdresser and had been doing a range of free courses at local colleges, including computing and a foreign language. Two years on, the legal proceedings regarding her separation from her partner seemed to have ground to a halt. She is, however, now a full-time mature student at the local Further Education College. Though originally wanting to train to be a hairdresser, the college offering the relevant course was too far to travel, given childcare and financial constraints. So she enrolled in a course designed to equip adults who have been absent for some time, to return to the labour market. Her youngest child is doing well at school and she is also enjoying her first grandchild. Angela says that she "loves learning", but has no clear idea of where it will take her. She has applied to do a preparation course for entry to higher education at her college next year. Her interests are varied and some of her peers have told her that she should consider teaching.

Like Angela, Pauline's story, illustrates many features of women's employment. She had left the labour market to stay at home full-time to look after her children, so was financially very vulnerable when her marriage broke down. Her perception of her constraints then forced her to consider re-entry to sectors of the labour market that are stereotypical female: retail, hairdressing and reception. However, her ability to undertake the vocational training required to achieve her primary career goal (hairdressing) was again restricted by her circumstances as a lone parent on a low income. Consequently, she opted for educational course (for which she was eligible for financial support because of her circumstances), since this allowed her to accommodate her childcare responsibilities. This career decision represented a compromise, constrained by what Pauline perceived as pragmatic considerations, rather than personal preference. Her life-stage, as a lone parent and new grandmother, brought with them restrictions to her career progression. But it also brought the opportunity to retrain – perhaps for teaching (yet another gender stereotypical area).

Understanding the complex influences on Pauline's career progression is challenging. Systems Theory Framework offers an analytical tool that could assist with appreciating the dynamic interactions of the various contextual factors and how these both impact on each other and upon Pauline's plans. The concepts of content and process are particularly useful here. Content, relating to the variables applicable to the individual (for example, age, gender, marital status, care responsibilities) and process relating to the interaction within and between the individual and their context (for example, Pauline's decision to train for a career to secure her financial future and the availability of an educational course upon which she could enrol free of charge that was within easy travelling distance). Careers guidance has become part of the open systems of which Pauline is part, influencing and affecting her career development. Further, systems theory allows the integration of various approaches. A complementary set of concepts could be used from self-efficacy theory, therefore, to support effective careers guidance with Pauline.

Career self-efficacy and self-esteem seem to be key issues in re-building Pauline's life. She recognises that she needs to become financially independent, but is starting from a low level of qualification with very limited financial resources.

Her journey of re-training for a career is long and arduous. If she is to succeed, she will need help and support in developing, and sustaining, a belief that she can reach her ultimate goal. Work shadowing or mentoring may be methods that could help motivate her to persevere in working towards her career ambition. In conjunction with these methods, high quality labour market information, with positive role models could also play a role in developing her belief that her goal is achievable.

Sharon

Sharon (aged 34 at the start of the research study) wishes to return to employment after ten years absence from the labour market, during which she has been raising her family. She had recently completed a part-time course aimed at getting women back into employment. She was interested either in training to teach in the tertiary educational sector, or perhaps working in floristry, gardening or horticulture. Sharon has care responsibilities for school-aged children, so was only considering part-time employment or training – at least at present. She had previously worked as an instructor in information technology and in electronics and telecommunications (in which she holds a qualification). A selection interview was pending for the course in teacher training. When followed-up one year on, Sharon had successfully completed the teaching qualification: "I did the teaching qualification and passed that." However, whilst doing this qualification, Sharon had decided she really wanted to be a garden designer: "the garden is my love… [I thought] I might as well go for my dream, which to me is to have my own business, you know, as a garden designer." To this end, she has enrolled on a three year part-time degree course in garden design at an agricultural college. Once her daughter is at senior school, she hopes to set up her own business, initially offering a design service. When followed-up two years on, Sandra was half way through her part-time degree course in garden design. She was also undertaking work experience by volunteering to tend the gardens and start a vegetable patch at her daughter's school. Building work and renovation of her new house had occupied much of her time over the past year, in addition to childcare responsibilities and her college course. She had undertaken most of the decorating, to avoid paying to have this done. Sandra is aware that there is a high demand for garden designers, though she is unsure whether there is much money to be made. However, she wants to do a job she enjoys and money is not an issue as her husband is a high earner: "It's more, sort of, to stop me going nuts, I suppose." Lack of self-confidence is a key issue for Sharon: "Because not working for such a long time, you really, really lose your confidence…There's still that, 'Oh my goodness,' you know, 'who would ever want me?' That comes, I think, from 12 years of not being employed. You devalue yourself totally." In a year and a half, her youngest daughter will have started senior school, which will give her more time to start up her own business or commit to a part-time job if her business fails. Although she would like to apply for a part-time position, her child care responsibilities take priority.

On the birth of her children, Sharon withdrew from the labour market, with her partner taking on the role of sole breadwinner. After a long absence from employment and despite initially working in non-traditional occupational areas (information technology, electronics and telecommunications), Sharon wishes to return to traditional, female occupational areas (teaching, floristry, garden design). Her perception is that her career plans are constrained by her childcare commitments. Even her volunteer work is at her daughter's school. The extent of her involvement in domestic labour extends to undertaking the decorating in the home, to save paying for this service.

With self-confidence identified as a major problem for Sharon, self-efficacy theory would provide an appropriate framework for working constructively with this client. She requires sustained support and reinforcement to convince her that she has skills to offer that are worth remuneration in the world outside her home. The theory of circumscription and compromise could also be valuable in exploring Sharon's rejection of non-traditional jobs in which she has experience and for which she is qualified, in favour of more stereotypical female employment. Spending time exploring the options that she is rejecting may provide new insights for Sharon.

Conclusion

Women's participation in the labour market is now regarded not just as a social justice issue but also a means of filling skills gaps and achieving higher economic productivity. However, with evidence of continuing gender discrimination, the goal of integrating women fully in the labour market remains an aspiration. For some women, simply getting access to labour market opportunities remains a main problem. For others, it is the lack of high quality employment and opportunities for career progression that is lacking.

Analysis of labour market trends across different countries reveals remarkable similarities in the career patterns of women but also differences. A pay gap that consistently disadvantages women, compared with men; persistent occupational segregation, both horizontal and vertical; part-time employment (dominated by women) that provides employer benefits that are rarely matched by benefits to employees; patterns of commitment to employment that reflect women's context, life-stage and perceived support; sexual harassment in the workplace that compromises the quality of women's work experiences – all are common features that inevitably detract from the quality of employment experiences of women across the world. What differs is the extent and depth of these features of women's employment in different countries.

With the traditional bodies of knowledge currently underpinning career guidance practice increasingly regarded as inadequate for servicing the needs of disadvantaged groups in societies around the world, including women and girls, some positive developments in research and theory that respond to the needs of these

client groups are discernible. However, most remain untried, and therefore untested, in practice. Encouraging practitioners to espouse new approaches and take the risks associated with experimentation and reflective practice remains challenging (Bimrose, 2006b; Bimrose & Barnes, 2006). Yet for career guidance to remain viable and credible for clients, policy makers and funding bodies, a culture change in the community of practice that embraces new frameworks is indicated.

The aim of careers guidance is ultimately to meet the needs of clients. This can only be achieved if their real needs are understood and theoretical frameworks that inform practice are fit for purpose. It is no longer legitimate to assume that the needs of women and girls can be accommodated using practice frameworks developed for men. Women's lives are increasingly complex and new approaches, developed to meet their disparate needs, offer promising alternative ways of working with clients which are grounded in the real experiences of girls and women.

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Chapter 20
CAREER GUIDANCE FOR PERSONS WITH DISABILITIES

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Premise

In the last ten years important theoretical and applicative changes have taken place in the disability field that also have significant consequences for school-career guidance. Therefore, before dealing with the issue of career guidance for persons with disabilities it is appropriate to recall the new disability conceptualisations, formulated between the 1990s and the beginning of this century following the advice of research and social and health care workers and the recommendations of the World Health Organization (Soresi, 2006), in which our reflections on the issues of choice and career development will be anchored.

Traditionally, "disability" was considered a disease, negative trait, or deficit that a person possesses (Fabian & Liesener, 2005). Recently, an ecological-behavioural view of disability has emerged that treats a disability as an interaction between individuals and the environments in which they live (Nota, Rondal, & Soresi, 2002; Wehmeyer & Patton, 2000). Consequently, the World Health Organization (WHO) and the American Association on Mental Retardation (AAMR) itself have proposed a new classification system to guide in the management and planning of social and health care services (*International Classification of Functioning, Disability, and Health* – ICF, WHO, 2001; *Definition, Classification, and System of Support Manual*, Luckasson, Borthwick-Duffy, Buntinx, Coulter, Craig, Reeve et al., 2002).

Historically, disability was a categorical definition. One either possessed a disability or did not. The new ICF guidelines emphasised three areas of assessment that relate to: (a) a person's level of functioning as indicated by physical functioning, activities performed, and degree of participation in various activities; (b) the existence of a disability as indicated by any impairment, limitations on the activities they can perform, or restrictions in their ability to participate in various activities; and (c) health and well-being indicators such as educational attainment and

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J.A. Athanasou, R. Van Esbroeck (eds.) *International Handbook of Career Guidance*,
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participation in the world of work. One important implication of the ICF is that a person's disability profile must include the interaction of environmental factors, functioning, disability, and health and well-being. For example, a person with a physical disability may function well in communities that provide resources that make accessible educational, vocational, and leisure opportunities. To emphasise this interaction, the ICF evaluated a person's activities and participation as two separate but related areas. Activity is defined as a task or action executed by an individual. Performance is defined as the degree of involvement a person has in various life situations. Within these two domains, a person is assessed with regard to current performance level and capacity to perform. The quality of one's performance in various activities and the level of involvement in various activities are influenced by whether resources and environmental context facilitates one's ability to reach their true potential – capacity. The AAMR also espoused that health and functioning is an interaction of person factors and environmental support. They argue that it is essential that individuals be provided with the "resources and strategies that promote the interests and causes of persons with or without disabilities; that enable them to access resources, information and relationships inherent within integrated work and living environments; and that result in their enhanced interdependence, productivity, community integration, and satisfaction" (Luckasson, Coulter, Polloway et al., 1992, p. 101).

From this perspective, it is not enough that resources and strategies are mobilised in order to provide a least restrictive environment for persons with disabilities. Instead, resources and strategies of support must focus on helping all individuals reach their full potential in regard to educational, vocational, and leisure pursuits. For example, the tendency to define a person as retarded or disabled considers his or her condition as non-modifiable which generally results in strategies of support in educational institutions or sheltered workshops that keep them busy, or offer simple, repetitive and monotonous tasks (Fabian & Liesener, 2005).

By focusing almost exclusively on individual limitations and deficits, traditional conceptions of disability typically did not consider persons with disabilities as capable of achieving independence or in making self-determined career choices (Wehmeyer & Patton, 2000). Within the framework of this contribution premise is that career guidance for persons with disabilities must be designed to empower individuals toward achieving their full potential by mobilising resources and establishing strategies that help build their capacity to participate as fully as possible in self-determined educational, vocational and leisure activities. Therefore, services and activities should not be handed "from above" but personalised in such as way as to support the educational and vocational development of each individual (Schalock & Luckasson, 2004; Soresi, Nota, & Sgaramella, 2003).

Too often, having a disability translates into less advantageous career guidance programming. Most of the youth with disabilities frequent special settings and receive segregating learning experiences that limit the development of social, problem-solving and decisional competencies (Luzzo, Hitchings, Reitsh, & Shoemaker, 1999), receive less exposure to different work role models, and receive fewer opportunities to do efficacious exploration activities (Szymanski, 1999).

Consequently, youth with a disability often exhibit inadequate and irrational occupational beliefs which may contribute to adjustment difficulties (Dipeolu, Reardon, Sampson, & Burkhead, 2002; Strauser, Lustig, & Uruk, 2004; Yanchak, Lease, & Strauser, 2005). Persons with disabilities are remarkably afraid of failure and highly influenced by others, frequently resort to external locus of control and experience great difficulty in setting future goals (Mercer, 1997). They have little information regarding occupational options and do not possess adequate decision-making skills (Hitchings et al., 2001). In addition, persons with disabilities do not usually consider work as a possible source of self-realisation, satisfaction, or a means for strengthening their knowledge and abilities (Cinamon & Gifsh, 2004). Persons with disabilities have also been found to possess a poor concept of work which is partly distorted by excessive attention to its positive aspects and little attention to responsibility and commitment (Soresi and Nota, 2007). These results are disturbing since most occupational settings now require increasingly complex self-management and decision-making abilities (Alston, Bell, & Hampton, 2002; Fabian & Liesener, 2005).

Career Guidance, Self-Determination, Participation and Quality of Life

In the disability field, self-determination is often defined as the action of the individual as causal agent in his/her own life and in the possibility of making decisions on his/her own quality of life free from external influence and interference (Wehmeyer, 1997). Causal agency implies that it is the individual that must decide the direction of his/her actions and is able to achieve desirable goals. Psychology offers three approaches to conceptualising self-determination. According to Deci and Ryan (1985), self-determined actions originate from an individual's attribution that participation in an activity derives from finding meaning or enjoyment in the activity. Externalised attributions include engaging in activities because one feels forced to or because of a fear of letting others down. They argued that to help individuals develop self-determined behaviour, career guidance strategies must focus on establishing strong relational bonds between the individual, their peers, and persons in authority (e.g., boss or teacher). From a behaviourist perspective (Skinner, 1973), self-determination is defined as one's ability to regulate their behaviour in a way that achieves desired outcomes. From this perspective, self-determination is similar to self-control which should emerge as a person becomes aware of the association between their self-regulated actions and intended outcomes. From a social cognitive perspective, self-determination is similarly defined in terms of one's perception that they have the ability to manage situations in order to produce desired outcomes; however, it is felt that this emerges from perceived competence, or self-efficacy beliefs (Bandura, 1986; Nota & Soresi, 2000).

Many educators and school counsellors continue to believe that persons with disabilities, especially when it is severe, are not able to make choices or decisions

in an autonomous and independent way (Lipsky & Gartner, 1989). Consequently, these individuals are often not allowed to express any wishes or preferences regarding issues that would not be particularly risky or dangerous to their own health and safety. They are often limited, for example, in the choices they can make about what to eat, what to wear, what to do in their free time, which people to stay with, when to wake up in the morning, when to go to bed at night, etc.

Wehmeyer and Bolding (2001) observed that shifting to less restrictive life conditions (from institutional settings to group homes, from group homes to independent living, from sheltered employment to competitive work) produced higher levels of self-determination and adaptive functioning. Moreover, Wehmeyer and Schwartz (1998) found that among persons with a mental disability, those with high levels of self-determination experience better quality of life and make a higher number of choices than individuals with lower levels of self-determination. Youth identified as possessing higher levels of self-determination reported a desire to live independently, to have a certain amount of money at their disposal, and to have greater opportunities to enter the world of work. Others have also linked level of self-determination to the quality of life one experiences (Nota, Ferrari, Soresi, & Wehmeyer, 2007). Quality of life involves both the psychological and relational aspects of health and well-being, not just a lack of illness or satisfaction. For example, health and well-being indicators should include the extent to which one feels at ease in his/her school, work, and family settings, the extent of satisfaction experienced in interpersonal relationships, and feelings regarding the possibility of having a job and of carrying out diversified activities suitable to age and abilities (Nota, Soresi, & Perry, 2006).

The link between self-determination and quality of life are such that they should constitute major objectives when designing career guidance strategies for persons with disabilities. Moreover, designing career guidance strategies for people with disabilities should focus on ways to increase the individual's level of self-determination for selecting and participating in educational, vocational, and leisure activities. The ICF has identified the range of these activities and organised them into nine domain areas. The nine domains include learning and applying knowledge, general tasks and demands, communication, mobility, self-care, domestic life, interpersonal interactions and relationships, major life areas, and community, social, and civic life. Each domain consists of specific behavioural indicators that can be evaluated with regard to the person's quality of performance and level of capacity. The ICF is an important resource for designing career guidance programs because it goes beyond diagnosis and categorisation of a disability, and instead offers a method for establishing a disability profile for each individual. By identifying specific behavioural activities within a domain, career guidance professionals can work collaboratively with individuals to create a plan for mobilising resources, increasing their participation in desirable and necessary activities, and increasing their capacity to effectively manage the challenges associated with their disability (Solberg, Soresi, Nota, Howard, & Ferrari, 2007). As such, comprehensive career guidance programs for persons with disabilities must be offered throughout the lifespan beginning with early educational experiences and expanding into adulthood. The goal of these career guidance programs is to foster

self-determination and quality of life by establishing developmental experiences that help persons with disabilities to develop the skills needed to effectively navigate through the varied challenges they encounter.

Career Guidance and Work Inclusion

While successful work inclusion should be the goal of career guidance and related habilitation and rehabilitation services for persons with disabilities (Nota & Soresi, 2004), Moran, McDermott, and Butkus (2001) maintained that persons with an intellectual disability lose their job more frequently than those without an intellectual disability. Leads to heavy consequences such as higher levels of frustration and disappointment both in themselves and their families and social workers; lower propensity to look for new work opportunities; and, employers' increased negative attitudes toward taking on such persons. Among the factors more greatly responsible for job loss, they argue that lack of interest in the person with a disability's future, and poor attention paid by the employer to the interests and wishes of the person with a disability.

Policy statements (WHO, 2001) and recent legislative actions support the contention that the world of work must become more inclusive for persons with disabilities (Allen & Carlson, 2003). The European Union (EU) has recently issued a directive that requires all member states to introduce specific policies to deal with the occupational and training discrimination of persons with disabilities, so as to guarantee equal opportunity (EU, 2004). In Europe, wide-ranging projects on work inclusion are now beginning to be realised. They start from the analysis of preferences and competencies of persons with disabilities, examination of the occupational opportunities of the territory, analysis of the occupational tasks and employers' needs and expectations, identification of training needs, and level of support needed to insure a successful work transition (Hoekstra, Sanders, van den Heuvel, Post, & Groothoff, 2004; O'Brien & Dempsey, 2004; Taanila, Rantakallio, Koiranen, von Wendt, & Järvelin, 2005; Taylor, McGilloway, & Donnelly, 2004).

Research addressing work inclusion for persons with disabilities have often focused on factors that impact transition into the world of work and length of employment (Soresi, 1998; Soresi, Nota, & Sgaramella, 2003). In these studies, particular attention was paid to the analysis of:

1. Individual characteristics that facilitate work inclusion (for example, the positive impact of social abilities, decisional abilities, professional competence and adjustment processes)
2. Characteristics of professional settings (for example, the negative influence of stereotypes in employing persons with disabilities: "these people can perform only some jobs"; "employing these individuals and doing all the necessary changes to allow them to carry on their work is extremely expensive"; "these individuals are often absent due to illnesses"; and "they can have an impact on custumer"; Dibben, James, Cunningham, & Smythe, 2002)

3. Advantages and disadvantages associated with different work opportunities (sheltered workshops, supported employment, competitive employment; job coach model; or work crew model; Soresi, 1998; Tines, Rusch, McCaughrin, & Conley, 1990; Wehman, 1986)
4. Factors that contribute to keeping one's job (such as modifications needed to the setting; new technologies; task, schedule and duty adjustment; reduction of social barriers through training; Roessler, 2002)

As indicated above, career guidance programs for persons with disabilities should focus on fostering self-determination and providing developmental opportunities to help individuals achieve their true potential. Preparing persons with disabilities for the world of work must therefore be integrated into educational, habilitation, and rehabilitation curricula and be provided by well-trained practitioners. Moreover, career guidance programs must rely on intervention programming designed to foster self-determination and promote development rather than relying solely on the use of diagnostic instruments that are designed to identify a fit between a person's abilities and job requirements. Fabian and Leisener (2005, p. 565) argued that while "there is nothing inherently wrong" in assessing an individuals suitability for particular job settings – if the instruments have been validated for such use – the over reliance on assessment to the detriment of establishing age appropriate intervention programming is problematic. Neumayer and Bleasdale (1996) found that most adult workers with an intellectual disability that they surveyed wished to change their job and wanted their personal interests to be taken into consideration when looking for a future occupation. Assessing persons with disabilities without first offering comprehensive career guidance programming too often overemphasises people's weaknesses and drastically narrows the range of options taken into consideration (Parker & Schaller, 2003). Reliance on assessment without exposure to developmental opportunities fails to make reference to the individual's interests and abilities, does not provide opportunities to engage in personal and environmental exploration, and does not take into account the future goals of the person with a disability. In other words, career guidance programs that rely on assessment without offering developmental opportunities do not foster self-determination nor help individuals realise their true potential.

Designing career guidance programs to facilitate work inclusion should begin with establishing an individual profile using the nine domains associated with the ICF Activities and Participation matrix. The ICF offers an idiographic diagnostic framework with direct implications for designing intervention to the individual with a disability or to the work setting. For example, under the domain, General tasks and demands, refers to an individual's performance, accomplishments and capacity to "undertake a single task" (WHO, 2001). Furthermore, the ICF outlined specific components associated with being able to demonstrate a successful performance. If in designing an individual profile this area needs attention, intervention programming can be established both in settings designed to prepare people with a disability for work inclusion, and can be incorporated into the work setting by working with the supervisors and co-workers on how to cue the individual with a disability

through the process of completing a task. In one case example, one of the co-authors was asked to assess why an individual who was diagnosed with a pervasive developmental disorder would have become suddenly angry at his work setting. His profile indicated that he was very routine oriented and so the obvious question was "did someone change his routine at work?" His support person indicated that a new supervisor was hired and wanted him to conduct his work in a different way. The issue here is not that the supervisor should avoid changing the individual's routine but that the supervisor and support person must work together to adequately prepare the person with a disability for the change in routine.

Designing Career Guidance Programming for Persons with Disabilities

Career research has identified a number of ingredients that increase the effectiveness of career guidance programs. In a meta-analysis of the career intervention literature, Brown and Krane (2000) identified five important ingredients that should be considered in designing career guidance programs. These ingredients include the use of written exercises, individualised interpretations and feedback, world of work information, modelling experiences, and building support networks. In addition, social cognitive theory has identified mastery experiences, verbal persuasion, and anxiety management as three additional ingredients associated with establishing stronger self-efficacy expectations (Bandura, 1986). Research has found that career interest self-efficacy is related positively to integrating effectively into the world of work for students with learning difficulties, problem behaviours, and psychiatric disorders (Ochs & Roessler, 2001; Regenold, Sherman, & Fenzel, 1999). Persons with disabilities also seem sensitive to interventions aiming to increase their efficacy beliefs (Conyers & Szymanski, 1998). Finally, Deci and Ryan (1985) have found that motivation to engage in activities because these are deemed meaningful and enjoyable emerge in settings that establish stronger relational bonds between the individual, peers, and authority figures (e.g., boss or teacher).

As a whole, these ingredients have important implications for designing career guidance programs to serve persons with disabilities. Care must be made to adapt these ingredients to working with persons with disabilities. For example, individualised interpretations and feedback is one ingredient most associated with using assessment instruments. The assessment instruments currently available for use with persons with disabilities are not always adequate and need to be re-examined. The most frequent assessments designed to analyse disabilities are either normative or criterion instruments. Normative instruments need to more adequately provide validity information and norms that allow career guidance professionals to compare to both the larger population as well as make comparisons for individuals with similar disabilities and backgrounds. Those that prefer making reference to general population norms maintain that comparison with specific norms may imply considering as adequate or exceptional an ability that would not actually be so when

compared to the general population. This would result in overestimating one's true ability in a given work setting. Those who support the need to make reference to specific norms maintain instead that the presence of a disability is sufficient to say that these persons belong to a separate population, different from that usually described by standardisation samples, from which in any case persons with clear difficulties have almost systematically been excluded. Secondly, comparison only to general population norms would penalise persons with disabilities too much and could reinforce attitudes of discrimination and marginalisation.

One solution may be to use a combination of normative and criterion assessment methods. In line with these considerations, Soresi & Nota (2007) have devised a "Portfolio for the Vocational Guidance of Persons with Disabilities", which contains self- and proxy-evaluation instruments to be used with persons with intellectual disabilities and that allow both normative comparisons and criterion assessments. The dimensions (both for self- and proxy-evaluation) concern self-determination, the concept of work, interests and professional self-efficacy, perception of barriers and supports, decision and self-confidence, decisional ability and professional expectations.

Additional research and evaluation needs to be conducted in order to identify how best to train practitioners in designing effective career guidance programming for persons with disability needs. Due to the enormous range of disabilities occurring in our communities, practitioners need to understand how to design intervention strategies that are relevant not only to the specific person with a disability but also fits the specific developmental needs of the individual (Savickas, 1996, 2001; Soresi, Nota, & Lent, 2004). The type of training that we advocate and that is also recommended by the *Società Italiana di Orientamento* (SIO, Italian Society of Vocational Guidance) (SIO, 2006) and IAEVG (International Association for Educational and Vocational Guidance) (IAEVG, 2003), requires the attendance of post-graduate courses that must focus specifically on vocational guidance and have in their programs syllabuses on disabilities and vocational guidance and on the work inclusion of individuals with different types of difficulties.

Building support networks and establishing social connections demands that career guidance programming is designed in ways that incorporate family members, educators, health care professionals, co-workers, and employers.

In working with youth with a disability, career guidance programming should focus on helping to build skills for: (a) analysing a range of occupations; (b) examining interests and occupational self-efficacy beliefs; (c) establishing occupational goals that incorporate their skills and interests; (d) analysing advantages and disadvantages of the different occupational options available in the territory and finding the most advantageous option for themselves; (e) analysing barriers and the supports that can be tapped to cope with difficulties and avoid obstacles; and, (f) supporting their own rights to choice and self-determination (Gysbers, Heppner, & Johnston, 2003; Mithaug, Martin, & Argan, 1987; Soresi & Nota, 2004; Szymanski & Parker, 2003; Wehmeyer et al., 2003). Career guidance programming for youth with a disability will be more effective if they are integrated into school settings and include students who do not have a disability. Including students with and without

a disability into small-group educational activities establishes strong social connections with peers and emphasises a sense of normality about exploring the world of work and increases the feeling of involvement and motivation to participate in these activities (Soresi & Nota, 2004).

Family is an important source of verbal persuasion and an essential part of the individual's support network. Therefore, effective career guidance programming must work with families to reduce any negative attitudes they may have toward disabilities and work. Some parents may find it difficult to realise that their children are becoming adults and may consider work as only "a way to keep their children busy". Other parents may have little confidence in the decisional and productive abilities of their children and may hinder the child's search for a job in fear of losing rights and social security benefits. These parents may think – as do other members of society – that their children with disabilities are "eternal babies" and that for this very reason, they are unable to take part in decisions about their future (Soresi, Nota, & Ferrari, 2006). Designing effective career guidance programming must work to help parents become actively involved in fostering their child's self-determination. Parent training programs should incorporate ideas about how parents can help children realise their true potential, increase self-efficacy for work related activities and in making the transition into the world of work, stimulate occupational interests, and help develop effective decision-making skills.

Teachers also need to be trained in order to realise their role in creating learning experiences for persons with disabilities to achieve self-determination and realise their true potential. Soresi, Nota, & Ferrari (2007) found that the teachers they surveyed held stereotyped and negative beliefs regarding the occupational future of persons with disabilities. Some teachers indicated that they believed that persons with autism cannot work, persons with Downs syndrome will only be able to carry out simple repetitive manual jobs, and persons with visual disabilities are destined only to such occupations as switchboard operators. Alston et al. (2002) have clearly underlined that, typically, neither parents nor teachers of persons with learning disabilities adequately encourage these youth to continue their studies in a scientific or engineering line as they anticipate difficulties that could be encountered. They concluded that practitioners should plan for specific in-service professional development for teachers to increase their awareness of the true potential of persons with disabilities.

Conclusions

Career guidance for persons with disabilities is an interesting and important field of study for a number of reasons. The field of career guidance understands that preparing for the world of work is a valuable opportunity for the development of one's identity and establishes a powerful relationship between a person and their community (Blustein, 2001; Richardson, 1993; Savickas, 1993; Vondracek & Skorikov, 1997). This is especially true for persons with disabilities (Szymanski & Hershenson, 2005; Szymanski & Parker, 2003). Career guidance programming for

persons with disabilities is especially relevant from a social justice point of view because inclusion into the world of work provides an active participation in one's community and offers the opportunity to realise one's basic human rights and human dignity. It must never be forgotten that for these persons, too, the conviction of belonging to the world of work makes them feel dynamic and constructive members of society (Richardson, 1993; Solberg et al., 2007). Expanding career guidance programming to persons with disabilities challenges prevailing notions that traditional career research and practice continue to serve only college-educated and middle-class populations. Too many individuals in our communities feel forced to do "any kind of job" as they are pressed by the necessity of satisfying their basic economic needs (Blustein, 2001; Szymanski & Hershenson, 2005). Career guidance programming needs to be expanded to include not only persons with disabilities but these other groups of individuals that are too often marginalised due to being poor, being from diverse racial/ethnic backgrounds, and being immigrants. They must be expanded and adapted in ways that all individuals in a given community can actively pursue chosen occupational opportunities that evolve from self-determined goals that match their true potential.

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Chapter 21
CAREER GUIDANCE WITH IMMIGRANTS

Charles P. Chen

As a human phenomenon influenced by complex political, economic, and social factors, immigration has become an increasingly important issue to many countries in an era of globalisation (Polachek, Chiswick, & Rapoport, 2006). One of the main challenges that accompany the growing trend of immigration lies with the effective utilisation of human resources in this process. The ultimate goal for this human resource management is a reciprocal and beneficial interaction between the two parties involved in this phenomenon, that is, the immigrants and the host country. A better adjustment to the host country provides a more amiable experience that facilitates the wellness of the immigrants who aim to become responsible, healthy, and productive citizens in the new social and societal environment. The better this adjustment, the more contributions immigrants will make to their host country society, and the more benefit the host country will receive through the process of immigration.

Enhancing immigrants' adjustment in the host country requires some comprehensive consideration that encompasses two general aspects, namely, personal/social and vocational adjustment. While the central focus of this chapter is on the vocational aspect of immigrants' adjustment, it keeps in mind that the vocational experience always intertwines with the personal/social experience, making the worklife and vocational adjustment an enriching yet very often challenging experience for this population.

The term "immigrants" could cover a very diverse population of various categories of persons who move to their host countries for very different reasons and under very different circumstances. For example, individuals may leave their countries of origin to escape political turmoil, war, or natural disaster. To escape poverty or to seek a better economic future could be another purpose for moving to another country. Immigration could also be triggered by reasons such as family reunion, studying abroad, exploring a new way of life, and the need for change in one's personal life and/or worklife. As such, some individuals find themselves being pulled involuntarily into the tide of immigration, while others are intentional in making immigration a voluntary effort in their life-career voyage. Furthermore, career and vocational

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J.A. Athanasou, R. Van Esbroeck (eds.) *International Handbook of Career Guidance*,

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adjustment is not necessarily an immediate and direct concern for all immigrants. For example, school-age children who immigrate to the host country with their parents or ageing parents who join their adult children in the host country may not consider worklife a priority or necessity in their adjustment as immigrants.

It is beyond the scope of this chapter to include all these categories of immigrants into the discussion. Thus, the chapter aims to explore the topic of career guidance with immigrants defined by several essential characteristics. First, the immigrants in the present discussion refer to the new or recent immigrants who come to North America in general, and Canada in particular, from countries of non-Western cultures in the last 15–20 years, especially new immigrants from Asia, Africa, the Middle East, South America, and the Caribbean. Second, terms such as "immigrants", "immigrant workers", "immigrant professional workers", "immigrant professionals", "immigrant clients", and "clients" are used interchangeably in the discussion. They all mean recent immigrants who come to Canada during the last 2 decades and they are highly educated, well-trained, skilful, and mature professional workers in their home countries. Third, this group of new immigrants has the strong need, and is anticipated to rejoin the workforce in the host country as part of the resettlement plan. Fourth, they are legal immigrants who have gone through official channel of immigration, and therefore have full and legitimate access to the labour market in the host country. It is within these clear parameters and characterisation that those new immigrant workers' career and vocational needs and issues will be discussed.

Although the chapter develops its premises and elaborates its arguments within a North American context, it hopes to generate heuristic perspectives and conceptualisations that might be of some help to similar contexts internationally. These international contexts may include countries and regions that also accept immigrants, especially some Western nations that are perceived as more desirable destinations by recent new immigrants, such as the United Kingdom (Allan, Larsen, Bryan, & Smith, 2004), some European Union (EU) nations (Constant & Zimmermann, 2006; Herzog-Punzenberger, 2003; Lewin, 2001), Australia (Omeri & Atkins, 2002), New Zealand, Israel (Remennick, 2003, 2004; Remennick & Shakhar, 2003), and South Africa.

The notion of career guidance in the chapter refers to a broad umbrella rather than a narrowly and restrictively defined "guidance task". Career guidance here means a comprehensive, open, and flexible process that incorporates a variety of career development practices for enhancing new immigrants' vocational wellbeing. It includes, but not limited to activities such as vocational consultation, vocational advising and training, career education, and employment counselling. In particular, the term "career counselling" will be used most frequently to illustrate how the career guidance practice can be implemented in a more concrete manner in the professional helping process. Similarly, terms such as "career", "vocational", "work", and "worklife" will also be used interchangeably. They all refer to the psychological, tangible, and environmental variables and factors related to the new immigrants' vocational and career aspects of lives in the host country.

Following the central purpose and the general parameters as defined above, this chapter attempts to integrate theory, research, and practice within the context of

enhancing career guidance for new immigrant professional workers in the host country. Informed by the existing literature and empirical evidence, the chapter fist examines some of the critical issues that affect the worklife experiences of the target group, drawing particular attention to the psychological impact of such experiences on immigrant professionals. Based on this conceptual foundation, the chapter will then review key tenets from some of the career development theories, contemplating to form an initial theoretical framework that might be applicable to immigrant workers' life-career adjustment needs in the host country. Guided by the theoretical framework, an array of career guidance and counselling intervention considerations will be addressed, aiming to improve the career and vocational well-being of the target group.

Recent Immigrants to Canada: Epitome of Life-Career Issues

The Changing Faces of New Immigrants

With its strong historical roots in immigration, Canada has utilised the practice of immigration as a national development strategy to achieve economic, social, and humanitarian goals for a stronger nation. The fast emergence of globalisation in the past 2 decades has further augmented the need to continue and implement a stable and proactive immigration policy. Canada relies on incoming immigrants each year as part of the country's major source of population growth and labour force growth, the growth that is pivotal to maintain the country's healthy development and competitiveness in a new global economy. Canada currently accepts between 200,000 to 250,000 new immigrants each year, and during the decade of 1990s, a total of 2.2 million immigrants were admitted to Canada (Statistics Canada, 2005a).

The demographics of this recently arrived immigrant population reflect the evolution of Canada's intent to building a prospective workforce that is more culturally diverse and economically competitive through its immigration program. Historically, the main source of immigrants to Canada was from the Western European nations and the United States. It was not until 1970s that Canada has gradually broadened its immigrant source countries to other parts of the world. The 1990s have seen a significant expansion of this shift of immigrant source countries, and as a result, the majority of the new immigrants to Canada have come from countries in Asian, Africa, the Middle East, South America, and the Caribbean. Albeit from very diverse regions and countries around the world, these recent immigrants seem to reflect an apparent changing trend that characterises the unique composition of the new immigrant population. That is, recent immigrants are mainly from countries of non-Western cultures, where English is not the primary language for communication.

Parallel to this trend, there has been a significant increase of attention and effort in the Canadian immigration policy to absorb highly educated and skilled workforce within the total composition of new immigrant population during this most

recent period of time in Canada's immigration practice. Immigrants' admission to Canada is primarily based on the "big three" essential rationales that are reflected in the three general corresponding categories of immigrants accepted into the country each year, namely, economic, family reunification, and refugee. More recent immigrants have come to Canada as economic immigrants, comprising 67% of the total new immigrant population during the time. To attract this major group of newcomers takes into serious consideration of the host country's needs for development in a competitive new global economy that is characterised by knowledge, information, and technology (Statistics Canada, 2005a).

Economic immigrants are selected based on a series of criteria that aim to attract a highly competent workforce, including elements such as level of education, language proficiency (English and/or French – the two official languages in Canada), and past professional training and work experiences before coming to Canada. Most of the new immigrants in the economic group are professionals, skilled workers, entrepreneurs, and the like. They expect, and are expected, to join the Canadian workforce and fully participate in the Canadian labour market once they have resettled in the country. As a result, the majority of the new immigrants are in the prime working age group of 25–44 years old. Due to the aforementioned selection criteria, recent immigrants are also the most educated cohort in comparison to their predecessors who had come to Canada in previous decades. Over half of the economic immigrants in the 24–44 age group have university education compared to 22% of the Canadians in the same age group (Statistics Canada, 1999, 2005b). While their specific purpose for immigration may vary, the majorities of the recent immigrants are economically motivated, professionally trained, and vocationally oriented workers as they come to the host country. It is this group of economic immigrants that are the target population to whom the present discussion will draw its central attention.

Immigrants in Life-Career Transition: Major Challenges

Individuals' career development experience and vocational life always coexists with other aspects of these individuals' personal and social lives. This general principle of life-career integration pertains to understanding the critical issues in new immigrant workers' life-career development in Canada. The ease with which immigrants adjust to their personal and social lives in the host country depends to a large extent on how well they are capable of adjusting to their new worklife reality in the host country (Ngo & Este, 2006). By the same token, this vocational and career adjustment experience can have a pivotal impact on various aspects of immigrant workers' personal and social life adjustment in the new environment. While numerous variables may be involved in the adjustment process, some factors are more challenging and influential than others with respect to immigrant workers' life-career wellbeing. These challenges include language proficiency, familiarity with the host country culture, and some systemic barriers such as discrimination and lack of recognition of foreign credentials and work experience during the voca-

tional identity change. A glance at these major influencing factors in this context warrants much attention because it will provide a rational foundation for a relevant career guidance approach that will be applicable to new immigrants.

Language Proficiency

Mastery of the language communication in the host country proves to be an essential variable affecting immigrant workers' adjustment experience. Research suggests that language capacity is the "linguistic capital" that holds one of the keys to immigrants' successful integration to the host society in general, and its work force and labour market in particular (Zhu, 2005). While language proficiency itself remains a basic and vital means for settlement in a foreign country, its impact on an immigrant's coping experience is far beyond the technicality of "language communication". This is because one's language capacity is directly linked to all other aspects of his/her broad life-career adjustment as a new comer to the host country environment (Yost & Lucas, 2002). For the majority of the recent immigrants who come from non-English speaking countries, language barrier becomes one of the main obstacles in their vocational adjustment. Immigrant workers who speak English as a second language may find that they are substantially disadvantaged in the world of work. The ripple effect triggered by the language insufficiency can have direct and indirect negativity across an array of issues in immigrant workers' vocational life.

Limited language ability hinders immigrants' overall capacity for a more expedited and smoother adjustment to their new life environment. It is understandable that newcomers are in more need for information and communication. They need to learn various aspects of life in the host country, especially information that is essential for access to labour market, employment, and other related training opportunities to re-building a vocational life in Canada. Yet, weak language skills can often restrict immigrants to navigate through a foreign environment due to lack of communication or ineffective communication. As majority of the new immigrants to Canada adopt English as their tool for communication, English as a Second Language (ESL) proficiency poses a huge hurdle in their interaction with various circumstances and people in the new environment (InterQuest Consulting, 2006; Lee & Westwood, 1996). It is not that immigrants do not want to communicate, but rather, they often find that their desire and intention to communicate well is compromised by their lack of mastery of the English language.

Language proficiency refers to a comprehensive calibre that comprises four key components, namely, reading, writing, listening comprehension, and speaking abilities. These four essential abilities function as a whole, and deficiency in one or more than one of the abilities could hamper a person's language proficiency. As well-educated and experienced professional workers in their countries of origin, many of the new immigrants have possessed a reasonable degree of English language skills before coming to Canada. In fact, Canada follows a point system to assess the eligibility of economic immigrants before their admission to the host

country. New immigrants who are accepted are deemed as meeting the basic standard of ESL. Notwithstanding this condition to ensure basic language requirement, and despite the fact that there are a small number of immigrants who are highly competent in their mastery in ESL, most recent new immigrants are still facing difficulties in English language. The reality is that many of these newcomers have encountered substantive language barriers after their arrival at the host country (Conference Board of Canada, 2004; Lee & Westwood, 1996; Statistics Canada, 2005b; Zhu, 2005).

There could be complex reasons behind this challenging reality, and these reasons could also vary from one individual to another. Nevertheless, some of the main causes for language incompetence seem to be typical. First, new immigrants are often weak in one or more than one of the four key abilities that are necessary to function properly in English language. For example, immigrant professionals may demonstrate fairly good reading ability and some capacity in writing, while lacking the abilities in speaking and listening comprehension.

Second, the lack of cultural knowledge interferes with language proficiency. Language functions within a cultural context, the context that most immigrants are struggling to understand. Immigrants who are fluent in English may find themselves constantly running into language difficulty because they are unfamiliar with the cultural code and norms in interpersonal communication in the new environment.

Third, in addition to fluency, accent may also become a hampering factor that affects either the actual communication between ESL immigrant workers and other people, or others' perceived language deficiency toward immigrant workers (Purkiss, Perrewe, Gillespie, Mayes, & Ferris, 2006). Consequently, accent in speaking English could become a barrier as it creates anxiety and reduces confidence in interaction with others, generating and intensifying the negative impact on a non-native English speaker's endeavour in seeking and maintaining employment (Purkiss et al., 2006).

Fourth, pursuit of professional career often requires advanced language and communication skills such as presentations, report writing, negotiation, persuasion, and conflict resolution in order to compete in the field. While most immigrant professionals are competent workers in their areas of expertise and trades, they lack the level of English proficiency that can make their ability transferable to the world of work of the host country. It has been suggested that the factor of English language competency can interplay with other major adjustment factors such as level of culture shock, ability to understand labour market conditions and use available services, and one's attitude toward vocational pursuit in the host country (Chen, 2006b; Lee & Westwood, 1996; Westwood & Ishiyama, 1991).

Culture Familiarity

Resettlement in a foreign country is a daunting task that involves many unknowns and challenges along the way. All newcomers encounter the issue of unfamiliarity

with the cultural environment in the host country. The cross-cultural adjustment becomes an even more challenging reality for recent immigrants who are mostly from countries of non-Western cultures. Culture shock refers to anxiety arousal derived from contact with a new culture combined with feelings of confusion, loss and powerlessness (Winkleman, 1994). The sense of loss and powerlessness is the outcome of an individual's inability or lack of capacity to understand and adapt to the social and societal practice in a new environment, most often a living context that differs substantively from that of the person's culture of origin. The gaps and discrepancies between one's accustomed sociocultural practice and his/her host cultural norms breed the sense of culture shock, causing difficulties and hurdles to one's adjustment experience.

The experience of cross-cultural adjustment entails an extremely dynamic and complex process of life-career transformation. This adjustment poses a more complex and significant challenge to immigrant workers when their personal and social life transitions are intertwined with their vocational life and career transitions (Wang, 2002). Immigrants in this compounded adjustment experience often find themselves going through substantive emotional ups and downs along the way. There is no doubt that in this process of significant life-career transition, immigrant professionals have much to deal with at the physical and tangible level. For instance, these tangible aspects may include the need for financial survival and the pressure for immediate employment, the new living and working environment, family shelter and related settlement arrangement, personal health, and other tangible issues alike. While culture shock could be a companion with the tangible adjustment issues, immigrants' unfamiliarity with the host cultural knowledge can have a more influential psychological impact on their life-career coping experiences.

For immigrant workers, culture shock is not so much an occurrence of dramatic events and startling surprises as one might expect to encounter in a foreign land at the onset of the resettlement, but rather, an evolving discovery of challenges on a daily basis. It is an ongoing experience of psychological disparity with the behavioural cues and expectations in the mainstream world of work (Lee & Westwood, 1996; Mak, Westwood, & Ishiyama, 1994; Westwood, & Ishiyama, 1991). The unfamiliarity with the vocational cultural norms often make immigrant workers more vulnerable to gain access to, and maintain, employment in the professional fields, where overt and covert cultural norms are taken for granted as the very basics of code of conduct, and therefore code of competence. Unfamiliarity with these cultural norms might be easily conceived by others in the host society as lack of competency or inability, rendering an actual inequity for immigrant professionals to compete with other workers at the same level for career opportunities. For example, an immigrant in a job interview may feel reluctant to ask questions in order to keep a stance of humility and to show respect to the interviewer. Yet, this commonly shared cultural behaviour of interpersonal communication in many non-Western cultures could be misinterpreted as a sign of lacking interest and initiative, unassertiveness, passivity, or incompetence by the interviewer from the mainstream Western culture. The central issue reflected in this scenario, or in many similar circumstances related to immigrant professionals' vocational experiences in the host

country, is in fact a larger and much more complex issue of cross-cultural transition in the new world of work.

The vocational environment in the host country, just as other aspects of personal, interpersonal, and social life phenomena, is embedded in its dominant social and societal context, the context that shapes the cultural norms and social behaviours in the world of work. Being unfamiliar with the cultural norms in general and the vocational cultural codes in particular, immigrant workers are strangers and outsiders to the mainstream labour market in the host country. Despite their high level of education and professional experiences before coming to Canada, immigrant workers often find themselves substantially disadvantaged in their effort to join the workforce and rebuild their worklife due to limited and/or lack of knowledge of the cultural norms in the mainstream society (Mighty, 1997; Wang, 2002; Westwood & Ishiyama, 1991). Among a number of complex issues involved in immigrant professionals' coping with their unfamiliarity with the host vocational cultural norms, two interrelated aspects seem particularly outstanding.

First, to familiarise with a new culture and its related behavioural practices requires an accumulation of social learning experiences that goes hand-in-hand with immigrants' actual living experiences in the host country. While external resources are vital to provide much needed help to acquire the culture-relevant coping skills, it is equally, if not more, important that immigrants have the psychological preparation for the continuum of a fairly long-term adjustment that is beyond the immediate future. Second, familiarisation with the mainstream cultural norms is something much more than "assimilation" of the vocational norms in the host culture. Cultural differences may create substantial discrepancies with respect to perspectives on, and ways of, doing things because of the very different worldviews and value systems between the different cultures, namely, the immigrants' culture of origin and the Western host culture they are encountering. As a result, inconsistency or even conflicts might occur as immigrant workers try to acculturate themselves into the host world of work. Very often, immigrant workers have to struggle to understand and negotiate with the possible conflicts as they adjust to the vocational cultural codes and behaviours. Challenges of cross-cultural adjustment can occur at both the macro and micro levels, and they continue through various contexts of immigrants' worklife in the host environment, including job-search effort, interactions in the workplace, and consolidation and advancement in a career.

Discrimination and Prejudice

Compounded with the adjustment to the new culture and language, immigrant workers encounter a range of other challenges in rebuilding their vocational life in the host country. One of the major challenges is the possible discrimination and prejudice that still exists in the host world of work, and it can affect both psycho-

logical and tangible wellbeing of immigrants as they adjust to their new working environment.

As one of the few most culturally diverse and racially tolerant nations in the world, Canada has been at the forefront in advocating the philosophy and practice of a multicultural society in the past 2 decades (Statistics Canada, 2003). There is a Multicultural Act in place at the national level to legally promote and protect the rights and interest of visible ethnic minorities, including immigrants from various cultural backgrounds around the world. In fact, Canada's immigration policy during the time has reflected a clear shift of focus on favouring new immigrants from countries and regions of non-Western cultures (Statistics Canada, 2005a). As a result, the overwhelming majority of the recent immigrants to Canada over the past 2 decades have been groups of visible ethnic minority backgrounds. Notwithstanding the obvious and drastic progress of a multicultural Canadian society, discrimination still exists and has its impact on individuals' lives. For example, in a study of visible minority female immigrant professionals' experience, Mighty (1997) pointed out the existence of discrimination in the Canadian world of work. Despite their achieved status as educated professionals, these immigrant workers are ascribed to marginal positions in the labour force because of their minority social identity.

While racial discrimination can still be felt under certain circumstances, it may not be a commonplace phenomenon that can be easily identifiable as it was decades ago in North America. Perhaps a challenge faced by many immigrant workers is the invisible and/or hidden prejudice they may encounter in seeking access to the host society labour market, in establishing their professional profile in the workplace, and in developing their career opportunities in the general society (Pedersen, 1995; Purkiss et al., 2006). This kind of invisible discrimination could be triggered and influenced by racial stereotyping bias. For example, immigrants from one specific country or region may be profiled as "good" at certain professions but not as competent or even deficient in some occupational fields. Similar causes for prejudice may include lack of multicultural awareness and understanding, indifference and lack of sensitivity toward multiculturalism, fewer opportunities to be informed and/or educated on diversity issues, and misperception and incorrect presumptions on diversity.

The discrimination toward new immigrants may include both racial and non-racial elements, or it may not be racially motivated at all. It is not uncommon that this kind of discrimination may derive from the reality that some people in the host culture cast doubts on, and hold disagreements with the government's immigration policy due to various economic and personal reasons. For example, people in the host culture may view immigrants as potential competitors for the job market, feeling concerned or threatened by the newcomers, especially when there is a downturn in economy, and scarcity of job opportunity in the host society. The similar concerns may also arise when the economy is on the booming trend. While an influx of newcomers helps to infuse the much-needed human resources into the growing demands of the labour market, it can create simultaneous social and societal strains. For example, it can stimulate inflation in key financial sectors such as real estate. It may also put extra burden on a societal infrastructure such as health care and education

system, public traffic and transportation, and other shared public resources alike, that are already stretched to their limits.

As such, some people in the host culture many have serious reservations and worries over the ongoing immigration practice, leading to a negative attitude toward new immigrant workers who are perceived as the causes of the social and societal problems. Although this kind of negativity is based on inaccurate, unjust, and very narrow-minded opinions, it can attribute to the unfriendly behaviour, dubious posture, or even feeling of resentment among some misguided individuals in the host society. Hence, these individuals may be intentionally or unintentionally inclined to their discriminatory prejudice in their interactions with new immigrants in the workplace and other related vocational life circumstances such as practices and opportunities in regard to hiring, earnings, training, and promotions. It is extremely challenging in identifying and dealing with this kind of discrimination and prejudice, whether racially motivated or not, due to its invisible and sometimes unintentional nature.

Immigrant workers are susceptible to the worklife discrimination due to their vulnerable circumstances in the cross-cultural and cross-language transitions. For example, the reason for rejecting an immigrant professional's job application could be easily given as "insufficiency in English language communication". A similar excuse may also be used to decline a promotion request from an immigrant professional because she "still needs some further improvement in communication skills with others in order to learn the leadership role". While some of these individuals who are in the position of power in the workplace might not be conscious and deliberate about their discriminatory practice in such contexts, the negative impact on immigrants could be devastating. This kind of "glass ceiling" effect can cause psychological distress to new immigrants who are struggling with multiple challenges in their personal, social, and vocational life transitions for the resettlement. They are stranded by the career impasse of the "class ceiling" reality, feeling confused, unwanted, powerless, and of course, very frustrated.

Vocational Identity Change

To cope with the vocational identity change poses the most significant challenge for immigrant professional workers who were well established in their worklife and career in their home countries. Across many cultures, a person's occupation and career status is considered the most important part that identifies who the person is. Many immigrants gradually gain a real sense of settling-down only after they have rebuilt their vocational life, or at least, are on their way to a steady and smooth reestablishment of their vocational life in the host society. The general life transition will hardly go well without being accompanied by a successful transition on the vocational and career side. The better the career transition, the better the transitional experience in other aspects of personal and social lives (Chen, 2006b).

The reality faced by most immigrant workers is that the vocational identity change actually means the disappearance of their professional life and the loss of their career identity (Yost & Lucas, 2002). Due to financial pressures, seeking employment in the host country is the number one priority for most new immigrants to Canada. In addition to the aforementioned barriers such as language, culture, and discrimination, the most outstanding difficulty for immigrant professionals is the systemic access hindrance to their desire and effort to reclaim their previously established professional status and career identity. Immigrant professionals come to realise that the resettlement has most often erased their past credentials and experiences, regardless how strong their past educational and professional backgrounds are. There is a lack of recognition of foreign credentials, as well as professional skills and other related work experiences from other counties (Boyd & Thomas, 2002). It is only after several job interviews do immigrant workers realise that the credentials and skills they have brought to the host country will provide them with very little help in their effort to re-careering in the host world of work. Most of the time, the only way to go for the desired career goals is to start from point zero in order to gain the recognised "Canadian credentials" and "Canadian experiences" (Man, 2004).

The lack of recognition of foreign educational and professional qualifications and/or training and work experiences by employers and professional organisations in Canada is a very complex issue (Bauder, 2003). The issue has caught the national attention, and is considered a serious pitfall in the nation's human resources management. It has also generated much debate and discussion exploring solutions from all parties involved, including the federal and provincial governments in recent years. Yet, no solution has been found due to the complexity of the issue. One significant lingering issue by many professional organisations that govern the standard for credential and qualification recognition is about how to strike a balance with respect to protecting the professional integrity and public interest while utilising the existing rich human resources among new immigrant professional and skilled workers (Conference Board of Canada, 2001). This problem is partly the result of a disconnection between the government's immigration program implementation and the vocational structure and demands in Canada. Immigrant professionals' credentials and work experiences are assessed as Canadian equivalents during their pre-settlement evaluation and approval procedure by the standardised Canadian immigration assessment criteria. Nevertheless, immigrants meet a very different reality upon their arrival when they realise that, as a matter of fact, qualification and credential recognition is a jurisdiction of professional regulatory bodies often at the provincial level, such as colleges of physicians, engineers, and teachers.

Thus, the problem of credentials and work experience recognition remains unresolved. It continues to have a pivotal impact on immigrant workers' career prospects, blocking immigrant workers' access to the professional fields where they are supposed to rebuild their vocational identity and utilise their prior education and professional skills (Bauder, 2003; Conference Board of Canada, 2004). While the possibility for retraining and re-qualification does exist, the probability to do so is extremely slim due to various other more pressing concerns such as financial

resources, time constraints, and need to support family. Even the prospects appear reasonably optimal, immigrant professionals may have to go through huge and numerous roadblocks in order to have their previous professional status assessed and accepted by the regulatory bodies governing their professions. Such professions include medical doctors and nurses, accountants, engineers, and school teachers, just to mention a few. In most cases, foreign-earned credentials and qualifications become invalid in Canada, leading to a total loss of previous professional status and/or a re-qualification process that requires a huge amount of time, energy, and money.

To a large extent, immigrant professionals are often constrained by the very few options left for them, and they have to give up their prior professional status and career identity due to the challenging reality, especially the pressure for financial survival. Many of them end up in precarious, temporary, and low-paying jobs that are not in their field of expertise (Man, 2004). If some are fortunate enough to find work closer to their prior education and training backgrounds, they often have to settle at the much lower level than that they experienced in their home country. According to a study by Statistics Canada (2005b), over half of Canada's recent immigrants did not end up working in their specialised professional field after immigration, despite being highly educated and qualified. As a result, immigrant workers earn less, are more likely to be unemployed or underemployed, and have much lower prospects for career advancement (Conference Board of Canada, 2004; Statistics Canada, 2005b).

Being unable to stretch their potential in worklife, immigrant workers often experience the difficult reality of loss of career identity, leading to a "role shock" experience in their vocational life (Lee & Westwood, 1996). For many, this loss of their occupational role and career identity, either through unemployment or underemployment, is a loss of meaning and the total selfhood in life. Consequently, an array of psychological difficulties may emerge, including, but not limited to feelings of frustration, bitterness, anger, loss, worthlessness, and hopelessness, should the immigrant workers lack the internal coping and/or external helping resources to handle the difficulties.

Theories Meet Practice: A Framework of Career Guidance for Immigrants

Having addressed some of the essential factors that affect immigrant professional workers' cross-cultural life-career transition, this section attempts to propose ideas and ways that aim to help immigrant workers identify, strengthen, and utilise their internal coping resources, learning to become more effective and skilful agents in this challenging transition. More specifically, the section explores the applicability of the career development and counselling theories to the target population. While these theories may be advisable to all categories of recent new immigrants in some way, the focus on the present exploration is on

new economic immigrants who are professionals in their careers before entering the world of work in the host country.

Historically, career theories have been developed from a Eurocentric tradition that focuses on the mainstream Western cultural worldviews on vocational psychology, such as individual choice and autonomy, affluence, and career opportunity being open to all (Flores & Heppner, 2002). Although there has been an increasing interest in exploring the pertinence of career theoretical models to culturally diverse populations, the basic premises of most career theories were not originated from the worklife psychology of visible ethnic minorities and immigrants (Betz, 1993; Flores & Heppner, 2002; Fouad, 2003). As illustrated in the previous discussion, new immigrant professionals are a unique population with particular challenges and needs for vocational and career wellbeing. They may share some issues that are similar to that of culturally diverse minorities in the host society. Yet, immigrants encounter a range of distinct challenges that comprise the dynamic, complex, and multifaceted experience of a compounded cross-cultural life-career transition.

Being aware of the dearth of career theoretical models in this context, this section proposes some considerations toward the formation of a conceptual and theoretical framework. Termed the Cross-Cultural Life-Career Development (CCLCD), this framework aims to provide some macro-perspectives that may benefit the process of career guidance for recent new immigrant workers. The initiation of the CCLCD framework echoes to the recent call by Savickas, Van Esbroeck, and Herr (2005). These scholars have noted the emerging trend for theoretical models, rather than theories, that address the context and cultural diversity in the broad realm of vocational and career guidance in our era of internationalization. The CCLCD framework presents an alternative following this paradigm shift that draws attention to the cross-cultural and multicultural needs in career guidance for new immigrants (Arthur & Stewart, 2001; Pedersen, 2001; Vontress, 2001).

CCLCD with Self-Concept

Since Super (1957, 1990), the notion of self-concept has become one of the most widely recognised and important theoretical constructs in the career development domain. According to Super, the self-concept system encompasses an array of self-concepts that make an individual to take on a variety of life-career roles she/he has to assume through different stages in one's "life-career-rainbow". As a pivotal part of one's total self-concept system, the career self-concept or vocational self-identity can have a mastery impact on how the person carries out his/her roles in various life-career contexts, or "life-space" according to Super, throughout the entire life span. Self-concept is also considered a key construct in Gottfredson's (2002) theory of circumscription, compromise, and self-creation, in which Gottfredson illustrates the interactive and coexisting nature of the psychological "I" and the sociological "me" in forming a person's self-concept. It can be assumed that self-observation

generalization via one's social learning experiences (Mitchell & Krumboltz, 1996) may influence how the person defines the "I-and-me" self-concept in the given social and societal environment

During immigrant workers' CCLCD process, self-concept is arguably one of the essential constructs to consider. The loss of their vocational or career identity in the host country often severely lessens or diminishes immigrant workers' positive sense in their selfhood, leading to a weakened and more negative self-concept. A crippled vocational self-concept can have a devastating impact on immigrants' total self-concept system, which in turn, can come back to affect their effort to re-establish their career self-identity in the new environment. Career guidance and counselling interventions should definitely consider aiding immigrants to improve and rebuild a healthy self-concept the number one priority in the helping process. Without addressing the need to strengthen immigrants' self-concept in their current adjustment, the CCLCD proceeds to nowhere. Counsellors and other career practitioners should understand that it is just and necessary to help a client work out the core issues surrounding the current level of his/her self-concept in relation to vocational and career transition.

Notwithstanding the vital importance of taking into account self-concept in career guidance, counsellors are called upon to increase their cross-cultural sensitivity while helping their clients (Arthur & Collins, 2005; Chung & Bernak, 2002; Vontress, 2001). The point at stake is how to define the parameters and contents of self-concept from the perspectives and needs of the client. It could be counterproductive or even detrimental if the counsellor used his/her own presuppositions of what "self-concept" means to the client. For example, an immigrant client from a non-Western culture may feel that it is imperative to include the preference of family and other significant ones as part of her self-concept. It is equally important that the counsellor does not stereotype the client into pigeonholes either. Generalising a client simply because of his culture of origin could also induce disservice. Clients from the same culture and/or home country may not share exactly the same worldviews and values because of individual circumstances and needs, and differences within the culture. Therefore, the client is invited to be the only expert who can define and describe her personal cultural identity. In other words, the client's unique cultural-self is integrated into and validated in the helping process, leading to a culture-infused career counselling intervention (Arthur & Collins, 2005; Brown, 2002).

Following the client's lead, the central helping task focuses on *identity negotiation* in forming a new and integrated self-concept in which the vocational and career self is a major component. The counsellor can help the client become more cognisant of the interactions between her worker role and other aspects of the self in the transition process. In so doing, the client is facilitated to make sense of the nature of the negotiation, gaining a better self-understanding of the new vocational self in transition. For example, acceptance of the changing identity in one's work-life can be a primary step to validate one's social leaning experience in the host environment. The client realises that the reformation of her career identity is an ongoing process that may integrate new learning experiences, intentional effort, and emerging opportunities along the way.

CCLCD with Life-Career Integration

Career development theories with a strong emphasis on a more holistic and humanistic epistemology have viewed career development as a complex life-career integration (Bloch & Richmond, 1998). Super's (1990) comprehensive life-career-rainbow model was a vivid illustration of the interweaving nature of the various life-career roles throughout an individual's entire life span. Miller-Tiedeman's (1997, 1999) life career theory elaborates the nature of life-career integration in a more explicit manner, arguing the inter-dependency of life and career; they coexist as the two sides of the same coin, and one loses its relevancy without the presence of the other. Named "Integrative Life Planning" (ILP), Hansen (1997, 2001) proposes a theoretical framework that considers career planning and its related course of actions within the broad spectrum of life planning. In identifying six critical themes or life tasks that are central to a holistic life-career development experience, Hansen points out the dynamic interactions between family, work, and society. To this end, the ILP model addresses an array of aspects, such as spirituality, family, gender, and cultural diversity that are relevant to individuals' effort to achieve more holistic experiences of lives and careers.

The integration of life and career as a whole appears to have particular relevance to immigrant workers. As the cross-cultural adjustment coincides with the worklife transition, the interface of the adjustment issues between these two aspects deserves much attention. For many immigrant workers, adjustment to vocational life in the host culture manifests, to a large degree, their simultaneous coping experiences with various other aspects of personal and social lives. Career counsellors should be well prepared to address the interactive life-career nature that influences the vocational wellbeing of immigrant workers. To do so, counsellors should be comfortable and competent to help clients tackle career issues as well as other related personal and social issues emerging from the career intervention process (Betz & Corning, 1993; Chen, 2001; Krumboltz, 1993).

Having to struggle with identity change in both personal and social lives and in vocational life in the new environment, the client could be overwhelmed by a variety of challenges she encounters. One of the main tasks of career guidance and counselling is to address and highlight the interrelationship of multiple variables and their impact on one another in the client's overall life-career adjustment. Central to this task of intervention is to help the client take a comprehensive perspective toward the complexity of her coping experiences. The client comes to realise that difficulties in rebuilding a career identity do not merely manifest "a career problem" alone. Rather, a career problem can reflect or imply a range of issues in her broad adjustment experience in the host society. For example, getting more familiar with the host cultural norms in personal and social life aspects can help one become more knowledgeable on parallel norms in the new world of work. Also, the better the mastery of the English language in daily routine, the more confident and competent one would feel in dealing with issues related to her worklife and vocational pursuit. Furthermore, the counsellor may need to be particularly

cognisant about the various personal and social life issues that can affect the client's coping attitude and behaviour in a significant manner. These issues include family relationship and wellbeing, social connection and support, access to financial and other necessary coping resources, and the like.

Career intervention provides the client with a rare opportunity to take a look at some of these interrelated issues in one's coping experiences. Guided by the life career principle and the key ILP initiatives, the counsellor can facilitate the client to better understand the intertwined characteristics of life-career adjustment that is compounded by the cross-cultural transition. This means that a series of factors and issues may need to be elaborated to identify the pressing career problem in the way. Addressing problems and finding solutions in various aspects of the general life adjustment in the host culture, such as familiarizing with the sociocultural norms and understanding the barriers, may pertain to defining a career problem (Cochran, 1994). Issues in personal and social lives may make immigrant workers more receptive to experiencing additional hurdles in their career exploration and decision making. Similarly, career problems may hinder immigrant workers' adjustment experiences in other life aspects. Therefore, career counselling that focuses on life-career integration offers a more integral helping alternative, through which strengthening personal cross-cultural adjustment corresponds to enhancing vocational and career wellbeing in the host society.

CCLCD with Human Agency

Rooted in Bandura's (1986, 2001) social cognitive theory, human agency forms the core conceptual foundation of the Social Cognitive Career Theory (SCCT) in the emerging social constructivist school of thinking in the career development realm (Lent, Brown, & Hackett, 2002). The notion of career human agency refers to a host of human capacity and potential that assists a person to exercise some control over his or her life-career destination. This human capacity represents a complex, dynamic, and multifaceted self-regulation, including aspects such as self-awareness, self-influenced vision, motivation, affect, meaning making, and intentional and purposeful actions. While these agentic variables interact and interplay as a whole, they shape a person's life-career direction and its associated course of actions, aiming to achieve optimal outcome in one's life-career development. In short, career human agency is a combination of human intention and action to make positive and productive things happen in a person's life and career (Chen, 2006a; Cochran, 1990, 1997).

To promote and invigorate career human agency presents the central mission in career guidance and counselling for immigrant workers. This is because the agentic capacity regulates a client's integral functioning in cognition, emotion, and behaviour in his or her life-career adjustment in the host country environment. As described in the prior discussion, immigrant workers face complicated and enormous intra-personal and extra-personal barriers that hinder their need for a more expedited and smooth transition to the host culture in general and the world of work

in the host society in particular. Parallel to culture shock and various adjustment issues in other aspects of one's life, immigrant workers' struggle with the loss of the vocational-self and career identity can severely tighten their psychological string, triggering negative thoughts and emotions such as confusion, anxiety, distress, powerlessness, and hopelessness.

The goal of career intervention, therefore, is to help the client gain back the agentic capacity that exists within oneself (Lindley, 2006). Although the level of human agency varies from person to person, the active functioning of the agentic capacity holds the key to positive change in one's life and career. Perhaps the first and foremost important helping task in career guidance is to focus intensively on restoring and strengthening the client's self-mastery functioning in the face of inadequacy and despair. Counselling on personal and social life aspects in the cross-cultural transition may need to proceed prior to the interventions for tackling the career problem (Betz, 1993; Bowman, 2003). To deliver hope and to facilitate motivation the counsellor should encourage the client to be the intentional actor in his adjustment experiences. The client comes to realise that ultimately one has to take the ownership of his own life-career course, regardless the complexity and challenges in the extra-personal and environmental circumstances. It is the human intention and action through a person's self-regulatory endeavour that can make things happen and make things better (Chen, 1999; Cochran & Laub, 1994).

To this end, career guidance and counselling aims to empower immigrant workers to become competent agents in their CCLCD. Clients take notice and incorporate the challenging reality into their negotiation for a new career identity in the host workplace and labour market. In the meantime, they become more motivated and confident to exercise control over their own life-career prospects. The more agentic one becomes, the better the chance for optimal outcome. In rejecting to fall into the trip of being a victim, the client takes on the responsibility of a more purposeful and intentional actor who directs and implements a course of actions for a meaningful career direction. Central to enhancing career human agency is the coherent integration of one's intentionality and action (Chen, 2002). For immigrant workers, strengthening this agentic capacity includes reinforcing a host of human qualities such as self-understanding, self-confidence, foresight, perseverance, and more importantly, a willingness to learn and flexibility for change in the context of a cross-cultural life-career transition (Chen, 1997, 1999). Based on a consolidated agentic functioning, immigrant clients are actively engaged in learning and implementing a range of socio-cultural competencies and skills for life-career success in the host society and its world of work (Amundson, 2003; Westwood, Mak, Barker, & Ishiyama, 2000).

CCLCD with Contextual Awareness

The construct of context forms the necessary conditions for a career problem to be recognised, and solutions to be found. Although the term "context" was seldom used explicitly, some earlier career development theories seemed to imply the significant function of contexts in individuals' life-career pursuit. It was indicated that various

life-career roles were carried out in the context of four major theatres, namely, family, school, workplace, and community throughout individuals' life span (Super, 1957). Individuals' social learning experience in their career decision making was affected by various contextual factors related to genetic endowment and special abilities, and environmental conditions (Mitchell & Krumboltz, 1996). The importance of context has been directly emphasised in some recent and emerging career development theories. The social cognitive career theory (SCCT) contends the need to understand the broad social context to promote career human agency (Lent, Brown, & Hackett, 2000). The contextualist career theory (Young, Valach, & Collin, 1996, 2002) draws particular attention to the vital importance of context in individuals' life-career development. It postulates that contextual meaning making holds the key to individuals' intentional actions in their life and career projects.

With respect to immigrant workers' CCLCD, enhancing contextual awareness can be a pivotal means to aid the more desirable and effective actions. Context comprises all situations and variables pertaining to a client's intra-personal, interpersonal, familial, extra-personal, and other sociocultural and environmental circumstances in relation to a career problem (Bandura, 2002; Cochran, 1994). This points to the need to facilitate the experiences of life-career integration in their unique and special conditions. For the career guidance and counselling intervention, attention to context refers to a deliberate effort for more sensitive and appropriate practice that addresses each client's distinctive cultural and personal needs in the cross-cultural life-career transformation. Thus, the helping process adopts a clear contextual orientation in regard to the career issues presented for exploration and clarification. This requires that career counsellors be contextual in their helping approaches and methods.

In modelling a contextual helping environment for the distinctive needs of each client, the essential task of career guidance and counselling is to facilitate the client to strengthen her awareness of the contextual influences in her unique cross-cultural life-career adjustment. The client's awareness and its related coping strategies may be enhanced via a focus on a few points. First, the negotiation of a new career identity in the host culture is influenced by the client's personal cultural context such as background experiences, expectations, values and meaning in life. Second, contextual meaning making represents an interweaving of events and relationships as life transition and career transition collide and merge in a cross-cultural context. Third, context is open to change, and so does the meaning making process. Thus, facilitating the contextual awareness is about to foster and substantiate a sense of wholeness in clients. The stronger the contextual awareness, the more situational the immigrant workers may be in their effort to obtain workable options for rebuilding their vocational lives in the host country.

CCLCD with Resiliency

Resilience is the ability of individuals to adapt to a diversity of environments. The adaptation is achieved through learning and developing resilient behaviours,

thoughts and actions. Research evidence suggests that resilient individuals have certain characteristics such as positive temperaments, well-developed cognitive and academic skills, internal locus of control, the ability to take advantage of opportunities during transition periods, and better interpersonal relationship with others. As a result, these individuals have better coping capacity for success in their life and career even under very difficult and disadvantageous circumstances (London, 1983; Rickwood, Roberts, Batten, Marshall, & Massie, 2004).

Although a more comprehensive theoretical construct on career resilience remains to be developed, its potential relevance to the CCLCD of immigrant workers is worthy of much attention. Resilience is the human quality to supplement and complement an effective practice of career human agency in life. It represents the openness and flexibility toward the expected and unexpected situations, mostly difficult and challenging contexts, in individuals' life-career journey. These contexts are often caused by complex social, societal, environmental, and other extrapersonal reasons that are beyond the control of individuals' will and power. As illustrated earlier, for immigrant professional workers, to acquire language skills and to familiarise with the host cultural knowledge may require substantial time, effort, and other necessary resources and support. Also, possible discrimination and technical hurdles such as lack of recognition of foreign credentials and work experiences may continue to pose tremendous hindrance in the foreseeable future. Furthermore, to attain and accumulate the much-needed "Canadian experience" in re-entering one's previous professional field in the host country may prove to be extremely difficult or even impossible due to limited time and resources.

Career guidance, therefore, needs to facilitate the client to adopt an open attitude and a flexible stance toward the challenging reality. Encouraging resilience is to help clients become more resilient agents in their vocational and career efforts (Chen, 1999, 2006a). As a result, agentic functioning can be achieved in a much more productive manner. On one hand, the client must stay focused on the self-regulated qualities of resolve, determination, and perseverance – qualities that are essential in combining one's intention and action to make things happen. On the other hand, the capacity of resilience helps the mastery of human agency avoid dogmatic stalemate. The more resilient the individual, the more career options may become available, and the more optimal alternatives may be found. Creative and skilful coping mechanisms may lead to a better solution for a career problem within the contextual limits and constraints that are beyond the self-control.

As resilience makes the individual more adaptive to various environmental conditions, it could potentially aid the individual to gain back more control, transforming disadvantages into advantages within the given context. For example, to pursue a new career option that is adjacent to one's previous professional training could be a viable alternative. To start work at a lower level in order to gain entrance and working experiences can also be an option. Furthermore, maintaining precarious employment for financial survival while participating in a retraining and/or re-qualification plan may work for some people. Moreover, changing focus and starting the pursuit of a fresh new career direction can open a widow of opportunity for some immigrant professional workers.

Central to fostering the quality of resilience is to help clients gain a sense of positive compromise (Chen, 2004). Compromise is often the unavoidable reality with which one has to live. Yet, a positive attitude and a skilful coping mechanism can make the compromising process a means to a more creative and productive end. Career interventions that aim to increase immigrant workers' resilient capacity through positive compromise draw attention to several key points. First, facilitate clients to reframe perspectives. Second, encourage clients to foster willingness to change and tolerance for uncertainty. Third, assist clients to develop skills to negotiate options. Fourth, help clients to develop decisiveness in grabbing a career opportunity. Fifth, guide clients to maintain a curiosity for exploration. Sixth, train clients to develop a vision and insight for strategic planning. Seventh, empower clients to persevere in action implementation. The helping strategies to facilitate and reinforce these human qualities can remain resilient given the personal cultural context of each client. However, the principle behind these interventions is coherent and clear, that is, a capable and effective life-career agent should and must be resilient in her life and career endeavour.

Conclusion

For countries that maintain an active immigration program as part of their national development strategies, the career wellbeing of new immigrant workers is a vital part of the national human resources management that is challenged by the global war for talent. Canada and other countries of immigration initiatives need to effectively utilise their workforce that comprises a steady increase of new immigrants to ensure sustainable economic success in an era of globalisation. Although the foregoing discussion is embedded in a Canadian context, some of the issues derived from the discussion may be of relevance and/or reference to similar contexts in North America, and in other parts of the world.

Notwithstanding the increasing importance of immigration to labour market and workforce demographics in the host nations, there has been a dearth of attention to the worklife psychology of new immigrants. Similarly, comprehensive career development theoretical models and practice are yet to be developed to enhance the vocational and career wellbeing of this target population. The current chapter has attempted to explore the applicability of tenets in some major career development and counselling theories within the context of career guidance for new immigrant professional workers, proposing the cross-cultural life-career development (CCLCD) framework for career intervention consideration. The CCLCD framework is intended to provide an integrative macro theoretical model that may incorporate a host of micro contextual and situational helping strategies and techniques in career guidance and counselling intervention for the target population.

Career development and career guidance for new immigrants poses a very complex challenge to theorists, scholars, researchers, and practitioners alike in the realm of vocational and career psychology. It is beyond the scope of this chapter to

include many other pressing issues and aspects related to the career wellness of immigrant workers. Also, vocational and career psychology alone is not to provide solutions to all the systemic social and societal barriers in immigrants' life-career adjustment in the host environment. Therefore, career development and helping professionals are called upon to learn to become more proactive, effective, and skilful advocates who not only promote immigrants' vocational and career wellbeing in the professional helping contexts, but also promote the career social justice in the general society at large (Irving & Malik, 2005; Niles & Harris-Bowlsbey, 2005). Doing so, career development professionals may assume more responsibility as active agents for social change, contributing to the making of a more just and supportive world of work that facilitates the life-career development needs of special and non-dominant populations such as new and recent immigrants.

Acknowledgements This chapter was based on research supported by a grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, Standard Grants Program, Award No. 410-2002-1027.

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Chapter 22
COPING WITH WORK AND FAMILY ROLE CONFLICT: CAREER COUNSELLING CONSIDERATIONS FOR WOMEN

Charles P. Chen

The last several decades have seen a rapid increase of female workers joining the world of work. Women comprise a significant portion of the workforce in the North American society today. In Canada, more than 78% of Canadian women between the age of 25 and 54 are workers in the labour market (Statistics Canada, 2000). In 2001, 71% of women with partners and children under age 16 living at home were employed, as compared with only 38.4% in 1976 (Statistics Canada, 2002). This number has further increased to 73% in 2006 (Statistics Canada, 2007). Parallel to this trend, the proportion of Canadian dual-working families has also increased in an astounding rate. For example, a survey conducted in 1997 indicated that both parents were engaged in paid work in 62% of families with children under the age of 16, while the corresponding figure for 1976 was only 36% (Johnson, Lero, & Rooney, 2001). According to a more recent report by Statistics Canada (2006), the number of dual-working families has doubled since 1967. Similarly, women were expected to represent about 48% of the workforce by 2005 in the United States (Wentling, 1998).

While assuming the role of a worker in their vocational life, women still take on primary responsibility for household chores and play the role of primary caregiver at home (Johnson et al., 2001). This reflects a reality that has been supported by ample research evidence. For example, in majority of the dual-career/working families (e.g., in the Western societies such as Australia and North America), men spend less time than their wives in domestic duties, even though the husbands and wives spend the same amount of time working outside home (Burke, 1998, 2000; Elloy & Mackie, 2002; Ginamon & Rich, 2002; Stanfield, 1998).

To assume the working duties outside home and primary domestic responsibilities at home requires that many women carry on simultaneously two major life roles, namely, the role of a worker and a homemaker. As demonstrated by Super (1990), the coexistence of multiple life roles manifests an essential phenomenon of individuals' life-career development experience. Multiple roles interact, generating supplementary and complementary impact on one another. Notwithstanding these advantages of role interaction, the coexistence of multiple roles very often poses perplexity in individuals'

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J.A. Athanasou, R. Van Esbroeck (eds.) *International Handbook of Career Guidance*,

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life and career experience. For female workers who find they also have to shoulder a much heavier burden of family responsibility, coping with the demands of both work role and family role becomes a daunting task (Ginamon & Rich, 2002).

This chapter attempts to elaborate on the issue of role conflict in women's life-career development experience. More specifically, it intends to address the interaction between women's work and family roles within the context of a traditional dual-working family, that is, a family composed of female and male partners who work for pay outside home, while having shared childcare and other household responsibilities. The term "dual-working" is intended for general usage, and it interchanges with the meaning of terms such as "dual-career" or "dual-earner" whenever appropriate. With this goal in mind, the chapter will first examine some of the key aspects of the role conflict, focusing particularly on a few interrelated factors that cause the role conflict to occur. Based on a better understanding of these factors, the chapter will then examine and propose several career counselling considerations that may be pertinent in helping women clients cope more effectively with work and family role conflict.

Role Conflict: Phenomenon and Impact

Individuals play a variety of roles as they grow and develop through their life span. Super (1990) described these major roles as child, student, citizen, worker, spouse, parent, homemaker, leisurite, and pensioner. Many of these roles may need to be played simultaneously at certain stages of one's life. For example, a woman in a dual-working family may find herself taking on a combination of roles such as those of spouse, parent, homemaker and worker. Yet, the expectations associated with these roles are often unequally distributed along a gender stereotyping line. A woman's role as child bearer makes her the main caregiver of the home and therefore gives the homemaking role a central place in her life-career development (Livingston, Burley, & Springer, 1996). This attention to the role of the homemaker also affects the woman's self-concept formation and development, given that one's engagement in life-career roles provides the essential experience to form her self-concept (Gottfredson, 2002; Super, 1990).

Women who have to prioritise their time and energy in managing different roles in family life and worklife outside home often realise that a balance between these roles remains a challenge. Commitment to one role can make it difficult to do justice to another. A role conflict can thus arise when the demands of one role are incompatible with the demands of another role. A common dilemma a working woman encounters is the so-called "superwoman" phenomenon that she attempts to hold a successful career, while fulfilling the responsibility as the primary caregiver in her family life (Hotelling & Forrest, 1985). This leads to role overload that is considered to be the main trigger for the work and family role conflict (Goverman, 1989).

Role overload can be defined as the general sense of having so many role demands or obligations that the individual feels unable to perform them all ade-

quately (Erdwins, Buffardi, Casper, & O'Brien, 2001). Role overload can also be defined as "a result of too many demands on a person's time, energy and resources" (Spiker-Miller & Kees, 1995, p. 38). Similarly, Betz and Fitzgerald (1987) contended that role overload is the practical aspect of role conflict that women have to deal with. While role overload may not always be the only variable that constitutes the home-career conflict, it is one of the major factors. Combined with other psychological and tangible conditions, role overload can trigger and intensify potential role conflict. According to Farmer (1997) family-work role conflict is "a psychological state resulting from belief about the incompatibility of work and family roles" (p. 262). Spiker-Miller and Kees (1995) also described home-career conflict as a psychological state that it is "often below the level of awareness, arising when two or more values are perceived as incompatible" (p. 38). Betz and Fitzgerald (1987) suggested that home-career conflict is primarily a conflict of normative values. Collectively, these authors seem to suggest the cognitive and emotional complexity of the role conflict, including psychological variables such as beliefs, perceptions, awareness, and values.

The experience of home-career role conflict is often characterised by a number of feelings and thoughts. Such feelings may include guilt over the possibility of neglecting a child, sadness at the prospect of giving up a valued career, fear of losing needed income, and frustration at the inability to reach a firm decision about how to best accommodate both roles (Farmer, 1997). These feelings can occur on different levels but if they affect an individual's life for a longer period of time, they are likely to have a negative impact on the individual's wellbeing. There is evidence concerning the negative impact of role stress and conflict on different aspects of women's psychological health such as psychological distress, depressive mood, higher levels of alcohol consumption and decreased life satisfaction (Stoeva, Chiu, & Greenhaus, 2002; Viers & Prouty, 2001).

Role conflict is an important concern for individuals and organisations alike. This is because such conflict, as a source of stress, has been correlated with increased health risks for employed parents, leading to poorer performance of the parenting role, tension in marital relationship, decreased productivity, tardiness, absenteeism, turnover, poor morale, reduced life satisfaction, and other mental health issues (Facione, 1994; Ginamon & Rich, 2002; Viers & Prouty, 2001).

Role Conflict: Major Influencing Factors

A range of factors affects women's capacity to combine work and family roles. Central to these factors is the influence of gender. The gender construct affects the intra-personal and relational factors behind women's unequal caregiver role in the household. In the meantime, it is very important to note that these intra-personal and relational gender factors are socially and culturally constructed. That is, there

are extra-personal and environmental reasons that influence women's role formation in worklife and family life. As the intra-personal and the extra-personal gender factors interact, they generate the complex context within which the role conflict often takes place. A brief look at some of these gender-related factors aims to provide some explanations that help to better understand the psychological and sociocultural roots of the work and family role conflict.

Intra-Personal and Relational Factors

Ample evidence from social sciences research suggests that there exist a huge difference between women's and men's attitude toward interpersonal relationships in general, and family life in particular. Perhaps one of the most influential lines of research and literature in this regard has been the studies on gender by Gilligan and her colleagues for the last 2 decades (Brown & Gilligan, 1993; Gilligan, 1977, 1982, 1994; Taylor, Gilligan, & Sullivan, 1995). According to Gilligan (1994), the gender difference is first and foremost rooted in the fact that women's identity formation is relational in nature. This identity development begins at a very early age, and its centrality is paying attention to "the importance of the relational component, self in relation to others, in defining the self" (Forrest & Mikolaitis, 1986, p.79). A man tends to become more preoccupied with his own voice, whereas a woman takes a very different approach by noticing and understanding what others would like to say. The woman's voice, thus, takes into account others' voices, combining others' voices into the formation and development of her own voice. Having this very different voice, women's self-identity draws heavily on their experiences in interpersonal relationships. They tend to define themselves using relational terms such as giving, helping, caring, being kind, and not hurting others. This morality of care functions as the core in women's perception of their role in life (Gilligan, 1982, 1994).

Gilligan's relational theory of women's self-concept and self-identity may not pertain to generalise the experiences of all women in dual-career families. Nevertheless, this theory with its extensive research support seems to provide some heuristic explanation to make sense of many working women's experience in shouldering an unequal load of caregiver duties in their family life. Following Gilligan's theory, a woman's identity development is associated more with caring for the needs of others. In the context of family life, this propensity of caring for others is essentially reflected by carrying out more household chores so that other family members (e.g., husband and children) can be taken care of, and thus enjoy more comfort in the family environment. The woman's caregiver role in family is often taken for granted not only by other family members, but by herself as well (Burke, 1998, 2000; Gilbert, 1993).

This caregiver role reflects the "centrality of connection in women's lives" (Jordan, 1997, p. 3). That is, the central theme of women's lives is their relatedness to and mutual support and empathy with others. In addition to giving care to others, receiving of social and interpersonal support has often been an important aspect in

women's coping effort with stress and other life issues (Erdwins et al., 2001). This implies that a woman needs much support and understanding while she juggles the two major roles of worker and homemaker. Making this balance is very often an extremely challenging task given the constraints of limited time and energy. When time and energy cannot be allocated in a balanced manner, a woman often finds herself facing conflicts between her worklife and family life (Cron, 2001). Of particular relevance here is that a husband's understanding of, and support to his wife appears to have a vital impact on her coping effort with the role conflict.

Research evidence shows that greater support from husbands is significantly correlated with lower home-career conflict experience a woman will encounter. Hence, she is likely to experience decreased role strain and fewer symptoms of depression (Elloy & Mackie, 2002). It is suggested that a positive relationship between wives' marital satisfaction and personal wellbeing correlates to their husbands' fair sharing of family work (Gilbert, 1993). The husbands' engagement in household chores provides their wives with more time and energy, leading to more resources for the wives in their coping effort. Another important relational variable that can have a similar impact on women's coping experience is the attitude of their husbands. When a husband holds a positive attitude toward his wife's effort in integrating family and work roles, he is likely to provide more psychological support to his wife in the coping process. Rather than persuading her to follow the traditional gender stereotypes, he is willing to help her to remove and/or minimize the home-work role conflict (Elloy & Mackie, 2002). As such, the extent to which a husband holds traditional gender role values seems to contribute to his wife's level of work-family role conflict.

These findings seem to suggest that spousal support – practical and emotional – is an important factor for a woman in her effort to cope with family-work roles. This is because such support forms a basis for nurturing a healthy and positive family environment – a caring, understanding, and facilitative relational structure that is essential to women's needs in balancing the possible role conflict. This supportive relationship provides women with much needed resources, both tangibly and psychologically, in the coping process. Ultimately, an increase of these coping resources reduces the chances of conflict occurrence. Of note, a direct causal connection between a spouse's support and a reduced experience of role conflict is not a unanimous finding in existing literature, and more research evidence on this issue is still needed (Erdwins et al., 2001). Nevertheless, family and spousal relationship appears to have an impact on women's coping effort and its outcome in maintaining a family-work balance. This relational impact is therefore worthy of serious attention in understanding women's coping experience in this particular context.

Extra-Personal and Environmental Factors

As suggested earlier, the intra-personal and relational factors do not exist in a vacuum, but rather, in a dynamic and complex social context. It is the interaction between the

internal and external factors that generates various dynamics influencing women's experience with work and family role conflict. This section briefly highlights two main external variables, namely, gender role bias and a non-facilitative workplace environment. Identifying these two variables as "extra-personal and environmental factors" is intended to differentiate them from the previously discussed intra-personal factors. It is also attempted to include various sociocultural, societal, structural, and other environmental considerations into the picture, perceiving women's role conflict from a broad perspective.

Gender Role Bias

Although women have already become part of the main composition of today's labour force, they still constantly experience the gender role bias. To some extent the belief still prevails that women cannot successfully combine domestic responsibility and a paid worklife outside home, and therefore, this worklife could often yield negative effect to the family system (Gilbert, Hallett, & Eldridge, 1994). Gender role bias as such is reinforced by the reality that domestic and family responsibilities remain socially constructed as women's work despite the pressure of outside employment (Morgan & Foster, 1999). For example, it is a taken-for-granted social norm that women's primary responsibilities are childbearing and homemaking, regardless of their weighty contribution to the labour market and thus to the development of economy in addition to their primary role as homemakers. Research evidence concerning the dual-career family phenomenon indicates that there is an inequity effect between the working woman and her working husband. While the woman is employed full-time outside home she is often still expected to plan household and childcare while her partner is "helping out" with what is considered to be her responsibilities (Tingey, Kiger, & Riley, 1996). Because of this deep-rooted sociocultural gender role bias, as Zunker (2002) put it, "women were primarily 'socialized' to see themselves as homemakers while men pursued careers" (p. 310).

There is a lack of social and societal interest in searching and implementing alternatives to combine worklife and family life in a balanced way. While men are not expected to make a choice between work and family, most women experience at some point in their career that they are expected to make a choice between these two aspects (Carlson & Kacmar, 2000). Another socially constructed gender bias about worklife and careers is that achievement is often perceived as a masculine than a feminine concept. In other words, a man must drive ahead with his career pursuit, while it is much more acceptable (or sometimes encouraged) for a woman to have a life without a vocational or career identity outside the home (Gilbert et al., 1994).

Non-facilitative Workplace Environment

The recent 2 decades have witnessed some progress in the workplace environment with respect to gender equity issues such as equity in pay and hiring practice due

to the growth of feminist movement and calling for diversity. Yet, the workplace environment is still by and large structured by a traditional value of masculinity (Clark, 2001). In other words, working women's special needs of balancing the work and family responsibilities is largely neglected. While gender-based discrimination toward female employees still exists in the world of work, the workplace structure functions in a way that seldom takes into account women's special needs in coping with the home-career role conflict (Clark, 2001). For example, flexibility is not available in most work settings for women trying to combine the work and family role. This flexibility that may yield a number of possible alternative work arrangements, such as flexible scheduling and telecommunication, are rarely utilised by employers, whether those in the private or public sectors, as pertinent and viable means to facilitate the role-balance needs of female workers. This status quo continues notwithstanding the fact that these alternatives would better facilitate workers, especially female workers to balance the multiple life roles (Roman & Blum, 2001).

Despite the reality that women make almost half of the current labour force, most corporations and employers lack the sensitivity and will to change their traditional work arrangements, making them more facilitative for women workers in balancing the role demands between worklife and family life. This lack of sensitivity and willingness to consider and provide aid to the needs of women workers, especially those who shoulder a heavy burden of family-care responsibilities, seems to be parallel to what was defined by Freeman (1989) as "the null environment" in an organisational context. According to Freeman (1989), a null environment is one that neither encourages nor discourages individuals working and/or studying in an organisational setting. By taking a "neutral" stand as such, an organisation might hold to its workplace policies and procedures that can create more potential barriers for women. For example, a working mother could find herself in a more disadvantaged position than that of her male colleagues when an opportunity of career advancement emerges. Due to the time and energy constraint with the family caregiver role, she may not be able to present a work portfolio that looks as strong as that of her male colleagues. She may also need to think twice whether she could accept a promotion to a higher level position given that the career advancement opportunity is likely to require more of her time and energy, adding pressure and stress to an already stretched balancing effort between her worklife and family life.

Many similar situations can be found in the organisational culture of the current world of work. As such, it becomes apparent that the seemingly neutral phenomenon of the null environment in the workplace is a form of invisible and hidden discrimination against women workers with family obligations. The reality is that for many of these working women, vocational and career development is not a fair competition. Part of the main problem here is that the culture and organisation in the workplace do not provide women workers with the necessary resources they need in their career advancement while carrying on the responsibilities in their family lives. This echoes to the evidence concerning why female professionals such as pharmacists (Tanner, Cockerill, Barnsley, & Williams, 1999), physicians (Gjerberg, 2002), and lawyers (Krakauer & Chen, 2003) can be much more vulnerable than

their male colleagues while facing the role conflict. These professional women often find themselves having tougher choices to make in such a context. That is, they have to compromise either their family life (e.g., have fewer or no children) or career (e.g., less likely to become pharmacy store owners/managers and law firm associates, and more likely to quit their careers for family considerations).

Career Counselling Considerations

A look at the intra-personal and extra-personal factors that influence the worklife and family life role conflict is helpful. It helps career counsellors better understand some of the psychological and sociological dynamics entangled in many working women's experience of dealing with the role conflict. On the basis of that, this section turns to propose several career counselling considerations that may be useful in helping working women cope with the work-family role conflict. The term "client(s)" in the following section only refers to the working women in the dual-working or dual-career family context as defined in the introduction part of this chapter.

Career Counsellor as Advocate

That the career counsellor can function as an advocate in promoting the wellbeing of the client is a critical part of the helping process, especially with clientele of special needs (Niles & Harris-Bowlsbey, 2005). According to Niles and Harris-Bowlsbey (2005), advocacy means "a role that counsellors may play to exert pressure on some aspect of the community in order to improve the resources available for clients" (p. 367). As illustrated earlier, a working woman may have some very unique psychosocial issues to deal with during her effort of balancing the demands from her family life and worklife. Some of these issues, especially those in the extra-personal dimension, encompass complex and multifaceted macro-sociological and societal variables that are well beyond the individual-focused helping context characterised by the traditional psychological interventions. To address and help the client deal with these issues, there is often a need for the career counsellor to become an advocate for women's psychological and physical welfare in their worklife in general, and in promoting a healthier balance between the clients' family life and worklife in particular. This function of advocacy consists of both attitudinal and practical endeavour from the part of the counsellor.

To become an advocate, the counsellor should be genuinely interested in the cause of vocational health promotion of the client. This interest forms the very foundation for other necessary conditions to work with the client, including, but not limited to essential aspects such as awareness and sensitivity, knowledge, and expertise in working with the client. In other words, the counsellor truly sees that the home-work conflict issue as one of the pivotal social issues that is worthy of

serious attention in the whole picture of vocational and personal wellbeing of the client. The issue of home-work balance is not merely perceived as an isolated individual coping issue, but understood more broadly as a complex social phenomenon that combines a variety of factors such as social justice and values, societal structure, and other personal and interpersonal coping resources into the whole intervention spectrum. This requires that the counsellor have the willingness to incorporate a macro-sociological perspective into the helping process. Meanwhile, the counsellor understands the importance to become an ally with the client to promote social justice and gender equality while approaching to the issue of role conflict. Only with such an attitude, the counsellor may be able to communicate a sense of congruence (Rogers, 1987) to the client, establishing and strengthening a meaningful counsellor-client work alliance in the helping intervention.

With a right attitude in place, the counsellor can engage in advocacy activities in proactive and creative ways. The counsellor can certainly be involved in some general advocacy activities such as presenting the importance of work-family balance issue as one of the key aspects of promoting women's health in media, professional conferences, and other public forums. The counsellor can also offer consultations to various public and private organisations, providing them with workable suggestions that may help to improve the situation in this regard. While working with individual clients, this role of advocacy needs to be more concrete. For example, the counsellor can influence the social circle of the client, such as the client's spouse and employer, by raising their awareness of the importance of helping women balance the work and family demands. Very terse and attention-capturing leaflets may be sent to these parties involved. The counsellor can also conduct some short seminars for the client's workplace human resources personnel and her husband. In some situations, there might be a need for the counsellor to contact the spouse and/or the employer, making direct advice and suggestions that may solicit support from these parties.

Advocacy in this helping context must follow several principles. First, advocacy always aims to promote the wellbeing of the client, and thus, any kind of advocacy intention must respect the will of the client, and let the client have the informed choice on whether she feels the need for advocacy from the part of the counsellor. Of note, advocacy activities may not be necessary and/or pertinent for every client. Likewise, not every counsellor possesses the capacity and mindset to engage in skilful advocacy. The integration of advocacy should not be considered if the counsellor does not feel comfortable and/or competent to do so. Second, the goal and content in an advocacy activity must always be educational in nature, making the parties involved in the process feel that the advocacy is a constructive, informative, and well-intentioned practice from which all parties will benefit eventually. Third, advocacy needs to be implemented in a situational and prudent manner, and advocacy initiatives must not be static, or "standardised". Rather, they should be tailed into each client's specific context and needs. Fourth, advocacy only functions as a supplementary and complementary means to aid the helping process; it is not a replacement for counselling intervention.

Enrich Self-Exploration

As delineated in the earlier discussion, both intra-personal and extra-personal factors can trigger and influence family life and worklife role conflict for women workers. The intensity and complexity of this role conflict escalate when some or all of these internal and external factors interplay at home and in the workplace. It seems conspicuous that some mechanisms need to be adopted to help the client cope with these influencing factors that cause the conflict to occur and to aggravate. The essential foundation for all helping interventions in this context is an increased and enriched sense of self-understanding. Career counselling must first and foremost provide an opportunity for the client to open up a journey of self-exploration. Aiming at knowing oneself better, this exploration may be of particular importance to the client. Because of a self-identity development that is strongly inclined to a relational orientation (Gilligan, 1994), it is very likely that the client often may not have had a chance to experience an inner-conversation about how she feels and thinks based on her personal needs. The purpose of career counselling here is not to quickly jump into the conclusion or to find a solution to the role conflict phenomenon, but rather, to let the client have the time and space to initiate such a conversation.

This is to suggest that it is the client's emotions and perceptions under the surface of the conflict that deserve much attention. The counsellor facilitates the client to reflect on a range of aspects and issues that are associated with and derived from the role conflict. Key variables such as the client's self-concept (Gottfredson, 2002; Super, 1990), level of self-efficacy (Bandura, 1986; Betz, 2001), and personal values (Brown, 2002; Patton, 2000) can all have a pivotal impact on the formation and development of the role conflict. For example, although the "self-in-relation" (Jordan, 1997) phenomenon appears to be a main contributing intra-personal factor to the role conflict, the rationale behind this relational orientation may vary from one client to another. The phenomenon could be a reflection of one's strong altruistic value of caring for others. It may also be an indication of one's lack of awareness of caring for one's own needs, not knowing the importance of self-care and its relationship to caring for others. Furthermore, the client may be influenced by a traditional gender-specific role, and as a result, have incorporated the relationship with others, especially with family members, as part of her self-identity (e.g., the role of a wife, a mother, and a caregiver in the family).

Therefore, it is of vital importance that the counsellor must not make generalisations about the rationale and dynamics upon which the client's self-awareness is based, or put the client into a certain category with respect to the work and family role conflict. Each client's personal story about her sense of selfhood underlying the role conflict should be heard from her particular voice, and understood within her unique context (Gilligan, 1991). Once such an exploration starts, it opens the doors and windows for a deep understanding of oneself, helping the client generate new insights and action plans that are relevant and meaningful to her sense of self – the very foundation for yielding useful coping strategies.

Build Support Resources

A main task in dealing with the role conflict is to maximise the possible resources that the client can utilise in her coping effort (Wortman, Biernat, & Lang, 1991). Central to these resources is to build a support network that will facilitate rather than hinder the client in the coping process. One of the key sources of this support, as has been illustrated earlier, is the psychological and tangible support from the husband or partner in the family context. The counsellor can help the client explore the dynamics in the family relationship, and to find ways to work positively with this relationship so that family members, especially the husband and partner can contribute to alleviating and lessening the causes of the role conflict. The first and foremost important step to solicit spousal support is the client's willingness to seek for support. This means that the client must feel comfortable and confident to ask for support. The client comes to realise that continuing with a lifestyle that is jammed by experiences of the role conflict in daily routine is neither healthy for herself nor beneficial to the family. This is understandable because an accumulation of role conflict is likely to lead to conflicts in the family relationship.

In this sense, work-family role conflict is not only her personal issue, but a family issue as well. It is important that the counselling process facilitates the client to gain this awareness. Meanwhile, it is equally, if not more, important that the client convey this understanding to her spouse at home, educating and soliciting her husband to become an ally on her side in dealing with the role conflict problem. The career counsellor can assist the client to explore, plan, and refine approaches that will be more pertinent to get her messages through, communicating with her husband in a more open, effective and constructive manner (Stanfield, 1998). With the consent from the client, the husband or partner can also be invited to the counselling sessions, working together with the client in her effort to cope with the role conflict.

While an increased awareness and support from family members is essential to enriching her coping resources, the client is also encouraged to find other sources of support that might be a plus to her coping effort (Carlson & Perrewe, 1999). Along with some appropriate advocacy from the part of the counsellor, the client can learn to take initiatives that may have immediate or potential optimal impact on her coping experiences. Developing an informal support network seems to be a viable option that can work for clients of different individual styles and with varied personal needs and expectations. The client may organize or join an informal self-support group of women workers who also have to deal with work-family role conflict in their lives. The client may also get herself connected with a friend or a close colleague as an informal mentor who is more experienced in dealing with the role conflict situations (Nielson, Carlson, & Lankau, 2001).

Informal support networking as such may generate additional coping resources that can be invaluable to the client's coping experience. First, the client comes to realise that she is not alone in dealing with the role conflict challenge. The opportunity of sharing itself can provide vital psychological relief and strength for her,

giving her a sense of validation in her coping experience. Second, she learns useful coping strategies from others, while contributing to helping others by sharing of her coping experiences, which in turn, reinforces her self-helping experiences. Third, the informal network provides the client with more flexibility to solicit support and to communicate with others in a casual and situational manner, leading to more time and space for self-reflection and self-helping in a life context that is always full of time constraint.

Understand Extra-Personal Hindrance

The family life and worklife role conflict, as illustrated earlier, is the result of the interplay between a range of internal and external factors. Therefore, a sole focus on the client's personal dynamics is not sufficient in tackling the role conflict issue. Career counselling should draw attention to the social and societal context in which the hindering variables are rooted, and pose negative impact on working women's experience of role conflict (McWhirter, Torres, & Rasheed, 1998). The counsellor needs to incorporate these extra-personal hindering factors into the helping process. Without paying serious attention to these unfavourable aspects in the existing environmental conditions (Mitchell & Krumboltz, 1996), career intervention for the role conflict remains an unfinished half-effort that can not effectively help the client deal with the problem in her life reality.

Parallel to the effort of promoting self-exploration, career counselling should facilitate the client to become more aware of the critical barriers such as socially-structured gender role bias and stereotyping, and a non-facilitative and/or null environment in the workplace. An increased awareness is important as it helps the client see more clearly the complexity of the role conflict. The client comes to realise that the role conflict is not an isolated individual experience. Part of the role conflict phenomenon is social and societal in nature, and therefore, beyond individual control. These sociocultural, structural, and institutional factors and other related variables often disserve rather than serving the special needs of women workers in the role conflict situation. Thus, these causes should not be internalized as one's own fault when she is facing the role conflict.

Recognition of this challenging reality is essential as it points to the external reasons and influences of the role conflict phenomenon (Lent, Brown, & Hackett, 2000). Based on that, appropriate coping mechanisms may be developed to deal with these problems. A main task of career counselling is to remind the client about the existence of these obstacles while forming a coping plan. The difficulty of eliminating these deep-rooted and long-lasting hindrances to working women's home-career role conflict is not avoided, but constantly discussed during the entire counselling process, shedding light and generating insight in the enhancement of the client's understanding of the causes and sources of the obstacles. This helping task is very meaningful given that it will not only help the client to form a concep-

tual ground for coping strategies, but also foster both the intellectual perspective and psychological stamina to get engaged in a continuous effort in dealing with the role conflict. Of note, the psychological strength is of vital importance in this coping process, because it helps the client maintain the much needed effort to encounter various extra-personal challenges that will emerge repeatedly along with the role conflict experience.

Develop Coping Strategies

Having a better understanding about oneself and the extra-personal obstacles in the work-family role conflict calls for more effective method for problem solving (Walsh & Osipow, 1994). Part of the core function of career counselling is to help the client adopt and implement coping strategies that aim to minimize the negativity yielded by the role conflict experience. Helping the client develop and utilise such strategies is essential to the enhancement of her personal wellbeing, since the ultimate goal of helping intervention is to empower the client become more competent in coping with the role conflict in everyday life. Following this intent, three principles may guide the formation of coping strategies. First, the coping strategies should be framed within each client's particular context, and they should remain flexible in connecting to the needs of each client. Second, they should be concrete, and made applicable and operational to the real coping experiences. Third, they should follow more realistic expectations. This implies that coping mechanisms are aimed to improve the situation rather than eliminating entirely the role conflict phenomenon.

Self-Talk

Self-talk is a useful strategy to help one become more intentional in role conflict situations (Schneider, 2002). This is a reflective self-helping method that allows the client to conduct an intra-personal conversation, making sense of her own needs and their relationship with other people in various contexts. It helps the client clarify her sense of meanings entangled in the role conflict, generating insights and actions that are relevant to her meaning-making in the role conflict experience.

Self-Efficacy Assessment

To gain an accurate sense of self-efficacy can help the client make a more pertinent assessment about her capacity in dealing with tasks in family life and worklife. Career counselling can help the client learn to assess her self-efficacy beliefs more

frequently and effectively in daily life situations (Betz, 2001). The client comes to realise the negative effect of an inaccurate self-efficacy evaluation – one that is either too high or too low from her real calibre in carrying out tasks required by work and family roles. Thus, a workable coping plan should be based on one's accurate self-efficacy assessment. An optimal self-efficacy assessment will challenge the client to fully utilise her potential in making a balance between the work role and family role. In the meantime, this assessment does not project unrealistic goals and objectives.

Interpersonal Negotiation

Echoing Gilligan's (1982) self-in-relation theory concerning women's identity development, Cook (1993) suggested that women may view power in work as their ability to nurture and care for others – a similar approach many women workers adopt in their family life context. In coping with the work-family role conflict, it is important for the counsellor "to recognize and not devalue female client's needs for connection" (Forrest & Mikolaitis, 1986, p. 85). Career counselling facilitates the client to become more aware of the strengths that associated with the client's relational orientation in family life and worklife situations (Crozier, 1999; Gilligan, 1991). In the meantime, the counsellor should also help the client learn more effective skills in interpersonal communication, leading to constructive negotiations with others in both the family context and workplace context. A main goal is to make her voice to be heard and understood through these negotiations. The client endeavours to develop and refine a range of related skills such as assertiveness, clarification, constructive persuasion and compromise. More effective negotiation nourishes healthier relationships that will contribute to maintaining a more balanced lifestyle between the client's family aspects and vocational aspects of life.

Closing Remarks

Work- family role conflict remains a serious psychological and tangible obstacle for women workers who also shoulder the main responsibilities of a homemaker and caregiver in their family life. Several intra-personal and extra-personal factors interplay in the formation of the role conflict, and these factors need to be addressed and understood while considering career counselling interventions for women clients in their effort of coping with the role conflict. Following this intent, career development and counselling interventions that follow an ecological approach (Cook, Heppner, & O'Brien, 2002) seem to be especially viable in this helping context. Careful attention to the clients and their unique experiences, difficulties, and needs can guide career counsellors in selecting helping approaches and methodology that are more pertinent to assist with the clients' coping endeavour.

Relevant career counselling considerations cannot be taken lightly and must be tailed to the individual context of each client. In this sense, the aforementioned career counselling considerations are not intended to offer micro-remedies for resolving the role conflict in an ideal way. Rather, these considerations are proposed to provide some general helping guide that will serve the needs of each client in a situational manner.

The phenomenon of female workers' work-family role conflict is an ongoing challenge that will likely to continue along with their life-career journey. Career counselling interventions, therefore, must be informed by the constant changing characteristics of the internal and external factors and their related impact on the role conflict phenomenon. As such, the counselling strategies are meant to be revised, expanded, and improved. They will reflect in a timely fashion the more applicable methods that pertain to both professional helping and self-helping needs for coping with new issues emerging from the role conflict. This helping effort will hopefully enhance women workers' personal wellbeing that integrates a more balanced worklife and family life experience.

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Chapter 23
CAREER GUIDANCE FOR AT RISK YOUNG PEOPLE: CONSTRUCTING A WAY FORWARD

Hazel L. Reid

Policy makers in different countries have given increasing attention to those young people who leave education early and then spend time in short term, often unskilled employment, combined with periods of unemployment (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD], 2004). Different countries have applied a range of strategies to try to address young people "at risk" of social exclusion, as a prelude to helping them with educational and vocational decision-making (OECD, 2004). This requires various agencies to work holistically, across professional boundaries, in order for effective change to be implemented. When working with young people who are the focus of an inclusion policy, social needs have to be addressed alongside decisions about "career": discussions about career cannot be separated from the wider circumstances of real lives in an uncertain world. This chapter considers how practice needs to adapt to accommodate this.

The chapter begins with a definition of the terms used when considering the specific issues that at risk young people present for career guidance, and moves on to discuss the focus on inclusion for such young people. It then introduces the constructivist framework for the chapter and explores the usefulness of motivational, outcome-focused and narrative-based approaches within this context. Having considered the possibilities of such approaches, it advocates a move to narrative thinking in order to construct a way forward for face-to-face, career guidance work with young people at risk.

Definition of Terms

The Council of the European Union (2004, p. 3) noted that "Effective guidance provision has a key role to play in promoting social inclusion, social equity, gender equality and active citizenship by encouraging and supporting individuals' participation in education and training and their choice of realistic and meaningful careers".

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J.A. Athanasou, R. Van Esbroeck (eds.) *International Handbook of Career Guidance*,
© Springer Science + Business Media B.V. 2008

Attempts to address the needs of young people at risk of exclusion are not of course a new phenomenon and various educational reforms have been introduced in a range of countries. The effectiveness of these can be questioned and indeed Roberts (2005, p. 130), referring to disadvantaged youth stated, "Up to now educational reform has failed to inject greater fluidity into the class structure, not just in Britain but in all other modern societies". The challenge for career guidance practitioners to work effectively with young people at risk of exclusion must, therefore, be placed in the wider social context that confronts both practitioners and their clients.

That relationship to context means that it is not possible to have an all embracing definition of the terms, inclusion, and exclusion or at risk. Exclusion can refer to complex variables that include economic, cultural, political or social rejection, segregation or marginalisation (Soto, 2005). Soto defined the socially excluded as "those people whose access to basic rights and primary opportunities are limited, and who thereby are unable to benefit from full citizenship" (2005, p. 143). Writing about programs for young people who risk exclusion in Spain, Soto questioned the underlying discourse of programs that focus on the perceived deficiencies of young people. Such programs concentrate on appropriate skill acquisition: these are deemed by Soto as necessary, but insufficient if critical and multicultural perspectives are not included.

The effectiveness of any career guidance intervention cannot be judged without reference to culture, context and the specific social circumstances in which young people live. Hernandez and Munoz-Riverohl (2005) discussed a range of issues for career guidance and social justice that are pertinent to young people in Latin America and, more specifically, to Mexico. Drawing on an earlier Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development report (OECD, 2002), they noted that the rate of unemployment for young people worldwide, between the ages of 15 and 24, had almost doubled in the last 20 years and continues to increase. In pointing to the social and cultural relativity of the terms inclusion and exclusion they stated that for young people in Latin America who are in work, their material situation is not very promising. They advocated for careers education and guidance programs that seek to empower young people by increasing a critical awareness of social and individual values; incorporate gender equality into guidance delivery, promote civil rights for young people, including a deep understanding of social diversity and uphold the right to social and work opportunities.

The measures proposed by Hernandez and Munoz-Riverohl (2005) are far reaching, seeking to empower young people via a critical political awareness of their circumstances. Space is limited in this chapter for a discussion of other guidance programs and projects for young people at risk, which are taking place throughout the global guidance community. Recent examples of "international" writing within the guidance field which recognise the effects of social diversity and promoting inclusion, can be found in the work of Arulmani (2004), Pagliano (2005), McMahon and Patton (2006), Maduka and Robertson (2006) and Amundson (2006a).

To examine further the focus on inclusion for young people at risk, the chapter will now draw on the author's context of career guidance within England. The careers service in England has been subsumed by the Connexions Service. The

aims of the Connexions Service included developing "a network of personal advisers to provide a single point of contact and ensure that someone has an overview of each young person's ambitions and needs" (Social Exclusion Unit [SEU], 1999, p. 81). Although later confirmed as a universal service, the original thinking behind the approach was to create a service focused on the needs of young people "at risk" who required a differentiated provision (Watts, 2001).

It may not be clear which group of young people is being referred to when the term at risk is used. Although it is important to be aware of the negative effects of labelling any individual as part of group, a label does allow policy makers, fund holders and service providers to target specific help, including career guidance activity. Setting aside the issues related to this for now, who are the at risk group of young people and what are the "problems" that accompany them when they seek or are referred to guidance practitioners?

In the UK a number of labels have been used which have attempted to move from pejorative to more inclusive terms (Reid, 1999). These ranged from disadvantaged to disaffected and then disengaged. The latter two suggest that the "problem" is with the individual who is demonstrating a lack of fit with what are perceived as society's norms. As an attempt to ameliorate the connotations of the label the descriptors became longer, for example "in danger of entering the *Not in Employment, Education or Training* group at the end of compulsory schooling" – the so-called NEET group. With the increasing concern on issues of child protection alongside those related to employment and economic independence, plus concerns over social welfare and stability (HM Government, 2005), the generic title at risk seems to cover those young people who risk exclusion from the mainstream, where such "stability" can, it is thought, be accessed through employment, education and training.

Any list will reflect the education provision and the training and employment opportunities in a particular society. Generally, in the pre-16 age group this may include; persistent non-attenders at school; those excluded or on the verge of exclusion from education (by their own action or by the school's response to their behaviour); young people with emotional, behavioural or health problems that affect their ability to integrate within education, training or employment; young people with learning difficulties or physical disabilities; youth offenders; homeless young people or those with substance addictions. The list could go on as potentially, there are many causes linked to personality traits, family circumstances and community influences; school factors related to curriculum, teaching practices and peer relationships. Wider social variables related to social class, ethnicity, gender and the like do not necessarily equate with marginalized status, but may also contribute to exclusion.

Given the variations as to who may be labelled as at risk, it would seem impossible to create a single or "best fit" model of guidance intervention that will meet the needs of individuals with such a wide range of experiences. The difficulties that such young people bring to career guidance are diverse and demand a range of responses from the guidance practitioner. The intention is not to advocate one approach. Established models, associated with outcome-driven thinking based on lists of personality traits and job factors, or ideas based on linear development

through education to a lifetime career, are however unlikely to engage at risk young people: other approaches will be needed before guidance for job choice becomes a meaningful task.

Inclusion for Young People at Risk

Inclusion and exclusion are general terms that can be applied to any member of a community and, as argued previously, what dictates either inclusion or exclusion is relative to the society within which an individual or group is positioned. As a starting point for the discussion which follows, Ballester and Figuera (2000) defined social exclusion as a

> process of withdrawal from the social boundaries appropriate to the community in which one lives, with a loss of autonomy in relation to obtaining the necessary resources to live, participate in, and integrate into the society of which one forms a part. (p. 291)

The development of government policy within the UK has attempted to address the above aspects of social exclusion, particularly for children and young people. *Youth Matters* (HM Government, 2005) is at the time of writing a draft policy concerning changes to youth services in England. The propositions within the paper have been criticised by the guidance community (Watts, 2006a) and by those engaged in youth work (Jeffs & Smith, 2006). Watts viewed the proposal as eroding the current partnership models by subsuming career guidance within a wider agenda fuelled by concerns about child protection and 'yobbish' behaviour. Jeffs and Smith's criticism centred on the threat to informal education and the attack on young people's freedom and privacy.

As highlighted by the criticisms of *Youth Matters*, there is a need to question the range of discourses that inform a policy of inclusion. Different discourses (i.e., ways of thinking, talking and acting with regard to a social issue) can stand in antagonistic positions. For example, Levitas (1998) defined discourse as more than language, as a set or sets of connected ideas that form a framework or "matrix through which we understand the social world" (p. 3). She viewed exclusion as endemic in all modern societies and, in order to clarify the concept of inclusion, suggested that definitions can be organised around three concepts. A redistributionist discourse (RED) where inclusion will only be achieved with a redistribution of material goods, (in simple terms) those that are excluded have "no money". A social integrationist discourse (SID) where it is not necessary to change the status quo, but those excluded need to increase their employability skills for work and be given greater access to education, training and work – the solution lies in addressing the issue of "no work". And the moral underclass discourse (MUD) where the excluded are perceived as a threat to the cohesion of society, with the root cause being lack of the correct values toward work and citizenship – they have "no morals".

Levitas' (1998) work highlights the need to question the taken for granted assumptions that lie behind a policy of inclusion and the development of holistic services for young people. Levitas (p. 28) posited that the current administration in

England moved away from redistributionist discourse to an inconsistent use of moral underclass discourse and social integrationist discourse. She also stated, that the "virtuous talk" of inclusion, often using moral underclass language, suggests a cohesive society where social justice is reduced to mere access to opportunities. Such pluralist approaches depoliticise the real experiences of the excluded (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997). Stating that exclusion is not about poverty allows a government to justify action that does not address poverty directly (the move away from redistributionist discourse, Levitas, 1998, p. 28). The deficit view of the at risk group within an inclusion agenda encourages practitioners to view individual clients as victims, needing to grow, develop, change, and improve for a better future. This can cloud the real causes of their current situation, which if caused by poverty or health issues for example, may seem outside of the individual's control. At the same time it justifies the need for that professional help. From this viewpoint practitioners are to some extent "disciplining" their clients into the *status quo*. Whilst insightful, this criticism can of course overlook the benefits that an inclusion policy can bring to some, if not all excluded young people.

Returning to guidance work "on the ground", as the Connexions service developed from 2000 onwards, "intensive" personal advisers were created to work with small caseloads of young people who face multiple barriers in terms of access to learning, work-related training or employment. The wider career guidance needs of such at risk young people are not addressed until the appropriate point in the relationship, once more pressing needs have been worked through.

The situation in England and the rest of the UK (Watts, 2006b) continues to be dynamic. At the time of writing it seems inevitable that the Connexions service, in England, will be adapted further and become part of local children's trusts (Department for Education and Skills [DfES], 2004). Evaluation on the effectiveness of the Connexions service indicates that there have been positive benefits for young people at risk in terms of easier access to helping services (DfES, 2004). However, the dismemberment of Connexions after only a few years suggests that many of its original aims for the social inclusion of young people at risk have not been met (Jeffs & Smith, 2006). The aim of the local children's trusts is to create "more integrated service delivery and better outcomes for children and young people" (DfES, 2004, p. 17).

It is unclear at the present time how career guidance will be "delivered" to support all young people, but the role of the personal adviser or youth support worker will continue, regardless of the framework in which the role is organised. With increased emphasis on child protection (DfES, 2004) and the need for wider support for many, there is an opportunity to work more holistically with those young people viewed as at risk. At the same time this may dilute the role of career guidance when subsumed further into other work (Watts, 2006a). Beyond any criticism of the previous or proposed structure in England, there could be increased potential to help at risk young people to construct a career future that resonates with their life interests, rather than what is immediately available or apparent. Moving from the UK context the chapter will now examine approaches that, it is hoped, will resonate with the interest in career guidance for at risk young people in other countries.

A Constructivist Framework

In the context of social and economic change across many communities, career guidance practitioners are facing the challenge of providing interventions that encompass aspects of helping that are wider than choosing a job. From this viewpoint "career" takes on a deeper meaning linked to lifestyles and life stories. For young people at risk there may be multiple issues to work through before plans are made about a future career. For this work to be successful, career guidance practitioners will need a range of strategies to work collaboratively with young people in order to provide the opportunity for at risk young people to see the relevance of career decision making. This chapter argues that constructivist approaches offer the possibility to engage effectively with such young people. But, what follows would need to be adapted to particular individuals, and the ideas evaluated for their usefulness for work in different economic and social contexts. The idea that there could be one constructivist model that would fit all clients is, of course, counter to an approach which advocates flexibility (McLeod, 1997).

Each development of practice is a sedimentary layer built on the earlier foundations of theory. As such it is not the position of this chapter that previous approaches such as trait/factor (Holland, 1997) or developmental theory (Super, 1990) should be discounted. What is suggested here is that constructivist approaches can provide the entry point for engaging with young people at risk. Constructivist approaches move away from a positivist ideology by placing individual meaning, respectfully, in the foreground. Career and talent matching has its place, but not before the at risk young person has been heard, understood and a sustainable working relationship built. Savickas (1989) referred to this as "readiness". Self concepts and the use of career inventories are unlikely to be purposeful until the point of readiness is reached.

Within the counselling literature evidence is cited for the effective use of constructivist and narrative approaches when working with young people at risk (for example, Besley, 2002; Geldard & Geldard, 2004; Winslade & Monk, 1999). Within career guidance, substantial evidence for the effectiveness of constructivist approaches specifically for young people at risk is not yet readily available. This will disappoint those who like research evidence for what works in practice: although with the advancement of holistic services for young people it is likely that such evidence will be generated in time. It is worth noting that within the field of cognitive therapy, where there is a significant interest in constructivist and narrative approaches, research studies have advanced the approach. However, thus far the studies have focussed on the practice of using narrative approaches rather than on evaluating the outcomes (McLeod, 1997). Effectiveness is demonstrated through the use of case studies (for example, Payne, 2006) rather than what might be called "hard facts" – perhaps for the well documented reasons of the difficulty of evaluating the outcomes of counselling and in the context of this book, career guidance (Killeen, 1996).

Within guidance practice in the context of holistic youth services, Motivational Interviewing (Miller & Rollnick, 2002; Rollnick & Miller, 1995), Solution Focused

(de Shazer, 1988) and Narrative approaches (Savickas, 2005) can be considered as possibilities for engaging at risk young people. The intention of all constructivist approaches is to explore notions of identity, in the broadest life-wide sense, encompassing personal values and motivators, desire and resistance: in relation to new opportunities and ultimately (in a career guidance context) work. More is involved here than fitting at risk young people into available educational courses, training schemes and jobs: constructivist approaches locate context, meaning and action in the foreground.

A constructivist approach questions the taken-for-granted views of the purpose, process and outcomes of career guidance. In other words, the key concept of who owns the story: who determines the sense of a story and who makes decisions about the development of career goals and career action (Reid, 2006a). Constructivist approaches are concerned with taking an ethical and moral position in terms of how information is gathered about a young person who seeks help from a careers practitioner. Issues related to power are at the heart of such an approach (Usher & Edwards, 2005). Narrative approaches within career counselling are not new but brief reference is made here to the work that has informed the discussion that follows.

In the move from positivist to interpretative models, Savickas (1997a) suggested that the development of narrative approaches is located within a 21st century preoccupation with meaning in contrast to a 20th century focus on facts. Within a narrative approach, personal stories are analysed in order to locate the life theme. The practitioner pays attention to the verbs in the recounting of the themes, in order to examine the "headlines" present in the old story that may help the client to identify a new career identity (Savickas, 2005).

When trying to build a new identity, individuals can be overwhelmed by the problems they face and will find approaches that do not engage with the social interchange of their lives unrealistic. Criticism of a humanistic or narrative approach can be made if the model views the individual as the only author of their story (Reid, 2006a). The reality-test of career/life narrative work with a young person needs to recognise that action occurs in an interactive world. It is this acknowledgment of the need for negotiating action that moves a narrative approach out of the trap of a backward looking past (Young & Valach, 2000).

Where negotiated and meaningful action takes place, the client, supported by the practitioner, changes their life patterns to permit the development of the new identity. The reality testing also needs to acknowledge that the creation of a narrative plot may suggest a linear progress, whereas unforeseen circumstances can intervene and result in periods away from the story or even "rewrites" of the story. But, once the client is "moving", goals may change and this is not necessarily a negative development.

What is discussed above is dependent on a collaborative approach between client and helper that recognises the influences at work on the formation of a future career narrative (Peavy, 2000). A partnership approach is needed to enable a young person to "enact" an agreed future narrative, which may mean changing behaviour immediately in order to enhance a new sense of agency. These activities are viewed as assisting the client to move forward: to bridge the gap between the current situation and the possible future. This need for immediate action can be thwarted if the

resources are not in place to support the individual. There are clear resource implications here, both in terms of time and facilities, for work with young people at risk. This kind of intervention does require policy makers, fund holders and practitioners to think "outside the box" of the usual education, training and employment solutions. However, if the interest in ensuring inclusion for those young people at risk is genuine, then new ways of engaging young people in discussions about how to construct their futures are required.

McMahon and Patton (2006) also advocated the need to move from 20th century models for career guidance practice, to more constructivist approaches that are congruent with the way people live and the way people learn in the 21st century. Their text addresses one of the prime criticisms of such intentions; that is the struggle about "how to do it" in every day work with clients. The next section of this chapter also attempts to apply constructive thinking to working with young people at risk.

Engaging Young People at Risk: The Usefulness of Motivational and Solution Focused Approaches

Collin and Young (2000) have argued that careers research and theory is at a cross roads and needs to adapt to the new realities of practice in career guidance. Amundson (2006a) noted that in response to the changing practical and political context new perspectives for career interventions are emerging, including holistic career counselling and narrative focused methods. The situation is dynamic and many approaches new to career guidance will be suggested, tried and in time evaluated. Within this next section, two main approaches will be considered: motivational coaching/interviewing and solution focused interventions.

Motivational coaching aims to increase choice in decision making rather than rely on the acceptance of chance or happenstance when it comes to future career decisions. Motivational coaching can address the young person's perceived limiting beliefs about issues that are creating barriers to the formation and execution of career plans. With many young people at risk the usual teenage difficulties around conflicting emotions, lack of confidence, low self-esteem and motivation are enhanced. Coupled with this there may be difficulties in terms of addictions, criminal behaviour or low esteem of others (in terms of effects, the latter can be as significant as low self-esteem). Whilst it is important to recognise the need to respect professional boundaries of expertise, unless these issues are acknowledged and worked on, career plans are unlikely to be realised. Practitioners want to enable young people at risk to take charge of their own lives, within the social constraints that will affect both their decisions and their action steps. Motivational coaching has emerged in the 21st century as a technique that may be of interest to career guidance practitioners. However, there is a danger that the inherent "perkiness" of the approach may be engaging in the context of the career counselling session, but may fail to resonate with the real circumstances of the young person's life outside of the intervention.

This criticism can be countered if the approach follows the young person's lead. From the motivational coaching approach it is important that the coach, whilst focusing on developing self belief and confidence building, works toward helping the client explore their individual motivators. Downie (2005), advocating the approach, stated, "Levels of motivation, and individual key motivators need to be explored in depth, as well as the barriers to finding their motivation" (p. 13). This exploration will encourage and support a young person to address, through negotiated action, the barriers that inhibit the achievement of goals.

This is unlikely to be effective if delivered in a single "dose" of guidance: on-going support and follow-up will be required. Downie viewed motivational coaching as an effective guidance tool because it resonates with many of the models and skills already used within career guidance practice (e.g., Egan, 2002). In addition the approach is cognisant of the breadth of issues that may affect decision making, whilst encouraging and supporting clients in their own search for answers. As such it is rooted in the belief that clients can develop individual agency once "limiting beliefs" about their own abilities for action are explored. In a similar vein, motivational interviewing offers a model that can be used for diagnosis before intervention.

Miller and Rollnick (2002) defined motivational interviewing as both directive, and client-centred. It is aimed at bringing forth behavioural change by helping clients to explore and resolve areas in their thinking about the future that they are ambivalent or indecisive about. The outcome for behavioural change makes the approach more focused and goal-directed than many counselling models. For young people seen at risk there is often a sense of urgency for them to make progress more rapidly. Outcome focused approaches, such as motivational interviewing, can be helpful where young people are "stuck" and finding it difficult to move forward, or where there are many problems or issues to be resolved.

There are six stages in the Motivational Interviewing diagnostic tool (Rollnick & Miller, 1995):

- Pre-contemplation. At this stage the young person has no intention of changing their behaviour, and may be unaware of the nature of the problem facing them. The behaviour demonstrated would be, "I'm OK, problem – what problem?".
- Contemplation. The young person is aware at this stage that the problem exists, but they are not yet committed to change, and may feel ambivalent, or may oscillate between desiring change and acceptance of the current situation. The behaviour demonstrated is ambivalent, "I'm not sure, I don't know".
- Determination. The young person has now made the decision to change and is motivated to move forward, but will need a clear goal, plan of action and support to make change happen. The behaviour is demonstrated by statements such us, "I've decided, I know what I want to do".
- Action. The young person is putting the decision into practice, supported by their helper. Together action is agreed, reviewed and redesigned. This may take some time, and there is a risk of Relapse. The behaviour demonstrated is, "I know what, and I think I know how, and I'm now taking my next steps".
- Maintenance. By taking action the young person consolidates the change made to secure the new behaviour and works to avoid Relapse. The helper moves from

advocate, working on their behalf, to enabler and may be able to withdraw support gradually as the young person becomes more confident. The behaviour demonstrated is, "I can do this and I am getting there".
- Relapse. The young person may, at any stage, fall back into the old behaviour. Change is not viewed as always linear in this model and it is recognised that a relapse is normal. The helper's role is to ensure that this is seen as normal and expected behaviour, whilst supporting the young person to continue the process.

This approach can enable the practitioner to identify where a young person may be in terms of the stage of their changing behaviour. This helps to highlight when a young person is ready to change, and ensures that appropriate support is provided for the young person at each stage. The early stages should not be rushed and it may be some time before significant change is possible: rushing a young person will make failure more likely if they are not ready to move forward. The particular strengths of the approach when working with young people at risk are that the approach (a) offers an insight into where the young person may be in terms of their willingness and ability to change, (b) provides a tool for analysis of where the young person may be "stuck" in the process of change, and (c) recognises that "Relapse" is not viewed as failure, but as a temporary, though expected, setback to progress. In terms of career guidance this diagnostic tool fits well with a process that moves from (a) identifying the issue to (b) exploring the options for goals and (c) planning and evaluating action (Egan, 2002).

Rollnick and Miller (1995) also identified behaviours in the practitioner that are characteristic of a motivational interviewing approach. The core values and skills underpinning these behaviours are evident in other counselling approaches and are:

- Seeking to understand the young person's frame of reference: their world view, particularly through the skills of reflective listening
- Expressing acceptance and affirmation, demonstrating unconditional positive regard (Rogers, 1961)
- Eliciting and selectively reinforcing the young person's own self motivational statements, expressions of problem recognition, concern, desire and intention to change, and ability to change
- Monitoring the young person's degree of readiness to change, and ensuring that resistance is not generated by moving forward too quickly, (i.e., jumping ahead of the young person)
- Affirming the young person's freedom of choice and self-direction

Aspects of the above approach fit well with techniques from Solution Focused Brief Therapy (Bucknell, 2006; de Shazer, 1988; Miller, 2006; O'Connell, 2001). A brief description of the approach is offered here, before describing the techniques that may be particularly relevant for guidance work with young people at risk.

Practitioners working from this approach do not think it necessary to explore or analyse problems in detail in order to help young people find ways of moving forward. The approach pays attention to finding solutions based on what is already working and what might work in the task of building a desired future. A solution focused approach assumes that change is inevitable, indeed change is viewed as

already happening (Miller, 2006). The practitioner's role is to help the young person build on their strengths. Like the previous approach, it aims to develop motivation through enhancing the young person's sense of what is possible. The practitioner works alongside the client as coach or collaborator, rather than as an expert who holds the answers to the problem.

As in other approaches, solution focused practice uses the foundational skills of rapport building and listening to the young person's story. The approach may appeal to those looking for a "quick fix" to move at risk young people on, however the approach stresses the need to take time, to search for the detail that will lead to meaningful action. Terms such as "solution focussed", "outcome focused" and "building on what works", have an appeal that can be misdirected if the move to exploring solutions and action is premature. It is fundamental to all constructivist approaches that the young person feels listened to and that their view is acknowledged, respected and validated. Although the work will not dwell on "problem saturated" stories, the practitioner needs to beware moving too quickly to discussions about change. That said focusing on the possible future and where the young person would like to get to (the solution), encourages a spirit of hopefulness through a sense of direction and purpose.

Solution focused work, like all constructivist approaches, emphasises the importance of language in exploring and negotiating meaning. The relationship between the practitioner and young person at risk has to be worked on in order that ultimately, new and more meaningful career constructions can be developed.

So, in essence the approach is outcome-focused in that it focuses on solutions rather than problems. Rather than concentrate on expert interventions or prescriptions for action based on ideas of "what works" for a particular group, the practitioner focuses on what they believe the individual young person has already achieved. This involves "positive talk" where problems are redefined as part of moving towards a solution, rather than issues that have to be understood. Like narrative counselling this moves away from viewing the person as the problem: the problem is simply something the person wishes to be without (de Shazer, 1988).

In career guidance practice this entails moving away from understanding why something is the way it is, towards what solutions would look like, and how those goals can be reached. As a basis for helping a young person at risk find a solution within this approach, the staring point in building rapport would be to ensure their concerns are acknowledged. Once these are shared, the practitioner and young person can develop ways of reframing the problem to help make change more possible. Concepts and techniques that can be employed to do this are described below.

Seeking Exceptions to the Problem

As stated earlier, for some young people at risk there will be many problems and issues to deal with. The solution focused approach would stress that urgent issues need to be attended to first, however the focus is on what the young person sees as the priority, and not what the practitioner may decide is most important. Exception

seeking asks the young person to describe a time when the issue was not a problem or less of a problem. A key assumption is that there will always be times when the problem is absent, or less of a problem, or different. Getting the young person to identify these times can assist both helper and young person to think about how that situation can be replicated. This can help to get back a perspective on the issue that is often lost when the young person is feeling overwhelmed by current, and often troubling, events. Identifying exceptions may help the young person to feel more optimistic about the possibility of change. This can lead on to the development and articulation of possible goals and action for a desired career future (Miller, 2006).

The above may involve "micro talk" where the practitioner looks for the detail that is buried in what the young person says. For example, further detail can be sought by asking, "What happened next?" followed by "And then what happened"; or in exploring future options, "How would you recognise that had happened?" and "What would that feel like?". The aim is to stay with the story, searching for the points that can be built on for eventual resolution of the problem. Many young people at risk will find identifying exceptions difficult and will be wary if they view the approach as a linguistic game: apparently entertaining for the practitioner but uncomfortable for them. As with any technique it can be helpful if the practitioner is honest (rather than appearing clever) and explains what they are trying to do and why, as well as taking the blame if it does not work. The practitioner will be alert to any exceptions in the client's talk: for example a response that is not wholly negative can open up the possibility of identifying an exception. For instance the word "sometimes" suggests an opening to explore the "other times".

Scaling

Asking a young person at risk to articulate a problem and their feelings about it can be difficult, particularly when there are multiple issues or when the young person is confused or anxious. Scaling, as a strategy for work with young people, can help them to express their thoughts and feelings about issues or problems through the use of numbers. The scale ranges from 0 to 10, with 0 representing the worst scenario and 10 representing a time when the problem no longer exists. It can help to engage the young person in the evaluation of the current situation and future goals. If a young person describes their current position on the scale as, say 3, together the helper and young person can think about what needs to happen to raise this to a higher, but reasonable score as a first step. Questions to work on would be of the type, "What needs to happen for you to score this at say a 4 or 5?"

Building on Strengths

Solution focused work aims to build on the young person's strengths. When existing skills and competencies are identified, these become resources that can be

utilised to move toward the desired future. Similarly, the work sets out to build on what young people are doing in the present (or past) that is helpful in relation to the future they begin to envisage. It will highlight what has been tried and is seen to be helpful, or unhelpful, in achieving the young person's goals. This is not easy work when faced with a young person who does not want to engage with the process and it requires persistence from the practitioner, but the aim is to move out of a conversation style that focuses on problems to one that focuses on solutions.

O'Connell (2001) suggested that even when clients are stuck in "problem talk" the practitioner can ask coping questions which seek out the young person's resources. For instance, the following examples look for strengths, exceptions and include a scaling question (O'Connell, 2001, pp. 17–18).

- How do you cope with all that happening to you?
- What helps you when things are different?
- Has it got worse or is this the worst it has ever been?
- Are you stronger now than you were last month/year?
- Which was the least bad day last week?
- Which was the best day?
- How does coming here help?
- On a scale of 0–10, with 0 being as bad as it's ever been, where would you say you were today?

This kind of questioning and use of the scaling technique will help the practitioner make an assessment of the young person's needs without the imposition of externally produced tests, which can often alienate the client. But this kind of questioning, particularly when it receives a "Dunno" answer, or no answer and a shrug, needs practice. Resistance from the young person can create a negative effect on the practitioner who may then feel irritated or defensive. However, a negative response is itself a form of communication that indicates that there is a mismatch between what the young person needs and what the helper is doing. A practitioner can use this signal to do something different in their approach (O'Connell, 2001).

Asking Questions About the Possible Future

So far, all of this may seem somewhat removed from career guidance interviews, but before a young person labelled as at risk can move to effective decision making about education, training and employment, the perceived constraints of their situation need to be explored. This is not the same as seeing the young person as somehow damaged, incompetent, lacking in resources and defined by their problem. The solution focused process acknowledges the problem but explores it from the point of view of the young person who is seen as wanting to effect change. In this way the practitioner demonstrates "his or her belief in, and hope for, the client's ability to change" (Miller, 2006, p. 124). This belief is a prerequisite before engaging in talk about the future and strategies for getting there. Asking questions about the

possible future is what career practitioners do, but the miracle question (covered in some detail below) is a useful strategy for engaging those young people having difficulty looking forward to the possibility of a meaningful career future.

Using the Miracle Question

The miracle question is a pivotal intervention within the solution focused approach. It is used to help clients articulate their goal, identify the resources that can help to support working towards the goal, consider their past achievements that are related to their articulated aspirations, and design strategies and action that move them forward.

The standard miracle question (de Shazer, 1988) can be adapted for working with young people at risk in order to help them focus on the future, including decisions about education, training and employment. It goes something like this:

> Imagine when you go to sleep one night a miracle happens and the problems that we've been talking about disappear. As you were asleep, you did not know that a miracle had happened. When you woke up what would be the first signs for you that a miracle had happened?

Whilst this is a powerful intervention and can create a turning point in both the interaction and the overall work with a young person, there are caveats that need to be outlined for its use to be helpful. The timing of the question is vital. Rapport between the practitioner and the young person must be established and this includes ensuring that their story has been heard and understood (from their point of view). It is useful as a way of moving from talk about the problem to exploration of the preferred future with the problem set aside at this point. It can also help to focus an unfocused young person who feels overwhelmed by their situation. When this happens it can be difficult for the young person to be specific about which problems to talk about in the opening stage. The danger here of course is that the helper can introduce a "moving forward" intervention too soon in the relationship. That said an exploration of a "miracle" future could help to reveal the nature of the barrier that is stopping the young person thinking ahead.

When working with young people "at risk' there are other cautions that need to be noted. The problem might be an issue that cannot be resolved even in a hypothetical situation. Inappropriate use will leave the young person feeling more powerless and the practitioner feeling as if they have accentuated the problem (Reid, 2006b). For example, a young person who has lost a parent, or has a criminal record that excludes certain work, or a medical condition that is disabling them in some significant way, may respond to the question with an answer that appears to enhance the problem rather than one that envisages a different future. For instance, "My mum would still be alive" as the miracle would be difficult for both client and helper to build on. In this situation a career guidance practitioner is unlikely to be trained for bereavement counselling and may need to refer to the expertise of

another helper, but without "passing the client on". When appropriate to continue with the work, it is essential that the miracle question is introduced thoughtfully and, of course, using the word "miracle" may not be helpful. So, having heard the client's story where, for example, the loss of a parent is fundamental to their situation, the question could be something like the following:

> I'd like to try something to help us think ahead to a time when you are ready to make a decision about education, training or employment. The loss of your Mum has been a traumatic experience and we won't forget that as we work together. We cannot change what's happened, but I'm wondering what a future would look like where that is not as painful as it is today. How would you know that had happened, what would be the signs that things were different?

The aim is to help the client to begin to build a more hopeful story where the problem does not define their life or inhibit their ability to make career decisions. A later use of this questioning technique could then be, "If you woke up tomorrow and you could start the job of your dreams, what sorts of things would you be doing in that job?"

This can be refined to introduce, for example, "people you would be working with", "places you would be doing the job", with the focus kept on positive aspects of the dream. The same type of question can be used for those who want to enter further education but have no idea of the type of course. It may be important to reassure the young person that they do not need to name a specific job or course; at this stage the important focus is to get the client to imagine and articulate the dream. The helper will need the skill of micro questioning to assist the client to think about the detail and questions such as: "What would that be like?", "What would you notice?", "How would you be feeling at that point?", "And then what would happen?" and "What else?" are useful. At the same time the helper will be looking for the threads in the possible future that can be sewn into the present: and *vice versa*. It is important, of course, that this does not turn into a series of "testing" questions that alienate the young person. The practitioner would be framing the questions within their existing feedback and counselling skills. The outcome would be to identify exceptions and resources in the present that can be used to build action that works toward the articulation of the miracle.

Amundson (2006b) highlighted another important potential for the miracle question: it can engage clients in a physical activity that becomes memorable:

> With this exercise clients start with their problems at one end of the hallway and are asked to visualize the solution to their problem at the other end of the hallway. … Without worrying about all the details they are asked to walk to the other end of the hallway, the place of the solutions. From this new perspective they then look back at where they came from and consider what steps need to be taken to get to where they have arrived. Most people are used to solving problems from only one direction, from problem to the solution. By starting at the solution there is the possibility of gaining new perspectives on the situation. (Amundson, 2006b, p. 89)

Used well, and even creatively, the hypothetical or miracle question encourages the young person to view themselves as having some agency, in other words it opens up the possibility of a different, and potentially empowering, view of self. However, this can be temporary and takes place within the cocoon of the interview, so it is

essential that both client and practitioner work together in small steps to turn a view of self that is negative into one that is positive. The miracle question without that ongoing support will not be liberating unless both parties work collaboratively to achieve this. Asking, "So what are you going to do to make the miracle happen?" is not collaborative, can be experienced as threatening, is likely to lead to defensiveness and is asking too much of a vulnerable young person. Practitioners need patience and will need to support the young person in the development of a new and more positive story that entails looking at their world through a different lens.

Taking One Small Step at a Time

Patience means agreeing and setting small goals that can lead to a sense of achievement when these are reached. For many young people who, for whatever reason, do not view themselves as successful, this can be a very positive step in building confidence and self esteem. The view of self can change from, "I'm a failure" (along with all the potential associated behaviour) to "I'm an achiever".

Getting the Young Person to Do Something Different

The solution focused approach recognizes that when people "get stuck" in their problems they often repeat behaviour and action that is known (and therefore "safe"), even when the evidence points to the ineffectiveness of this past behaviour. In other words when stuck, continuing to do the same thing leads to the same result. A solution focused approach would not work to analyse why the behaviour arose, but would look for agreeable (in both senses of the word) alternatives to try out; in order to lead to more effective action that promotes change. Talking about the behaviour may help, as being listened to is a powerful experience, but doing something different leads to change. In this way solutions are tried that fit the person, rather than the problem (Winslade & Monk, 1999).

Doing something different is linked to recognising that if something does not work (past, present or future) then it is important to stop doing it and do something else. It is not the practitioner's role however, to jump in with a solution, but to help the young person consider the advantages of stopping the current behaviour and trying something new. It is then important to gather the evidence about the tangible results of the new behaviour and decide together what was helpful and how in terms of the different results. This evaluation needs to be related to the young person's goals.

Complimenting the Young Person on What They Are Doing Right

Compliments are "positive strokes" and enhance the young person's self-concept. Young people who are labelled in a variety of negative ways become adept at spotting a false compliment. Used well, and without condescension, compliments

encourage ownership and work towards equality in a process where both helper and young person are learning. Compliments can be used in any of the above strategies to reward a young person for something they did in the past, present or are thinking about doing in the future.

Many of the techniques above appear simple and practical as they have a pragmatic appeal, but like any approach, they will not work all the time with all young people at risk. So, if something does not work, adopting a solution focused approach would indicate that the practitioner should stop doing it, and if something does work – keep on doing it. This flexibility is important for both the practitioner in their helping, and for the young person in their thinking about their current behaviour and their future action.

Before leaving this discussion on solution focused work a further word of warning is perhaps necessary. This chapter has only been able to outline what is a counselling approach that can be adapted for career guidance work, readers who wish to use the techniques will want to find out more from other sources (e.g., de Shazer, 1988; O'Connell, 2001). Also, although the approach can get an at risk young person moving to action relatively quickly, benefits gained will not be sustained if the wider context of the young person's life and problem is not given due consideration. An outcome-focused approach may fit nicely into a "what works" agenda, but should not be viewed as an economical way of "fixing people" quickly. The approach can be adapted to fit an eclectic model for career guidance practice, and the techniques are useful as part of the professional's toolkit (although there are reservations about a toolkit approach which are discussed in a later section). In addition, some young people, for whatever reason, may not engage with solution focused approaches. The career guidance practitioner who is working eclectically with a range of models and skills, or who systematically integrates a range of theory into their individual approach (Kidd, 2006), should be flexible enough to change course and use another approach.

From the Present Story to Building a Career Narrative

Having considered techniques from two approaches within a constructivist framework, the chapter will now make links with narrative counselling and its usefulness for career guidance with young people at risk.

Story telling is central to the narrative approach but, as indicated earlier, young people at risk may not be able to engage easily in this work if the presenting problem limits their ability to articulate the current story. Further, this telling requires a different kind of listening within a narrative approach. It is not just a listening for clues about what to do next; it is a profound listening in order to know how the client structures their view of themselves through the stories they present. The practitioner needs the kind of respectful curiosity that searches for other voices present in the stories told. The aim is to assess how the young person positions themselves through the meaning they place on their experiences. This deeper listening to stories gives the practitioner greater insight into the relationship between the social cultures

inhabited by the young person alongside their (psychological) representation of self. This process requires the practitioner to be self-aware of the cultural and political discourses that frame their own understandings of the story they are hearing. In providing the space for stories to be heard the client is given the opportunity to recollect (re-collect) and own their story, before moving on to create a new story. It is an obvious point to repeat, but issues for the young person at risk are evident in the stories they tell: listening to their stories is an effective way of "assessing" their needs.

However, the practitioner needs to be aware that the telling and retelling of past stories will involve changes to the story, with aspects "selected in" and left out. The result is a move away from what might be perceived as the original story (Kidd, 2006). Then again, inherent in the approach is the view that it is the client who owns the "truth" of the story, as their perspective on events is what determines their beliefs, behaviour and action. This is not to suggest that a polar position is taken where relativism is so extreme that the ability to distinguish false from real is denied.

White and Epston (1990) provided a framework for working with narrative within counselling and Edwards (e.g., 1998) has written extensively on how post structuralism and the work of Foucault can be used to identify a range of discourses that influence guidance practice. Besley (2002) has drawn on the work of Foucault, White and Epston and others to inform her work on youth counselling. Career counselling from a Foucaldian approach would employ the concept of recognising how the individual is positioned within a dominant discourse, and would work towards developing alternative positions or ways of talking and thinking about self.

Winslade and Monk (1999) demonstrated how narrative counselling can make a significant difference for young people who are "in trouble" at school: the place where the disciplining at risk label is, in the majority of cases, first applied. They illustrated the effectiveness of narrative counselling by detailing the application of the method to a specific case to illustrate how narrative therapy works in a school setting. Applied to working with young people who are having difficulty moving toward a "career" decision the outline of the work might be:

- Listen to the story and understand what the young person is saying about their situation, their difficulty – ask "how" rather than "why" questions.
- Respond in ways that build and maintain rapport to encourage continuation of the dialogue – search for the detail.

Ask the kinds of open questions that draw out more information.

- Do not look for blame, but externalise the problem and separate the person from the problem – name the problem, start with "it" until a name is found that fits: "Trouble" is an example of naming the problem in order to give "it" an identity separate from the person.
- Help clients to move on and build alternative "career" stories that will make managing the present easier whilst working together to make positive changes.

The techniques and skills to achieve this have much in common with those used in solution focused work, and will fit with the kind of counselling skills that career guidance practitioners use. Within the narrative approach this may also include the

reading and writing of narratives. And, it needs to be remembered that there is more than one way of telling a story and narrating may involve the use of drawing, drama, sculpture, graffiti, rap, or video diaries. However, whatever method may be involved to tell the story, it is important to remember that very few interactions fit neatly into any model and that work is often cyclical rather than linear. When working with young people at risk there will be times when progress is slight or even stalled. At such times moving to career decision making conversations can seem pointless, but a visit to a possible future where the problem is less dominant might be helpful and can be motivating.

Constructivist Approaches and Young People at Risk: Constraints

For practitioners who are not working with young people at risk the approaches described thus far may seem beyond the boundaries of "established" career guidance practice: although a more meaningful approach will benefit any client. In addition, selective mining of techniques from counselling approaches is, potentially, risky if the thinking behind the approach is rejected due to a lack of fit with an existing model. An inadequate understanding of the theoretical underpinnings can lead to the practitioner using a technique without the resource to deal with the consequences, such as the example given above for use of the miracle question. From this viewpoint, integration requires reformulating the constructs that inform practice rather than merely adding "tools to the kit".

It is perhaps not surprising therefore that whilst there may be interest in developing constructivist and narrative approaches, and a desire to move beyond so called "scientific" or trait/factor approaches; how to do this may appear obscure and application of the theory, may be viewed as difficult. The difficulty is located in the matter-of-fact realities of practice, which will vary according to the establishment, and perceived value of career guidance activity within any society. For example, career guidance may be seen as a luxury in the face of more pressing demands for government expenditure, and where established, the funding for career guidance may be severely limited and based on careers information only. In many countries the constraints to developing practice may also be affected by social or political conflict, "natural disasters" or, less radically, changes brought about by new policy initiatives, time-pressures or meeting externally imposed targets related to the employment market and social benefit provision. Within "busy" practice, many practitioners will find the "space" to engage in new ways of thinking about their practice squeezed by the lack of time for reflection. Alongside the interest in the "turn" toward constructivist ideas and working with stories, there is also likely to be some impatience about how grounded such thinking is or can be. McMahon and Patton, (2006) have provided an edited text which provides "evidence" of the effectiveness of constructivist approaches for career counselling, through the use of case studies and practical examples. Such evidence is qualitative

rather than quantitative and further examples of the benefits of such work "in practice" for different contexts are needed.

One way forward may be to identify and insert narrative techniques into an existing model of practice. For example, Savickas (1997b) did not view a narrative approach as replacing the benefits of using established approaches, for example trait/factor theory. However, aside from the issue raised above, this way forward may not fit with the belief that a narrative approach requires rethinking a number of core assumptions about the relationship between the client and the helper, the client and the problem and the context and discourses which impact upon both client and practitioner. From a poststructuralist point of view, with its exploration of power-knowledge, the very terms "practitioner", "client" and even "helping" are problematic as they suggest positioning the client's knowledge as somehow less valuable (Reid, 2006b).

But there is a danger here that a lack of flexibility replaces one meta-theory with another, which would be in opposition to a post structural stance, that is, giving one form of knowledge an ascendancy over another. Bekerman and Tatar (2005, p. 416) in discussing the potential limitations of post structural approaches, stated "Such perspectives might momentarily offer a brief respite to those who have been marginalized by the system, but do not carry the potential to change the system". It seems important then to avoid some of the "hard edges" of poststructuralist thinking when upholding the benefits of such approaches.

However, narrative approaches within counselling recognise that stories shape lives and that an unsatisfactory or bad story can, with work and patience, be transformed into a good story. What constructivist approaches emphasise is that stories reveal the influence of family and community, and the social, cultural and historical events that shape role, identity and perceptions of what is possible. These influences are keys to a better understanding of the needs of young people deemed at risk: drawing on narrative approaches may provide more effective tools to help all young people to develop meaningful career stories. So, if the evidence for moving toward constructivist approaches for working with at risk young people (and others) is not yet clear, perhaps the first step is to introduce the concept of narrative thinking.

Narrative Thinking for Career Guidance

If it is accepted that in terms of constructivism a narrative is not the straightforward telling of an event but is a "re-presentation" of the event imbued with meaning from the teller's perspective (Reid, 2006a), then narrative thinking would require a career guidance practitioner to stay with the meaning and not move too quickly to an exploration of the future and possible action. This does not mean avoiding discussions about "career" or refusing to share careers information, but it does mean "holding back" until the moment is appropriate. A criticism of the approach would suggest that paying attention to the client's understanding of their situation through spending time on the problem, maroons client and adviser in the

past and dwells on the issue or the problem. To counter this, Amundson (2006b) employed the metaphor of the "back-swing" (as in golf or throwing a ball) to illustrate that a clarification of the issue is important to build understanding and energy in order to move forward.

Although attention to the past is important, the key concept in narrative counselling is that "The person isn't the problem; the problem is the problem" (Epston, 1989, p. 26). When the energy to move forward is developed the problem can be left behind. Within the experience of career guidance practitioners working with young people at risk, the problem can include multiple difficulties which will involve work with other helping agencies. Whatever the difficulty, "externalising the problem" involves a different type of conversation when we view the young person as separate from the issue.

For example, many discourses that shape career guidance practice for work with young people at risk, label the young person in terms of a personal "deficit". Whilst this labelling highlights the need for intervention, the easy application of negative terms by a range of professionals who have the power and authority to apply them, creates a negative view of the self for the young person that is both restrictive and likely to undermine competence or confidence. These views are often internalised by the young person and may have long lasting effects. Narrative thinking would suggest we view the young person with a problem as someone who is caught up in a story "ghost written" by others. Behavioural descriptions, backed by experts from education, social and health services, may have cast them in roles that become totalising, in other words they are seen as one-dimensional characters. Their own view and the view of other significant people in their lives (outside of the school) may be different, and it these alternative views which need to be located.

Eternalising the problem, or the more developed idea of developing externalising conversations (Winslade & Monk, 1999) and looking for clues of the client's competence (the alternative story), involves opening up a more "playful" space to lighten the exploration of the issue by returning problems to where they belong, that is, external to the individual:

> Locating the problem outside the person reverses the trend in conventional counselling … [and established guidance practice [*my insert*].] to have the person own the problem, and then take responsibility for it, as a step toward solving it. (Winslade & Monk, 1999, p. 35)

Narrative thinking is a starting point that can enable practitioners to pay attention to the influences that are limiting behaviour, when they search for the external voices heard in the stories. Use of narrative approaches would require foregrounding the importance of the young person's knowledge (rather than any expert knowledge heard in the client's talk) to unpack (deconstruct) the existing plot, in order to help the client construct a more satisfying and appealing story line. This involves gaining permission from the client to work alongside them, and others, to re-author the story: a good story benefits from having an appreciative audience. To this end work with young people at risk will involve finding others who can be cheerleaders for the new action.

In a career guidance context, how the young person and practitioner identify the goals and plan the action to make this happen is crucial. The aim is to work alongside

the client, avoiding the role of expert who knows best. This can lead to goals (vocational or otherwise) that are "integrated with other, personally relevant or identity goal systems to make motivation operational" (Valach & Young, 2002, p. 102). This is hard work, and many young people may be resistant if the expectation is that the practitioner is the expert who will make things happen. The practitioner can be placed in the role of "rescuer", which, if not resisted, will inevitably lead to further disempowerment of the young person. Within career guidance a multicultural awareness, in its widest sense (Reid, 2005), is essential in order to avoid a humanistic approach (e.g., Rogers, 1961) that fails to recognise the importance of culture, community and family in the decision making process. Whether short or long-term goals are being discussed, narrative thinking would seem to acknowledge a multicultural approach.

Conclusion

This chapter has been written with the aim of highlighting the challenging context for practitioners when working with young people at risk. It has questioned the discourses that inform an inclusion agenda but has sought to move beyond oppositional views in the discussion. The holistic approach to helping young people moves guidance practitioners into different spheres of helping. Watts (2006a) referred to this as moving from public to personal spaces. Career guidance from this perspective should relate to choices about learning and work, holistic guidance requires a focus on personal and social matters. Inevitably this move within the English Connexions service has shifted those boundaries. With the propositions contained in Youth Matters, Watts stated (2006a) that this will lead to a further weakening of career guidance within an integrated service. This is a real issue for the career guidance practitioner in England, faced with further changes to their guidance role. But more generally, will policies of inclusion really make a difference? Guidance and counselling for those at risk of exclusion is unlikely to change the social and cultural structures that lead to exclusion. Roberts (2005), referring to the changes in the socio-economic structures in the "western" world, stated that the moment for radical change has passed and that: "Permitting and resourcing such radical youth work, and related career guidance, would be possible only in the context of a powerful working class which would protect the radical projects." (p. 141). The task of challenging the powerful discourses around, for example, capitalism in order to achieve wealth redistribution, would be far beyond the power of career guidance practitioners. With reference to the wide scale success of inclusion policies for young people at risk, as Roberts (2005, p. 141) concluded, "how can career guidance hope to succeed when trade unions and political parties of the left have failed?"

Cautionary views about the feasibility of interventions for at risk young people are important, but theoretical debates about issues related to practice are rarely helpful if only presented as dichotomous. Whatever the context, many practitioners are placed in positions where they want and need to help at risk young people.

Dramatic social and economic changes have created a changing context for career counselling. The increasing number of "multi-barriered and mandated clients" (Amundson, 2006a, p. 11), which includes young people at risk, is unlikely to decline in the near future. Such challenging work requires innovative approaches if career guidance practitioners are to make a difference to the lives of those viewed as at risk. To that end the chapter has explored the usefulness of three constructivist approaches and discussed these within a context that relates to career guidance practice. It has been suggested that a wholesale approach to change may not be possible for a range of reasons and has advocated, where appropriate, a piecemeal approach that could begin with a move to narrative thinking.

A final word on attempts to integrate "new" approaches. Constructivism is about paying attention to how individuals construct personal meaning within a changing social context. Constructivist and narrative approaches are drawn from broad cultural traditions and are not presented in this chapter as the new way of "delivering" guidance. To search for a comprehensive model or "narrative handbook" (McLeod, 1997) on how to do this would be a pointless task, as it is derived from what McLeod referred to as a distinctive philosophical and political position within counselling. The approach requires some questioning of epistemological issues: in other words about the nature of truth, the relationship between the young person and the practitioner and the relationship between the young person and their perception of their world. This is not about rejecting all aspects of established approaches but it is about "rethinking": constructivist theories can be thought of as tools for that process. This rethinking is important if we are serious about helping young people at risk make life-enhancing decisions about their career future. Young people deserve no less.

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Part V
Testing and Assessment in Educational and Vocational Guidance

Chapter 24
TESTING AND ASSESSMENT IN AN INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT: CROSS-AND MULTI-CULTURAL ISSUES

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The reality of globalisation and the concurrent worldwide competitiveness impose a shift on intercultural research, towards an integrative background to both common and regional competencies to achieve added value and usefulness of testing and assessment techniques. Whenever a test is translated and adapted for use in another language or culture it is mandatory to know that the process begins always with evaluation: the first issue concerns the conceptual definition and the context of its operationalisation, which means the identification of the relevant contents of cultural knowledge. In this case, the ingredients of knowledge mean the understanding of how culture is expressed through beliefs and values, behavioural expressions, symbols and habits, but also mean a balance between cognitive knowledge and attributes of *good judgement* to deal with the culture or sub-culture variables. The close connection between these two aspects can lead to a deep awareness of construct validation research within each population for which translation or adaptation occurs.

As Hambleton (2005) pointed out, a distinction has to be made between test adaptation and test translation. In his view, the term "adaptation" is broader and more reflective of what should happen in practice when preparing a test that is constructed in one language and culture for use in a second language and culture. Test adaptation includes all the activities from deciding whether or not a test could measure the same construct in a different language and culture (Leong & Brown, 1995). Translators are trying to find concepts, words and expressions that are culturally, psychologically, and linguistically equivalent in a second language and culture, and so clearly the task goes well beyond simply preparing a literal translation of the test content (Hambleton, 2005, p. 3). In short, test adaptation does not run in straight lines: evaluative information on culture and context is much more complex than creating guidelines for cross-cultural normative assessment.

The classical discussion about "culture-free" tests (Cattell, 1940), "culture-fair" tests (Cattell & Cattell, 1963), or "culture-reduced" tests (Jensen, 1980), an important

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J.A. Athanasou, R. Van Esbroeck (eds.) *International Handbook of Career Guidance*,
© Springer Science + Business Media B.V. 2008

debate that took place during almost 50 years, belongs to the past (Duarte, 2005). Cultural issues need to be understood as meanings and practices that have an important role and mediate the impact of ecological suitability. It seems interesting to refer the origin of the word *ecology*: from the Greek etymon *oikos* (house) and *logos* (order as intrinsic rationality). Ecology might be translated by "put one's house in order". Coincidently, the word *economy* has the same first etymon *oikos*, and *némó* (that means distribute the spaces). Then, in a broader sense, ecology and economy, having commonalities pointing the same sense: a way in which things are placed in relation to one another. That means appropriateness or suitability.

Nowadays, test adaptation, even considering the "free", the "fair", the "reduced" or other added words to culture, does not address the presumed equivalence of constructs in a different context that differs from the environment in which the original test was developed. This implies three main issues to assess behaviour in a particular culture: first, test development should be based on situation sampling, through the definition of the relevant and observable aspects of a particular construct; second, test development should be based on function sampling, through the refinement of test items in terms of how they could be operationalised within a specific cultural context; and third, test development should be based on the identification of differential variables and context information (e.g., patterns of cultural or subcultural rewards).

Cultural bias or a poor understanding of how culture influences the process of translation or adaptation can generate distortions on the assumption of the differential paradigm, centred on the rationale of individual differences to determine the experimental design and decisions about psychometric procedures. Since the moment that theoretical concepts are translated into and assessed as measurement dimensions, a variety of procedures must be examined: evaluative information on culture (seen as a construction) and context; stipulation of relevant and observable aspects of the construct; items phrasing (operations and content choices); differential variables and context information.

Creating ways of collecting information that is pertinent regarding cross and multi-cultural issues also comprises methodological questions. These issues are examined as well as the outcomes of testing and assessment in an international context. During the last decades, a recurring criticism among many career counsellors is that standardised tests are culturally biased. The concept of culture as a socially constructed phenomenon, and questions like the sampling of behaviour across cultures will be discussed. This chapter also presents the difficulties and challenges of translating and adapting psychological measurements based on the experience of processes of adaptations of assessment devices. The debate of non-discriminatory assessment implies the development of culture specific measurements or of instruments that are simultaneously created in several cultures. The Work Importance Study (Super & Šverko, 1995) is as an example of construction of instruments adapted to various ecological contexts.

Because scientists have to face the future, several research lines will be suggested: promote cross-cultural studies analysing the relationships between psychological measurements and external criteria; or ethnographic methodology to conceive new culturally specific theories in the field of career guidance. The chap-

ter concludes with practical implications for the use of assessment tools with culturally diverse populations: research on testing and assessment in an international context, in the next decades will focus upon paths open in the 90s such as interdisciplinary approaches and contextual and functional aspects of the career domain. But, in a new framework related with the challenges and risks that globalisation incorporate.

Methodological Implications

The goal of offering a more comprehensive approach to assessment in order to describe better the strengths of diverse populations has several methodological implications. The culture-fair perspective implies for example the simultaneous development in a variety of cultures of measurements based on a model that has the potential to be transposed into different cultural settings. The Five-Factor Model of personality (Aluja, García, Rossier, & García, 2005a; Aluja, Rossier, García, & Verardi, 2005b; Rossier, Dahourou, & McCrae, 2005) is an example of such a model. However, all theories do not have this potential to be easily transposed. In particular, in the case where a model is culturally founded, as is the case with value systems for instance (Spini, 2003), culture specific measurements should be developed. Furthermore, several models might be transposed to some cultural settings but are not universal. This seems to be the case for Holland's vocational model, for example (Khan & Alvi, 1991; Leong, Austin, Sekaran, & Komarraju, 1998; Ryan, Tracey, & Rounds, 1996). In this context two concepts are of prime importance to assess the appropriateness of measurement instruments across cultures: first the notion of equivalence and secondly the notion of bias (Geisinger, 2003; Poortinga, 1989).

Any cross-cultural or cross-national studies can be considered as quasi-experimental because the different groups cannot be distinguished according to only one independent variable, as for example language, because they are not similar in all other respects. In fact, in the case of cross-cultural or cross-national studies existing groups are compared (Cook & Campbell, 1979). In this type of study the control on the independent variables is much weaker and should imply a description of what distinguishes two cultures, which somehow seems difficult. One implication of this difficulty is that the reasons of observed differences between groups of subjects from different cultures are difficult to identify. "Culture is too global a concept to be meaningful as an explanatory variable, however, and should be replaced by its constituents" (Van de Vijver & Leung, 1997, p. 3). These constituents called context variables by Van de Vijver and Leung can be person-related, such as age or gender, culture-related, or nation-related like gross national product. The idea is roughly to identify variables that might account for cross-cultural score differences and that might also be used as indicators of external validity. One example of such an approach can be seen in the research conducted by Ryan and colleagues (1996), who studied Holland's structure of vocational interests across ethnicity, gender, and socioeconomic status.

The construct of equivalence is closely associated with testing and assessment in a cross-cultural context, and concerns the comparability of scores obtained in different cultural settings. Van de Vijver and Leung (1997) distinguished three levels of psychometric equivalence: *structural equivalence*, wherein correlations between variables are identical in different groups; *measurement unit equivalence*, wherein, in addition, the metric of the scales is identical; and *full score* or *scalar equivalence*, wherein the origin of the scale is also the same for the different groups. The structural equivalence implies that the same construct is measured across cultures, and seems to be the first and most important level of equivalence. Equivalence is certainly dependent on the construct measured, on the characteristics of a measurement instrument, but also on the cultural distance between the studied groups. The three levels of equivalence have to be considered with great caution. Indeed, structural equivalence does not imply that scalar equivalence is reached. Moreover, scalar equivalence seems even more difficult to assess than structural equivalence. Cross-cultural mean differences can only be assessed when scalar equivalence is present and this should be tested whenever groups from different cultures are compared (Rossier et al., 2005).

Bias might affect all steps of a research aimed at developing measurement instruments. Measurement instruments are themselves affected by several types of bias. Bias can affect theoretical constructs, research procedures, or data analysis. Using a cognitive ability test with populations that do not benefit from similar school systems might lead to differences in stimulus familiarity that can explain the cross-cultural score differences. Van de Vijver and Leung (1997) distinguished three types of bias: *construct bias, method bias*, and *item bias*. Construct bias concerns, for example, incomplete overlap of definition of the construct across cultures. Construct under-representation or, in other words, a poor sampling of aspects relevant to a specific construct, referred as (Embretson, 1983), might lead to such a construct bias. Another source of construct bias is the transposition of Western constructs to non-Western cultures where these constructs are simply not relevant. For example, transposing an interest inventory to a country where career choice is just not a topic for most citizens, might lead to such a bias. The construct bias might in some case be correctly assessed using exploratory or confirmatory factor analyses (Rossier, Meyer de Stadelhofen, & Berthoud, 2004). For example, Khan and Alvi (1991) used confirmatory factor analyses to confirm the adequacy of the Holland's hexagonal model in a Pakistani sample. Even if construct bias is avoided, an instrument can still be affected by method bias, such as differences in social desirability or differences in stimulus or response procedure familiarity. This bias is closely associated with the characteristics of an instrument. For example, an interest inventory might ask the respondents to rate several professions that are not equally familiar for people of different cultures. Moreover, Smith (2004) has shown that acquiescent response bias is affected by culture and might be an aspect of cross-cultural communication style. All these sources of method bias have an impact on the mean levels measured on the assessed dimensions, and they cannot be attributed to individuals. Finally, item bias refers to differential item functioning and can be due, for example, to poor translation or inadequate item content.

Now, considering the impact of bias on equivalence, no equivalence can be attained in case of construct bias. However, in the case of method or item bias, structural equivalence and even, in some cases, measurement unit equivalence might be reached, as long as the bias affects all items uniformly (Van de Vijver & Leung, 1997). For this reason, it is very important to identify these bias effects when using a measurement instrument in an international context.

Most commonly used assessment instruments in the field of career guidance have been translated into numerous languages. For example, the *Strong Interest Inventory* and Holland's *Vocational Preference Inventory* and *Self-Directed Search* have been translated into more than 15 languages (Rounds & Tracey, 1996). Several studies have assessed the cross-cultural validity of Holland's model of vocational interests. For example, Khan and colleagues (1990) found that interests types, measured with the *Self-Directed Search*, are consistent with the field of study chosen by Pakistani students and that Holland's model of vocational interests can be confirmed in this particular cultural context (Khan & Alvi, 1991). More recently, Goh and Yu (2001) studied the validity of the Chinese form of the *Strong Interest Inventory* and were able to identify six broad occupational interest dimensions in agreement with Holland's model of vocational interests. However, a meta-analysis conducted by Rounds and Tracey (1996) and several other recent studies (e.g., Leong et al., 1998) suggested that Holland's hexagonal model does not replicate well across cultures. This suggests that interests' structure might be generalised to cultures with small cultural distances (Ryan et al., 1996) and that specific or revised models should be developed for more distant cultures adopting a combination of the etic and emic approaches (Farh, Leong, & Law, 1998; Law, Wong, & Leong, 2001).

The study of the measurement equivalence of Schwartz's structural model of values is another illustration of this type of research about the cross-cultural generalisation of a measurement instrument. Schwartz (1992) defined a model of values and developed the *Schwartz Value Survey* on the basis of empirical cross-cultural studies (e.g., Schwartz & Bilsky, 1990). This model defines 10 values that can be represented in a bidimensional space. Schwartz and Sagiv (1995) analysed the structural equivalence of the *Schwartz Value Survey* in 88 samples from 40 countries and found that the structure is very robust across culture. However, they also identified some consistent deviations that might represent some potential culture-specific characteristics. More recently Spini (2003) analysed the measurement equivalence of the *Schwartz Value Survey*, using structural equation modelling in a large sample of students from 21 countries, and found that structural and metric equivalence was reached for 9 out of the 10 value types but that scalar equivalence and reliability invariance should be rejected for all value types.

Taking into account these concepts of bias and of equivalence has several practical implications for researchers developing measurement instruments. For example, when developing an instrument in several cultures simultaneously, attention should be paid both to the sampling of cultures and the sampling of subjects. In order to have a diverse set of cultures and to maximise the chance of identifying cultural differences, it is desirable to select cultures as different as possible and simultaneously to maximise the comparability of the subjects across cultures (for example

students aged 16 to 18). Moreover, Van de Vijver and Leung (1997) described several statistical techniques intended to test cross-cultural adequacy, as for example, comparing reliability coefficients (p. 60), doing an item bias analysis, that verify that individuals from different groups supposed to have *equal standing* on a particular construct have similar scores on items intended to assess this construct. This can be done by using item response theory or by analysing the structural equivalence, using structural equation modelling or exploratory factor analyses (McCrae, Zonderman, Costa, Bond, & Paunonen, 1996).

Challenges of Non-discriminatory Assessment

The challenges of non-discriminatory assessment consist in identifying strengths and weaknesses of individuals being assessed without any influence due to their belonging to a specific culture or minority group. For this purpose it might be very useful to take into account how individuals relate and interact with various systems existing in their own proximal world. However, if scalar equivalence could be attained, these precautions should cease to be necessary, but scalar equivalence does not seem to be encountered often if ever (for a review Leong & Hartung, 2000). Thus culturally diverse clients might think that their potentials and difficulties might not be correctly assessed using traditional standardised measures (Gopaul-McNicol & Armour-Thomas, 2002). The challenges of non-discriminatory assessment become an even more acute topic with the increase of migratory flows.

Each culture or minority group can have specificities that should be taken into account when using a measurement instrument. The principle of equity implies the recognition of this diversity and career counsellors should select measurement instruments that are adapted to these groups. Indeed, the challenge for equity in assessment implies that the measures are accurate and that the interpretations and decisions made on the bases of these measures do not discriminate any of these groups. However, the task of a researcher designing an assessment procedure is made particularly difficult because societies themselves do not generally respect the principle of equity.

A review of the principles generally recommended for cross-cultural assessment concern three aspects: competencies, intervention strategies, and respect for cultural differences (Gopaul-McNicol & Armour-Thomas, 2002). An example of such recommendations can be found in the "Guidelines for providers of psychological services to ethnic, linguistic, and culturally diverse populations" (American Psychological Association [APA], 1990) or in the paper written by Sue, Arredondo, and McDavis (1992). Concerning competencies in the field of cross-cultural assessment, it is necessary that career counsellors understand the limits of the assessment measurement they use with culturally diverse groups. When interpreting the results, they should take into account cultural factors that might impact clients' scores. When using measurement instruments with culturally diverse groups, it is of course crucial to respect cultural differences and to adapt intervention strategies or the

measurement procedures to the culture of the client. Indeed, cultural practices may have an influence on individual's performance or response to specific assessment tools.

Non-discriminatory assessment implies that career counsellors take the influence and interaction of personal characteristics (interests, values, abilities, for example) and environmental factors (as social status for example) into account (Rossier, Berthoud, & Dauwalder, 2003; Super & Šverko, 1995). Indeed, all these factors might impact the career choice and the career path of an individual. For example, several aspects of a client's environment, like his parents, sisters or brothers professions, may have a substantial influence on their vocational interests. For this reason, it is important to consider that such factors may contribute to the choice of a particular job. However, in a meta-analysis that investigated the relation between culture and vocational choice variables, Fouad and Byars-Winston (2005) observed that cultural differences do not greatly affect career aspiration but that these differences might affect the perception of career prospects, which might be in agreement with the socio-political context within which these minority groups are living. This study suggests that career counsellors should pay special attention to these perceptions that seem to be context or culture specific.

In order to promote non-discriminatory assessment or to reduce inequity, several recommendations might be given to career counsellors when working with clients in an intercultural setting. The first measure might simply be to ensure that everyone has equal access to career guidance programs. In order to reduce inequity in assessment, career counsellors should pay attention to the cross-cultural validity of the instruments they use, be sure that appropriate norms are available, use the appropriate language version, spend more time on exploration, use different types of instruments, adapt the assessment procedure, and compare the results with other information obtained using a clinical approach.

Concerning standardised measurement instruments, the cross-cultural validity should be more systematically assessed or confirmed. It is also crucial to use norms adapted to the culture or the minority group in order to insure the fairness and accuracy of the interpretation of the client's test results (Marsella & Leong, 1995; Rossier, 2005). Culture-specific norms should correct for social inequality and unequal opportunities in societies.

It is, of course, important that clients are assessed in their dominant language. If this is not possible, it is necessary to determine the level of proficiency in the language used by the proposed assessment tools. Indeed, items of vocational tests can be misunderstood by clients not familiar with this type of questions. In this case, a clinical perspective might be useful in order to better understand which kind of representation clients have of specific professional areas. The counsellor can, for example, rephrase some questions in order to make them fit with the client's cultural realm, educational or social experiences:

> It is therefore critical for 'culture fair' vocational assessors/examiners to be aware of the questions on each test that may present some difficulty for culturally diverse children [or clients] and to assist them with each of these questions by engaging in an item equivalency type of approach. (Gopaul-McNicol & Armour-Thomas, 2002, p. 117)

The effect of the cultural environment might be especially strong if the dominant language of clients is not the usual language spoken in their environment (Gopaul-McNicol & Armour-Thomas, 2002). In this case, exploration should not only be done according to the results of interests' assessment but should expose the client to a variety of careers in a very concrete way (for example, visiting job sites or participating in training periods might be useful in such cases). This might be especially effective for clients that were never directly exposed to some specific professions. Roughly, the main idea is to minimise the chance that clients' choices are based on experiences in their proximal environment.

In some cases, it might also be interesting to compare results of traditional psychometric tests with curriculum-based assessments and portfolios. Curriculum-based assessments consist of assessing an individual several times during a learning process or to analyse the abilities based on real-life achievements and portfolios is an self-evaluative tool asking the subject to list all his competencies and to document them. For example, leadership or organisational competencies might be documented with voluntary activities. Another concrete precaution in the case of measurement instruments with time limits, as intelligence measures, is to let the client continue after the time limit in order not to have only the maximum performance but also the typical performance (Gopaul-McNicol & Armour-Thomas, 2002). This type of procedure is already proposed for some instrument like the *Wonderlic Personnel Test* (Wonderlic Inc., 1983).

Finally, career counsellors should go beyond standardised tests and use, for example, a clinical perspective. To help career counsellors in this task several guidelines or tools have been developed. For example, Ponterotto, Rivera, and Sueyoshi (2000) have developed a semi-structured interview for use as a first interview taking into account cultural issues. The goal of such a procedure is to obtain information about various aspects of a client's life, which might be affected by cultural factors in order to incorporate this information into the career counselling process. This kind of interview might help both the client and the counsellor understanding the impact of these factors on career decisions. Moreover, career counsellors have to be familiar with the culture of their clients. All these suggestions do not warranty controlling for all bias in cross-cultural assessment but should allow reducing inequity.

It would of course be much easier to provide non-discriminatory assessment, if assessment procedures were culturally equivalent. However this would not solve all the problems and it seems very desirable in all cases to combine a standard evaluative approach with a clinical approach. However, the endeavour of developing assessment tools usable with individuals from different cultures should be encouraged. Another way to increase the adequacy of assessment procedures would be to more systematically adapt versions of measurement instruments to fit diverse cultural realities (Leong & Brown, 1995). One advantage of creating culture specific instruments would be to avoid the risks of ethnocentrism (Marsella & Leong, 1995). Thus, combining the etic and the emic approaches seem to be a promising perspective. Moreover, more systematic research about constructs in the field of career guidance is needed.

Translating and Adapting Psychological Instruments

When Alfred Binet (1857–1911) published his first intelligence scale in 1905, he certainly did not pay too much attention to ascertaining that the procedures are understood in identical ways in different cultural populations. He was far from the identification of cultural parameters that may affect the operation of the presumed universal psychological process (Munroe, Munroe, & Whiting, 1981). In other words, cross-cultural methodological issues relevant to a rationale for developing international psychological devices were not a priority in the beginning of the 20th century. Since the creation of the first (in contemporary terms) test, the accountability of "imported" measurement devices, became, and still is a major issue in psychology theory and practice.

At least, five major reasons can be found for adapting tests: (a) it is cheaper and faster than constructing a new test; (b) when the purpose is cross-cultural, it is the most effective way to produce an equivalent test; (c) lack of expertise for developing a new test; (d) sense of security, specially when the original test is well-known; and (e) fairness to examinees resulting from the presence of multiple language versions (Hambleton & Patsula, 1999). These five assumptions are controversial; but, at least one more reason should be added: the recognition of the global prevalence of American models in psychological research, since the beginning of the 20th century and in particular its impact on both maximum performance and typical performance measures (Cronbach, 1990). Researchers aim to be on the front line, using and adapting American-made measures, particularly in verbal format.

The advances and the recognition of the importance of inter-and intra-cultural differences in human behaviour in coping with environmental needs and pressures, led to a project initiated in 1992 by the International Test Commission aiming at the development of general guidelines for translating and adapting educational and psychological tests (Hambleton, 1994). Since then, steps for implementing the guidelines were taken, and some paths were opened leading to a more global approach to psychological measurement. Is it psychologists' way to respond to the effects of globalisation? Or is it an opportunity for taking new theories for the development of cross-cultural tests? There are good reasons to suspect that both questions bring to mind the same answer. In general, there are many differences among cultures, among regions, among countries, but there are also common denominators and

> the engagement in dialogue about international perspectives on and comparative features of educational and vocational guidance around the globe provide a comprehensive understanding of the issues faced by scholars and specialists concerned with the internationalisation of educational and vocational guidance. (Savickas, Van Esbroeck, & Herr, 2005, p. 84)

In summary, test results in conjunction with the interpretation of cultural values can be used to develop theoretical and empirical studies for the purpose of helping individuals who need career psychological assistance.

Testing and assessment in an international context relies on methodological requirements for cross-cultural equivalence. In this sense, it seems desirable to propose a comprehensive framework for the implementation of the adaptation

process. Some general steps to do *the job* are discussed based on the experience in translating/adapting psychological measures, but also in the literature connected with translating and adapting psychological tests (e.g., Arnold & Matus, 2000; Brislin, 1986; Hambleton, 1994, 2001; Oakland, 2004; Tanzer & Sim, 1999; Van de Vijver & Hambleton, 1996; Van de Vijver & Poortinga, 1997).

The example of the adaptation for use in Portugal of *The Adult Career Concerns Inventory* (ACCI) (Super, Thompson, & Lindeman, 1985) illustrates the steps and efforts necessary to adapt an existing questionnaire to another culture.

Step 1. Translating and observation device into another language is more than lexical transposition. The difficulties and challenges that the researcher encounters in preparing a test to be used in another language start from the moment of the decision to translate. If the classical translation procedures are used (Warner & Campbell, 1970), there is a trap: linguistic equivalence is not a guarantee that items represent exactly the same construct dimensions. This aspect calls attention to the content of the components of the dimension intended to be measured, concerning behaviour and construct interpretation and meaning. It is a kind of exercise in order to make the bridge between the understanding of items phrasing in terms of operations and content choice (function sampling). Then, a first point should be highlighted: the psychologist/translator should have an extended knowledge of theoretical literature and empirical studies related with the instrument he/she wants (or needs) to adapt.

Step 2. Draft translation of the test. The first attempt at translation should be accomplished using systematic methods and procedures (e.g., Duarte, 2005; Van de Vijver & Hambleton, 1996), including field-testing with the new respondents. This draft translation, as close as possible to the original version, should be administered in a non standard way. Soliciting all kinds of opinions from the respondents (preferably, by psychologists well-versed in the theory related with the instrument) about the individual items, the interpretation of instructions and response alternatives, seems a good procedure for the launch of the adaptation process. However, cross-cultural applicability remains unproven. Opinions from natural groups (random sampling) are another point that should be taken into consideration; obviously, these natural groups have to belong to the target population for which the test was constructed. Butcher (1996), a researcher involved in studying personality assessment in intercultural contexts, and in particular, the use of the MMPI, refers to linguistic equivalence by using a seven-step procedure that includes translation, back translation, comparisons by bilinguals, field comparisons, adequacy with American norms, development of new norms with representative samples, and ongoing research to assess cultural validity. It seems that it was a very good intention, and scientifically very accurate and strong, but also shows unrealistic research possibilities.

Step 3. Amending. Adaptation is a sequential process of back and forward equivalence inspection and so forth. Linguistic meaning, cultural adaptation, and accurate technical information to reconstruct the translation are crucial issues at this moment in the job. The importance of field-testing to verify the acceptability in the target language is crucial. Another procedure is connected with construct validation, and replication

of factor-analytic dimensions. However, this methodology has been insufficient to make available unambiguous demonstrations (Irvine & Carroll, 1980). Thus, in spite of translation, cross-cultural remains untested in the absence of construct validation research within the target population for which the translation was done.

Step 4. Refinement of the adaptation process for the launching of the preliminary studies, and collection of empirical data. The support of experts in theoretical literature and empirical studies related to the instrument, in psychometrics, and experts well-versed in the test original language, as well as linguistic experts to guarantee superior standards of syntax and semantic is central to make the final revisions of the translation or adaptation process. After that, a pilot study should be carried out, using available expert participants to discuss the adapted version of the instrument, and also a sample of participants representative of the target population the test addresses. The researcher's work consists, again, in mapping convergent and divergent opinions related with the content, the format, and the response alternatives. The decision about ending the adaptation and launching preliminary studies depends on whether the researcher has found paths to answer the fundamental questions: does the construct exist, with the same components, in the adapted version? Are there differences in meaning between the two versions? Is there enough knowledge, and *good judgement*, in the cross-cultural similarity of the construct? Of course, any researcher has no answers at this time of the process: evidence exists only with empirical studies. Statistical procedures after these preliminary studies may assume some importance, for example, comparisons with the results obtained with the original version, like reliability measures, and factor analyses for checking construct equivalence.

Step 5. Administration to experimental groups. At this stage, probably the test is ready for the administration to a large group of participants representative of the target population. Linguistic procedures, elementary utilisation of psychometric apparatus, such as test and sub-test reliabilities, factor analysis, item analysis, and structural equation modelling can only provide an incomplete demonstration of equivalence. However, this phase is crucial to verify the similarity, or equivalence, between the original and the adapted form of the test. Statistical analysis to determine construct equivalence between the two versions of the test is a procedure that ensures that scores of the adapted version underlie the same dimensions. Until this precise moment of the translation or adaptation process, scalar equivalence demonstrations continue submerged (Van de Vijver, 2000), and only comparative empirical research can established cross-cultural construct equivalence.

Step 6. Cross-cultural assessment. The cross-cultural study of structural equivalence is an important way of establishing the validity of the measures. Analyses of empirical evidence and data comparisons (Hambleton, 1993; Oakland, 2004) cover the major aspects related with situation sampling, function sampling, and ecological context. The administration of culture specific tests (Van de Vijver & Hambleton, 1996) has been accomplished by construct identification, measurement, and subsequent cross-cultural comparisons (Hui & Triandis, 1989). An example of this type of analyses can be seen in the review by Rossier (2005). The cross-cultural replicability of three frequently used personality inventories was analysed comparing loading matrices obtained in Spain and Switzerland after orthogonal Procrustes rotations.

This review confirmed the structural equivalence of the *Revised NEO Personality Inventory* and the *Revised Zuckerman Kuhlman Personality Questionnaire*, whereas structure equivalence was only partial for the fifth edition of the *Sixteen Personality Factor* questionnaire. Portuguese research explored the cross-cultural and language equivalence of the *Goal Instability Scale*, a measure of generalised motivation (Casillas, Schulz, Robins, Santos, & Lee, 2006; Robbins & Patton, 1985). The results of the item response theory analyses showed that, despite minor differences in item performance between the two test versions (English and Portuguese) goal instability had the same internal meaning for both groups

Extra step. And the job done. Adaptation methodology, in general, ends when empirical studies address the evidence of construct equivalence, as well as the absence of method and item bias (Hambleton & Patsula, 1999). However, in cross-cultural comparisons it seems important to increase accuracy of data interpretation in order to enrich and develop new methods of practice in the career psychology assessment. Blustein (2006) admitted a healthy future for testing in the design and delivery of counselling services, and "believe[s] that a significant role for a revitalized and culturally sensitive assessment process exists in expanding the reach and impact of our collective efforts" (p. 288). The role of testing and assessment in cross-cultural domains implies the design of new tools based on meaningful and culturally entrenched taxonomies, and the path is clear: not all constructs are universal, not all tests can be adapted.

The emphasis is put it in what is relevant for each group of individuals. From this point of view, it is possible to sketch a frame for psychologists working in assessment contexts with adapted forms of psychological instruments. The most important aspect is that we have to consider the difference between the general knowledge of the instrument(s), for example, about psychometric characteristics and metrological qualities, cross-national norms comparisons, meaning of interpretation results, and so on, and the information that describes an individual belonging to a specific group; putting things this way, tests results are "viewed from an explicit cultural framework in which the meaning of the items and the nature of the scores is embedded within the cultural understandings of the client's life space and worldview" (Blustein, 2006, p. 286). To do so, an overall conception of relevant issues connected with the knowledge of culture is needed. The case study presented by Savickas following the career construction theory (see, Savickas, 2004, pp. 60–68) could be used as an example. The theory of career construction, "addresses how the career world is made through personal constructivism and social constructionism" (Savickas, 2004, p. 43). It is assumed that the theory has a universal conception. Elaine's problem is probably identical to other young college students around the western world, and all the steps done since the utilisation of *The Career Style Interview* (Savickas, 1989) are applicable with success in a great part of the world. The problem resides exactly in contextualising and "melding subjective and objective assessment data to comprehend and co-construct each individual's career path" (Hartung, 2005, p. 389). Only a *connaisseur* of the American culture is qualified to interpret and integrate Elaine's results of *The Career Style Interview*, vocational personality, career adaptability, and life themes into a contextualised career counselling process.

A second issue related with adapted measures in cross-cultural studies involves the applicability of the measures to individuals of diverse backgrounds. This issue summarises the 68 Standards specifically relevant to the assessment of multicultural and diverse populations (Association for Assessment in Counseling [AAC], 2003). Cross-national evidence is definitely an added value to test validation, but more research focused on determining metrological qualities of the measures with equivalent cross-cultural samples of diverse groups is needed: only new empirical evidence can demonstrate the relevance of the utilisation of cross-national comparisons. The point is not to succumb to the temptation of ethnocentrism interpreted as "a belief that one's cultural ways are universally applicable in evaluating and judging human behaviour" (Baruth & Manning, 1992, p. 156). Cultural differences may affect the expectations and produce several sources of qualitative interpretation biases; interpretation is only practicable if the utilisation of the assessment data conforms to available normative data.

The process of development or adaptation into Portuguese (Duarte, 1993, 1995) of *The Adult Career Concerns Inventory* (ACCI) is presented. The ACCI assesses concerns with career developmental tasks in young and mature adults. The 60-item inventory yields scores for the career developmental stages of Exploration, Establishment, Maintenance, and Disengagement; and the sub-scale scores reflect developmental tasks within each stage (Crystallisation, Specification, Implementation, Stabilising, Consolidating, Advancing, Holding, Updating, Innovating, Decelerating, Retirement Planning, and Retirement Living). The 61-item instrument is a measure of the individual's career change status assessed by responses to five items. The participants indicate for each task how much concern they feel currently, operationally assessed by responses to five items on a 5-point scale, from "no concern" to "great concern". The ACCI scores indicate the planfulness dimensions of Super's theoretical model of career ability (Super, 1990). Planfulness means the individual skill to plan in a controlled way, a notion of self-esteem, and a strong awareness of the past for the preparation of the future. The reading level is established approximately at the eighth grade, although in specific situations it could be administered at lower levels of education.

The very first step for the Portuguese translation of the ACCI: a number of exercises and interviews were made in order to map the components of the dimension Planfulness, regarding behaviour and construct interpretation, and meaning of career concerns developmental tasks. The interviewees were psychologists, well versed in Super's theory, models and concepts (Step 1).

After that, a draft translation was presented in a non standard way. The procedure was to solicit all kinds of opinions from psychologist respondents (approximately the same group of participants as in the previous phase on all items, comprehension level, interpretation of the instructions, and response alternatives. Also, opinions from a random sample of young adults, college students, and employees (clerical and technical workers) between 23 and 65 years of age were collected. The first translation showed inappropriateness of some item content (Van de Vijver & Hambleton, 1996), particularly because of cultural adaptation. The decision of not using the occupational career fields of the original

version was taken because of lack of correspondence with the Portuguese situation (Step 2).

Next, field-testing to verify the acceptability in the target language was done with small samples, ranging from 60 to 175 participants of male and female adult employees, distributed by age and occupational groups were made and substantial evidence was collected. Some problems of item formulation remained. This led to some adjustments to eliminate or re-adapt items leading to a different interpretation of the same statement (Step 3).

For the refinement of the adaptation process of the ACCI, the compatibility between the Planfulness dimensions (conceptual definition) and the operational definition measured by the ACCI (concerns with developmental tasks) was established by construct validity through correlational studies and factor analysis (principal component analysis) (Duarte, 1993). The results indicated that the ranking of concerns followed the theoretical ordering and supported the original interpretation of the scores. But, only a partial conclusion can be made with respect to demographic data, the ACCI represents a clear and theoretical picture of relationships between career stages and sub-stages concerns and age (Step 4).

Construct validation implies empirical demonstrations: the criteria of construct-related validation used with the original version of the ACCI (Cron & Slocum, 1986; Savickas, Passen, & Jarjoura, 1988) were applied to the Portuguese version. The results obtained supported the appropriateness of the theoretical model, with respect to assessment of career concerns development (Duarte, 1993, 1995, 2005). The collected evidence supports the appropriateness of the theoretical model, with respect to assessment of career concerns development (Steps 5 and 6).

Creating Culture Specific Measures

The psychometrics procedures, such as metric scalar equivalence, or other statistical procedures can only provide incomplete demonstration of equivalence, and do not complete the process of construct validation, nor cross-cultural construct equivalence in absolute terms. The development of instruments that are simultaneously created in several cultures could be a way for the implementation research in cross-national domain, and it can also be a way to determine national differences in the assessed variables, and/or identify specific and common international, and /or regional patterns, achieving added value and usefulness of assessment techniques.

The Work Importance Study Project (WIS) (1979–1989), under the international coordination of Donald Super (Super & Šverko, 1995), constituted a very good example of ecological suitability in different ecological contexts. The WIS consisted in a research project set up through an international teamwork, and brought together researchers from 11 countries: one from Africa (South Africa), two from Asia (Israel, and Japan), five from Europe (Belgium, Croatia, Italy, Poland, and Portugal), two from North America (United States of America, and Canada), and

also Australia, and all these teams completed their projects. Some other national teams withdrew because of funding problems. The purpose of this seminal project was "to develop an integrated series of measures for the systematic assessment of values and the relative importance of major life roles, and to advance the cross-cultural study of value priorities and life role salience" (Super & Šverko, 1995, p. 349). In short, it tried to determine the importance of one's work role in relation to other life roles, and how values influenced the roles. The development of two international instruments capable to support cross-national analyses was scheduled: the *Values Scale* (VS; Nevill & Super, 1986) and the *Salience Inventory* (SI; Super & Nevill, 1985).

The project began with literature reviews, aiming at the development of a values list (Descombes, 1980; Super, Kidd, & Knasel, 1980). National teams reviewed the values list, and progress was made on a general taxonomy of work values and refined constructs related to work salience (Ferreira Marques & Miranda, 1995) and each team wrote definitions for each of the 23 values in English and the native language. As a consequence, draft specifications and sample items were produced for each of the values. The international experimental field trial form utilised five items representing general values and five items representing specific work content, yielding ten statements for each of the values.

During team work sessions researchers felt the need to design a new comprehensive model for the importance of roles that an individual performs in the course of his/her life; that is the reason of the creation of a new model of role salience and, therefore, the operationalisation of the role salience concept through an instrument that assesses the relative importance of those roles. That is why SI was developed. The procedure was similar to VS: a draft definition and sample items were produced for each component of the SI. It is important to highlight two aspects: one is the standardisation of theoretical terminology, facilitating the translation of items from English into the different languages; second, and as a consequence, cross-national meaning of item content was surpassed.

A plan to try out the experimental version of both instruments in each participant country was prepared, and sample decisions were made. Reports of field trials were presented, and cross-national empirical evidence was the basis for agreement on the revision of the VS. Another important issue to highlight referred the cross-national compatibility between the conceptual and the operational definitions of variables were observed through psychometric procedures. In the final version of the VS, three of the five items of each scale are cross-national, while the other two are selected by each country from the remaining items that nationally had the highest internal consistency and had conceptual adequacy (Ferreira Marques & Miranda, 1995). The final product is an international instrument, and collecting evidence and understanding the role of culture in a specific context, allowing for cultural interpretations.

The WIS project and its methodological features surpassed those of typical cross-cultural studies: international literature reviews, pilot studies, standardisation and validation, including identical factor analysis procedures, were realised in 11 countries using multiple and large comparable samples (Duarte, 2005).

In order to a better understanding of how and why cultural context affects the construction of life, skilled test developers with personal knowledge of the culture within which they are operating should develop career instruments. Confronting theory, construct interpretation, and meaning in career management is a global enterprise toward building a fair society. Such confrontation can be translated into methods of research that focus more on integrating ideas on career measurement and on exploring relationships among such measures (Watson, Duarte, & Glavin, 2005). The search for what is common across cultures is a way to achieve contextual meaningfulness.

New Perspectives

Van de Vijver and Poortinga (2002) clearly rejected the idea of description of the maximisation of cultural context. They emphasise the importance of abstraction in cross-cultural research together with the minimization of cultural context. At least "as long as [it does] not make the behaviour studied incomprehensible or irrelevant" (p. 253). They reinforce the idea that only with a deep knowledge of daily contexts (it is assumed that daily context is related with the knowledge of beliefs, values, habits, symbols, expressions) is it possible to reduce culture to a set of centre variables for the construct and proceeding culture-comparative research. This rationale for abstraction is relevant in career psychology field, namely when career assessment is used and evoked. Career assessment was rooted and grew upon the ground of the individual differences and psychometric traditions in psychology, emphasising objective measurement of quantifiable person variables, normative standards, and verifiable realities (Hartung, 2005). Nowadays, based on phenomenological approaches (Savickas, 1995, 2004), career assessment is not a cumulative process of interpretation of the assessment data; instead, it integrates environment variables that, beyond adding incremental validity to the assessment process, consider also the cultural context. In short, the notion of career assessment has different characteristics depending upon the cultural specificities. Dropping it out from core variables set (e.g., assessment infused within the career counselling process) diminishes its cultural meaning. In this way, it is possible to compare the effect of psychometric assessment, not reducing assessment (nor evaluation) to abstract generalities, but connect it with the way of thinking in the different cultures, and put "the emphasis on contexts and culture" (Guichard & Lenz, 2005, p. 26); in a broader sense, this may fit Marsella and Leong's (1995) explanation of the four standards of equivalence when they addressed the specificity and the generality of personality and career assessments regarding cultural different groups. But goes beyond the positivistic cross-cultural psychology and consider new alternative or complementary methodological principles, such as adding qualitative methodology in the study of psychological group differences.

Final Remarks, or the Need for Integrated Approaches

Changing contexts and competitive pressures force the demand for innovation in the field of cross-cultural testing and assessment activities. The importance of links between cultural background and individual's (*idiographic*) assessment seems to be one of the cues. The integration of both etic (in the sense of universal, to a certain extent, universal in their applications, not as an *imposed* etic) (Berry, 1969) and emic approaches or knowledge (providing the utilisation of assessment data) can encourage proactive and innovative forms of testing in an international context. Therefore, attention needs to be given to the context, both emic-etic conceptualisations of universal variables and culture specific criteria.

The establishment of cultural equivalence can be detected by a clear understanding of methodological procedures: methodological supplies for cross-cultural equivalence have their own rules, in the specification of the notions of equivalence, and the notions of bias. The challenge is the integration of the psychometric or psychological procedures for assessment in an international context, getting out from a "technocratic" perspective of knowledge (the assumption that tests are universal in their applications) to enter into the development of culture "networks" which encourage exchange and knowledge-sharing.

Critical attention should be given to the equity principle underlying non-discriminatory assessment. The purpose here is to take into account environmental factors within the assessment process in order to avoid any discrimination due to cultural factors. This goal is however difficult to reach knowing those societies themselves do not respect this equity principle. But several techniques, which sometimes imply to adopt a new perspective on testing and assessment, may help career counsellors. Thus, combining a clinical and a psychometric evaluation might help to bring these etic and emic approaches into an assessment process. Moreover, equity in testing and assessment implies of course the use of multicultural counselling competencies by career counsellors (Sue et al., 1992). The available evidence tends to suggest that when using assessment techniques cross-culturally it is essential to develop a thorough understanding of the theoretical literature and of the empirical studies related with the psychological instrument, as well as the understanding of the "new" cultural context, or cultural competence for the understanding of the individual's needs.

Incorporating Vygotsky's (1987) historical conception of dynamic testing into modern psychology, in contrast with conventional or psychometric approaches used only to provide diagnostic information, an alternative and more integrative approach could be considered. Regarding the consequences of globalisation, in what seems to be the new societal needs, it is mandatory to recognise the desirability of a greater proximity to culture in testing, that is to say, the use of testing and assessment considering different cultural background. Cross-national evidence is an added value to test validation, and could be used in the understanding of multi-faceted profile more adapted to local, regional, or countries situations.

The Work Importance Study project opened a gate for testing in an international context, and demonstrated the applicability of measures developed across cultures. The future? Keep the gate open, considering scientific pertinence, ecological meaningfulness, societal needs, comparing results obtained with cultural diversified populations, developing non-discriminatory assessment devices. Testing and assessment in an international context focused on the appropriateness of the measures chosen on the basis of psychometric and cultural criteria; testing and assessment linked to intervention, and encompassing the integration between the individual and the ecological context in order to help with knowledgeable counselling; testing and assessment as a form of testing hypotheses with cultural representative samples. In sum, testing and assessment in an international context viewed as a teamwork job to achieve success in what concerns the analytical (analysing, comparing, and evaluating results), the practical (applying, utilising), and the creative (inventing and designing comprehensive research) issues in the field of career guidance.

Acknowledgment The contribution of Jérôme Rossier was supported through a grant from the Swiss National Science Foundation (grant no 100013–108290).

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Chapter 25
CAREER MATURITY ASSESSMENT IN AN INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT

Mark B. Watson

The Xhosa-speaking people of South Africa have a saying, *xa umculo utshintsho nomduda uyatshintsha*, which means that when the music changes so does the dance. The saying provides an appropriate metaphor for describing the development of the construct of career maturity and its assessment since its introduction over 50 years ago (Super, 1955). This chapter describes the development and adaptation of career maturity against the macro factors that changed the musical score to which it danced. The first section of the chapter describes the historical development of career maturity and its assessment within the modernist times in which it was conceived. The second section describes factors that changed the tune, with a specific emphasis on the relevance and validity of transporting career maturity from its westernised, middle-class, modernist roots into multicultural, post-modern contexts. This section raises issues of cultural relativity, cultural validity, cultural specificity, as well as psychometric issues concerning conceptual equivalence. The third section of the chapter considers how career maturity and its assessment will need to adapt if it is to stay in step with the present times within which individual career development takes place.

The Development of Career Maturity

Development of the Construct

The development of career maturity (originally termed vocational maturity) reflects the movement of career psychology from a pre-modernist to a modernist perspective of career behaviour. Within that perspective there was a shift over time from a singular, point-in-time definition of career readiness towards a more flexible, process-oriented definition that emphasised the developmental nature of an individual's career behaviour and the fact that different types and levels of readiness

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J.A. Athanasou, R. Van Esbroeck (eds.) *International Handbook of Career Guidance*,

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are appropriate for different developmental ages and stages. Thus career maturity needs to be understood in terms of its systematic relationship to time (Vondracek & Reitzle, 1998) with different stages of development requiring the successful completion of age appropriate tasks. Career readiness requires that an individual complete the following attitudinal and cognitive developmental tasks: gain an appropriate knowledge of self; gain an appropriate knowledge of careers; be able to integrate the knowledge of self and careers; demonstrate effective career decision-making; and be able to plan for a career.

To understand the development of career maturity as a construct one needs to consider the historical context in which this occurred. The construct of career maturity was by and large contextually sensitive to the times in which it was developed. As a construct it reflected the stable and orderly work world of the middle of the last century (Savickas, 2005). It was a time when the Protestant work ethic was dominant, when the career choice process was largely defined as occurring in late adolescence, and when career research was predominantly focused on white, western, middle class and male samples. In short, it was an appropriate construct for the realities of the work world of that time. It was also a time in which modernist perspectives of career psychology were the norm, a time when it was believed that individuals' test scores represented a way forward in understanding their career development.

This meant that career maturity could be operationalised and assessed and that individuals could be compared with others in the same developmental stage. Super's (1984) extension of the construct of career maturity in later years allowed for this comparison to be made across the lifespan. It should be noted that Super (1955) also proposed that an individual could be interpreted ipsatively but, as Patton and Lokan (2001) pointed out, most research and development of career maturity has focused on a normed interpretation of the construct. As will be seen in later sections, an ipsative comparison would allow for a more qualitative assessment and a contextualised exploration of an individual's career maturity.

If career maturity was appropriate for the work context of the last century, it has been increasingly criticised as less appropriate for the changing world of work in which individual career development now occurs. Vondracek and Reitzle (1998) made the important point that any stage-based model of career development that also has a matching component rests on at least two assumptions that are questionable for the present times: appropriateness and stability. A career development stage model implies that there are age-appropriate transition times between stages, while a matching model implies that there is sufficient stability both within the individual and the context. Both these assumptions are challenged by an increasingly complex and transient work world in which it has become harder to define universal transition points. This applies to westernised and non-westernised contexts. Rather than predefined normed changes, the construct of career maturity now needs to address constant change as a norm in itself.

Complicating this picture is the fact that for many cultural groups, opportunities, economic conditions and the cultural perspectives of the family can impact negatively on their career development. The conception of career maturity as representing

what Vondracek and Reitlze (1998) refer to as "some internal clock, some timekeeper" (p. 7) fails to sufficiently accommodate factors external to the individual that may prescribe to such ontological development. As Savickas (1995) stated "context not only matters, but it is an integral part of career development" (p. 34). Failure to be contextually sensitive emphasises anther criticism of career maturity as a construct, that it is value-laden in that it prescribes what the norm for career maturity should be. Despite criticism of career maturity lacking universal meaning, Hackett and Watkins (1995) have noted that there has been consistent and often useful research of the construct.

Research and Measurement

Research on career maturity as a construct and on its assessment tools has been continuous for over half a century. There have been various reviews of this research (e.g., Niles, 1998; Patton & Lokan, 2001; Savickas, Silling, & Schwartz, 1984; Swanson & D' Achiardi, 2005) and the reader is advised to refer to these sources for greater detail. Much of this research has focused on construct validation and the correlation of career maturity with diverse variables. Research has focused on intrapersonal variables such as gender, socioeconomic status, vocational identity, career decision and indecision, work role salience (Patton & Lokan, 2001) and personality (Raskin, 1998).

There is a lack of consistency in both American and international research of the possible correlates of career maturity such as age, gender and socioeconomic status. Age differences in career maturity development may be dependent on the type of career maturity studied (i.e., attitudinal or cognitive) and by contextual factors such as the prescribed decision points of formalised education. Thus, while career development theory would imply chronological career maturity development, Patton and Lokan's (2001) review suggests that this may occur more with attitudinal than cognitive career maturity. The relationship of age and educational level to career maturity is discussed further on in this section.

Similarly, the research on gender and career maturity has produced inconsistent findings dependent on the type of career maturity investigated. While most research indicates that females are more career mature than males, this gender difference may be more evident for cognitive than attitudinal career maturity (Patton & Lokan, 2001). Age may be a mediating variable in gender differences in career maturity, with gender differences evident at high school level no longer evident at college or university level (Whiston & Brecheisen, 2002).

The relationship between socioeconomic status and career maturity seems less significant, both in high school, and college age populations (Patton & Lokan, 2001). Again, where a relationship has been established, this may be dependent on the aspect of career maturity being researched. Thus, socioeconomic status has been reported as related to the cognitive scales of career maturity measures. The confounding of cultural variables with socioeconomic status is discussed elsewhere in this chapter.

The inconclusiveness of research findings on possible correlates of career maturity is generally recognised. Patton and Lokan's comprehensive review of research in this field concluded that the difficulty in establishing significant trends can be attributed to the lack of systematic research, the research methodology employed (most frequently cross-sectional) and the limited nature of the sampling (usually convenience samples of small size).

Understandably, given the sequential, developmental nature of career maturity, there have been several attempts to relate the construct to time, specifically to age and educational level. Savickas and colleagues (1984) concluded that time perspective is a critical variable in career maturity. Over a decade later, a special section of *The Career Development Quarterly* (Niles, 1998) examined the issue of timing in terms of individuals' interactions with their context. This latter reference represents a movement from construct validation within a modernist perspective, with its focus on the interrelationship of theoretical variables, towards attempts to relate career maturity to the contexts (cultural, educational, historical and socioeconomic) that impact on the individual's readiness to make a career choice.

While Patton and Lokan (2001) noted the sustained momentum of career maturity research, they also criticised most of this research as being unsystematic and difficult to generalise because of limited sample sizes. There has also been consistent reinforcement for Super's (1990) earlier call for validation of the construct (Swanson & D' Achiardi, 2005). It would seem that career maturity finds most support in maturational contexts, that is in contexts that provide individuals with the opportunities and stimulus for career development. Clearly, the more congruent the career culture is to the theoretical underpinnings of the construct the more supportive research findings are of the construct. It is a different matter when cultural contexts differ considerably from the western, middle class roots of the construct as will be seen in the next section of the chapter.

Research that has focused on career maturity measures remains inconclusive and even controversial. Swanson and D' Achiardi (2005) concluded that over 40 years of such research using a wide variety of career maturity measures has largely been unsatisfactory. At the core of this concern is the construct validity of the career maturity measures. Swanson and D' Achiardi cited research that indicates that career maturity measures do not assess career development tasks and transitions but rather intellectual ability. Patton and Lokan (2001) expressed similar concerns in their review of research on several career maturity measures. They reported numerous psychometric issues related to Crites's (1965) original *Vocational Development Inventory* and its revision, the *Career Maturity Inventory* (Crites, 1978). Further, Hackett and Watkins (1995) pointed to the fact that little has been done to address concerns raised by Savickas (1990) about the construct validity, criterion-related validity, convergent and discriminant validity of the *Career Maturity Inventory's* Attitude Scale.

There have been similar concerns raised about Super's *Career Development Inventory* (Super, Thompson, Lindeman, Jordaan, & Myers, 1981). Savickas (1990) has called for research on the criterion-related validity of the inventory as well as attempts to increase the scales' reliability. Hackett and Watkins (1995) concluded that

the reliability and stability of the inventory's scales are questionable. This is particularly the case when career maturity measures are used in cultural contexts that differ from the ones in which they were developed, as will be seen in the following section.

Cultural Challenges to Career Maturity

Cultural Challenges

Much has been written on the macro-changes that occurred in the world of work and their impact on career psychology as a discipline. This section describes how cultural factors have challenged the predominant modernist conceptualisation of career maturity whose definition and operationalisation as an assessment tool occurred at a time when the dominant cultural perspective in career psychology was western, middle class and largely male. This definition offered a singular interpretation of career developmental constructs to which all individuals were adapted, a "grand narrative" (Savickas, 1993, p. 211) for all. As such, the construct of career maturity was decontextualised in terms of the diverse cultural groups to which it was applied. In this regard, Vondracek and Reitzle (1998) make the common-sense point that "career maturity, as well as career development in general, have meaning only in relation to the contexts and historical time in which they are observed" (p. 14).

Super himself was amongst those who recognised that the challenge of multiculturalism has not been adequately addressed. In an interview conducted in 1993 (Freeman, 1993) he posed the question as to what career might mean within different cultures and reflected that:

> Career development, for example, in some of the African and South Asian countries that I know is really a matter of fitting into what the family wants, what the family needs. But generally our notions of career development are somewhat different. (p. 263)

Super's comment suggests that career counsellors and researchers who work in culturally diverse contexts need to explore the universality or not of the career constructs they might adopt and adapt. There are those who would argue that career constructs are not universal and that career assessment is a psychosocial process in which individuals are compared to externally defined criteria such as career maturity (Watson, Duarte, & Glavin, 2005). This argument suggests that the generalisation and assessment of career maturity across different cultural groups is not possible. It raises the issue of construct equivalence, that is whether a construct like career maturity is meaningful to an individual's cultural perspective.

There has been considerable comment on the construct equivalence of career maturity. At a symposium that addressed the cross-cultural application of career maturity and other measures, delegates pointed out that construct equivalence should not be equated with linguistic equivalence (Watson et al., 2005). It seemed that the main focus in most countries adopting American career measures has been

on normative, scale and linguistic equivalence. There was general agreement that construct equivalence was a primary and urgent psychometric issue but that it took a secondary, post-hoc place to other forms of equivalence.

Construct equivalence is not the only consideration. Leong (1991; Leong & Brown, 1995; Leong & Serafica, 2001) provided structure to the discussion of career maturity assessment in different cultural contexts by identifying three more critical constructs: cultural relativity, cultural validity and cultural specificity. Cultural relativity suggests that career counsellors and researchers explore how cultural differences may impact on the understanding of what constitutes career maturity within a specific culture. When this exploration is psychometric in nature it requires differentiation between the two constructs of cultural validity and cultural specificity. Cultural validity can be defined as the process of validating the use of westernised career measures on other national groups by means of construct, concurrent and predictive validity. It is, in a sense, a post-hoc approach as one starts with an established measure and then explores its cultural goodness of fit. This has been the predominant approach in career assessment research in different cultural contexts. Cultural specificity, on the other hand, explores concepts and constructs that may be specific to a cultural group. It is a more grounded approach as it seeks to explore the specific career perspectives of a particular culture. The lack of sufficient focus on cultural specificity may reflect on practical research issues such as the limited resources in most countries to address this issue (Watson et al., 2005).

There are several assumptions inherent in career maturity measures that are problematic when considered in different cultural contexts. One assumption is the conception of an age-related maturation process that does not accommodate some cultural beliefs in a specified point in time for maturation that is ceremoniously endorsed (Watson, 2006). Before this time, adolescents are not expected to think of adult responsibilities such as future employment. A second assumption is that there can be linguistic equivalence for westernised constructs. This becomes problematic in cultures where there is no language to describe a construct or where there are several words that describe a construct differentially. Take, for example, the Xhosa-speaking people of South Africa who have four words that relate to the meaning of work alone. A third assumption in career maturity assessment is that independent thought and planning, individual achievement and a general self-sufficiency are valued aspects of career development readiness. These aspects all emphasise an individualistic perspective and become problematic in cultural contexts that emphasise a collectivist perspective.

This third assumption has been much discussed in the career literature, not only in terms of individualism and collectivism but also in terms of independence and interdependence (Hardin, Leong, & Osipow, 2001). While individualism and independence have been considered key terms in the definition of career maturity, many cultures promote a belief in collectivism and interdependence. Clearly one needs to be careful of overemphasising (Savickas, 2003) or oversimplifying (Stead, 2004) this dichotomy. Nevertheless, this remains a consistent theme in the career literature. An example of this is Black South Africans, most of whom subscribe to a collectivist definition of self (Watson, 2006). This is illustrated in the Xhosa saying, *intaka yakha ngoboya bezinye*, whose literal translation is that a bird builds with

other birds' feathers. Thus, all people are interdependent; it takes a village to raise a child. This is evident in the reflections of a 20 year-old Xhosa-speaking female on her career decision-making process:

> At the age of 18 I knew exactly what I wanted to become and my mind was made up. I remember talking to my uncle about becoming a psychologist. He was against it. In his view he told me that psychology and social work were the careers of white people. He said to me, "Do you know any black psychologist?", and at that time I did not know any. I said no. He said, "Have you ever asked yourself why it is like that?" and I said "Because black people were only allowed to do either nursing or teaching during the apartheid era". He told me that I should do medicine because it was the best.

A collectivist concept of self places the locus of self externally, as the point of contact with other people. This has implications for career development in that the decision-making process is much influenced by significant others, resulting in a decision that is more external than internal in its locus of control. While this belief could result in a low score on a career measure, Hardin et al. (2001) suggested that higher interdependence should not be viewed as an inherent deficit. Embedding one's career identity within one's family and community may represent culturally appropriate career maturation (Akhurst & Mkhize, 2006) and collectivist decision-making may represent career maturity rather than developmental lag (Watson, 2006).

This discussion on cultural contextualisation suggests that the prevalence of American career theories and measures remains a significant challenge to the international community (Watson et al., 2005). It has represented a mono-directional rather than an interactional influence. Yet career psychology could gain from exploring how counsellors and researchers from other cultures interpret and assess career constructs such as career maturity. As Watson, Duarte, and Glavin (2005) stated, such interaction could demonstrate that similar ends can be achieved in different ways.

Research and Measurement

Recent career literature identifies career maturity as a continuing source of controversy when applied in multicultural contexts (Worthington, Flores, & Navarro, 2005). The issue of cultural challenges to career maturity and its assessment has been identified by Patton and Lokan (2001) as contributing to the invigoration of career maturity research and the reader is referred to several reviews of this extensive body of research (Leong & Serafica, 2001; Patton & Lokan, 2001; Watson & Stead, 2006; Worthington et al., 2005). Several themes emerge from these reviews. One theme is the limited nature of this research, with its predominant focus on American ethnic minority groups and its limited focus on cross-cultural comparison studies.

Another theme is the consistent finding that when non-westernised cultural groups are compared to westernised groups they invariably record lower career maturity scores. There is probably a confounding of socioeconomic status with culture in most of these studies. Most of the studies reviewed concluded by querying the validity of assessing career maturity on the cultural group sampled. Consistent with the theoretical discussion of individualism and collectivism, research suggests

that the definition of independence is too unidimensional and does not accommodate the interdependence evident in collectivist cultures. Research has also found that cultural differences moderate the meaning of career maturity. This has led to the call for within-group research rather than comparative research in order to establish what the developmental trends in a cultural group are. There has also been research that has established that career maturity is influenced by macro-contextual factors such as social and political systems and that career maturity may be influenced by the interaction of the individual with these contexts and circumstances.

Concomitant with this body of research has been psychometric research on career maturity measures. This has also been reviewed in the four reviews referenced earlier. Most of the studies concluded that there is insufficient psychometric evidence to support the use of established career maturity measures on diverse cultural groups. Several researchers have pointed to additional developmental tasks that may be required in different cultures that westernised career measures do not tap. In short, the call has consistently been for the revision of what career maturity measures assess or the exploration of alternative forms of assessment.

Some researchers have suggested an ipsative and more qualitative interpretation of career maturity measures rather than their dismissal. Others have suggested that the reformulation of the item content within an interview structure may address concerns about construct equivalence. These suggestions do not seem to address the central issue that one may be starting from the wrong conceptual base. They raise the basic question as to why one would use test items that emphasise individualism when confronted with a collectivist client. This leads to the more critical question of whether the construct of career maturity as it is defined within modernist career theory can be adapted in a more culturally sensitive manner. The next section considers this issue and explores the significant work that Mark Savickas has written in this regard.

The Adaptation of Career Maturity

Changes in the Construct

A good starting point to this section of the chapter is Savickas's (1993) simple statement that "yesterday's solutions are today's problems" (p. 207). Clearly career maturity as a construct is out of step and there is a need to re-evaluate its usefulness and how it has been assessed. A singular understanding of career maturity is no longer possible in the multicultural contexts in which career counselling and assessment must occur. The present author also queries the adaptation of the standard items of career maturity measures for multicultural use. Such suggestions do not sufficiently tackle the core challenge to the construct, that is that it represents a modernist, normative perspective of individual career development that is no longer valid. In addition, the term maturity itself suggests a value-laden interpretation of career development that fails to address the meaning of what constitutes maturity within different cultural settings.

The Xhosa-speaking people of South Africa have a saying, *akukho nto itheni ebonga theni*, which means that there is nothing new under the sun. So it is with Savickas's (1997) proposal that the construct of career adaptability replace that of career maturity. It brings the construct of career maturity and its assessment full cycle, back to earlier formulations of Super's (1984) in which he called for the reconstruction of career maturity to career adaptability and the recognition of the influence of contextual factors. This proposal reflects on the present broader movement within career psychology from a modernist to a postmodernist perspective. Thus it seems appropriate to consider the implications of replacing career maturity, specifically given the cultural challenges to its present utility. As Savickas (1997) stated: "the cultural climate for switching from maturity to adaptability seems right" (p. 255). There has been considerable endorsement of career adaptability as a more contextually rich construct than career maturity.

The challenge for career psychology has been to conceptualise what constitutes meaningful and mature behaviour in different contexts and whether there is a construct that can be applied across developmental ages, in different life roles and within different cultural contexts. Career adaptability describes a more holistic meaning to developmental career readiness. It suggests that an individual should be able to change in order to meet change, that career readiness represents an ongoing process of changing to meet contextual circumstances rather than a maturation of prescribed behaviours. This incorporation of adjustment to change helps move the earlier concept of career developmental maturation away from its linear roots and its predictable, formalised developmental tasks.

Savickas (1997, 2002, 2005) has argued that Super's career developmental theory will become more integrated if career adaptability rather than career maturity becomes its central construct. Proposition 14 of career construction theory (Savickas, 2002) provided a definition of career adaptability in terms of the individual's readiness and available resources to cope with present and future tasks of career development. Career readiness still remains a central concept in this proposition but the definition also includes the concept of adaptive fitness in terms of an individual's attitudes, beliefs and competencies. Watson and Stead (2006) have commented on the potential of the concept of adaptive fitness for use in multicultural contexts, particularly as it acknowledges that individuals need to construct their career development within multilayered macro and micro contexts that include, amongst other factors, their culture, race and ethnicity.

Research and Measurement

Patton and Lokan (2001) identified the debate around the reformation of career maturity as contributing to a resurgence of research in this field. This body of research focused on the middle part of the continuum described in the conclusion to the chapter in which career counsellors and researchers seek to renovate the

construct of career maturity so that it better reflects on the post-modern perspectives that have developed within the discipline. The career literature on newer constructs that would replace career maturity, such as career adaptability and the embedded perspective of Blustein and Noumair (1996), is more theoretical and conceptual at this stage.

While the development and refinement of these constructs has been conducted over nearly a decade (e.g., Savickas, 1997, 2002, 2005), research on these alternative constructs and their assessment is at a nascent stage. In addition, the subjective, qualitative and often narrative nature of post-modern concepts of career readiness do not translate as readily into formalised research as objective, quantitative modernist career measures do. For instance, most major career texts devote space to the description of career narrative approaches but report little related research. The very nature of post-modern career theory, practice and assessment, as well as its present stage of development, calls for discussion at a process rather than a definable research level. In essence, post-modern career constructs will not be as measurable as career modernist constructs were, with the consequence that literature in this field often includes case study material. Perhaps post-modern shifts in the conceptualisation of critical concepts such as contextualised career readiness will result in less of the quantitative research which has dominated the career literature in the past and move the discipline towards more qualitative research and assessment in the future. If it does, we may not evidence the proliferation of research that quantitative assessment so readily stimulated.

Shifting the construct of career readiness towards a post-modern understanding has assessment implications. Career maturity is a modernist career construct whose assessment has provided structured boundaries and definition to the career counselling and research process. The construct has been used by career counsellors to help make objective what is increasingly being viewed as a subjective experience. The movement in career psychology towards postmodernism requires the counsellor to deconstruct the results of career measures within the realities of their clients' contexts (Watson, 2006). The utility of deconstructing established career measures needs further debate in the literature. Career measures themselves are constructed within a certain cultural framework and the further that framework is from the career client, the greater the deconstruction that may be required. Watson (2006) questioned at what point deconstruction of a career measure invalidates the construct that the measure supposedly assesses.

What are the alternatives to psychometric assessment? One is that measurement becomes narrative. Savickas (2002) suggests a structured interview for the assessment of career adaptability. He has provided four questions for career counsellors to use that explore and assess the client's adaptability: career salience (the importance attached to the work role in relation to other life roles); decision-making strategies and career control (self-determination beliefs, decisional competence and compromise); career coping strategies (career convictions and decisional style); and problem solving skills and career confidence.

Conclusion

There seems to be broad consensus that career developmental constructs need to pay greater attention to contextual factors that may impact on them. There is less agreement on what to do with the specific construct of career maturity. Opinion seems to vary along a continuum from those who promote its continued use in diverse cultural contexts to those who call for its replacement (Savickas, 1997, 2002, 2005; Vondracek & Reitzle, 1998). In between are those who propose an eclectic compromise in which career constructs can be renovated and career maturity measures can be interpreted from a post-modern perspective. This chapter aligns itself with calls for its replacement rather than continued efforts at establishing the viability of career maturity. The music has changed, so should the dance.

There are, however, questions that need to be considered in the replacement of career maturity. One is the extent to which general career developmental principles would still hold in any reformulation of the concept of career readiness. Savickas (2005) would argue that certain competencies still determine any redefinition of career readiness. Similarly, Patton and Lokan (2001) believed that there are critical developmental principles that Super proposed that need to be accommodated in the reformulation of career readiness.

Reformulation needs to be considered at a theoretical and an assessment level. There are several innovative theoretical concepts and models that would assist in redefining career readiness and in integrating contextual factors such as culture with individual career development. Besides Savickas's reformulation of Super's construct of career adaptability, Blustein and Noumair (1996) suggested that an embeddedness perspective would help "nest psychological constructs into a broad context that combines social, cultural, historical, intraindividual, and organisational influences" (p. 437). The authors believe that an embeddedness perspective would encourage career counsellors and researchers to prioritise the relational and cultural aspects of an individual's career development. There are also theoretical models that place contextual factors at the centre of career development and, thus, individual career readiness. One such model is the developmental-contextual model of Vondracek, Lerner, and Schulenberg (1986). Another is the systems theory framework of career development of Patton and McMahon (1999, 2006).

While the construct of career maturity can be theoretically de-constructed and re-constructed in order for it to move from a modernist to a postmodernist perspective, it remains debatable whether the present assessment of career maturity will suffice in the multicultural contexts within which career development occurs. Such quantitative assessment contains item content that is firmly embedded in modernist thinking and which fails to sufficiently recognise contextual and systemic factors.

There is a need for career counsellors and researchers to constantly adapt their understanding of career readiness in order to be in step with the realities of the contexts within which their clients' and research participants' career development occurs. Savickas (2005) viewed career counselling as a safe place in which a client's career narrative can be edited. To change the metaphor, we need to see clients dancing

on the realities of their own dance floors rather than put them through prescribed dance steps on a stage that we have created.

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Chapter 26
INTEREST ASSESSMENT IN AN INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT

Terence J. G. Tracey and Saurabh Gupta

The assessment of interests has served as the cornerstone for the field of vocational psychology, especially in the United States, for the better part of a century. Interests have served as crucial information in helping individuals learn about themselves, the world of work, and making occupational and educational decisions. At least with respect to the United States, the assessment of interests has been very well done and rivals assessment in most any area of psychology (Fouad, 1999). Given this, it is not uncommon for these interest instruments to be used in other cultures. While such applications can be cost effective, such applications can also be invalid (e.g., see chapter 26). Care must be taken to thoroughly evaluate any application. In this chapter the focus will be on interest assessment in cross cultural contexts by reviewing the issues involved in cross cultural assessment generally and then apply this to interest assessment specifically. In the framework of this contribution the terms cross-cultural and international are used interchangeably but it is recognised that cultures can often be more specific than nationalities. Examples are the separate ethnic cultures found within the United States. So the discussion is not limited, nor should it be, by examining only national differences and similarities.

Assessment in a Cross-Cultural Context

The problems involved in applying models and measures created in one culture to a different culture have received ever increasing attention in the literature (e.g., Ben-Porath, 1990; Berry, 1989; Buss & Royce, 1975; Irvine & Carroll, 1985; Prediger, 1994). The issues involved in cross-cultural measurement are many and they continue to make application difficult. This chapter will focus predominately on the issue of cultural equivalence, as it is easily misunderstood.

A common approach to cross cultural assessment is where a measure is developed in one culture, then translated into the language of a second and administered in that second culture. The scores of the sample in the second culture are compared to

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J.A. Athanasou, R. Van Esbroeck (eds.) *International Handbook of Career Guidance*,
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those obtained in the first culture and conclusions drawn about similarities and differences made (e.g., interest scores in the arts are higher in the second culture). However unless the measures are equivalently representing the same underlying construct, then such comparisons yield inaccurate conclusions. Artistic interests in one culture may not at all look like or be similar to those in another and thus comparison of scores is invalid. Another common application is that a measure is translated and used in a second culture to investigate the relation of the construct with some other construct (e.g., is there a relation of artistic interests and occupational choice?). In this case, both the measure itself (artistic interest) and the behaviour it is intended to predict may be very differently manifest in the second culture. Again any conclusions made may be invalid given any of these possible and unexamined measure differences.

A central component in any cross-cultural assessment is thus *construct equivalence* (Hambleton, 2005; Harkness, 1998). Can it be claimed that the construct is equivalently represented across different cultures? This is a central and often overlooked aspect. It is very common for measures developed and based in one culture to be administered in another culture with the implicit assumption that this administration is equally valid. In many cases, this involves translating one instrument into another language. Even with very careful attention to issues of translation, there is no assurance that the same construct is being equivalently represented. Indeed, this is true even in contexts where there is no language change but that there is a different culture (e.g., different ethnic groups in the U.S.A.). Without explicit examination of construct equivalence, it is likely that inappropriate measures may be applied that would yield misleading results. Construct equivalence, however, is never something that is demonstrated; rather it is something that is approximated with continued work. Providing support for the construct validity of any measure involves providing a case for the theoretical basis of a scale using the nomological net (Cronbach & Meehl, 1955), wherein certain theoretically defined relations (both convergent and divergent) are supported. This is not an easily accomplished process when viewed in one culture but it becomes more complex when cross-cultural examination is involved.

The determination of construct equivalence involves a dynamic tension between etic and emic issues, where etic refers to aspects that apply across cultures (more universalisms) and emic refers to aspects that are specific to individual cultures (Berry, 1979). Etic examinations involve examination of the generalisability of a measure in other cultures involving questions of both intra-measure relations (e.g., Does the measure have similar structural relations in other cultural contexts?) and extra-measure relations (e.g., Does the measure have relations to other measures of similar magnitude?). Construct equivalence can be evaluated to the extent that both the intra and extra measure examinations provide similar answers across cultures. Duarte and Rossier (see Chapter 24) do an excellent job of delineating some of the issues relevant to assessment of intra measure equivalence. However, failure to find similar patterns in measures across cultures does not necessarily indicate that the construct is not appropriate in cross-cultural contexts. Lack of a measure's construct equivalence could be indicative of either an inappropriate construct or an

inappropriate operationalisation of the construct. Translating items from one measure into another language or context may not produce equivalence because the items are not the most appropriate for the second culture. The construct still may apply but better items, more in line with the specific culture may be needed. So it is very possible that construct equivalence can be established with very different items and scales, each uniquely suited to a particular culture (i.e., emic issues). Constructs can be equivalently represented with very different measures.

These issues make it especially difficult to establish the construct equivalence of any measures. In this chapter the focus will be mostly on the simpler aspect of construct equivalence, that of structural similarity. If the intra-measure relations (i.e., structural relations) are similar across cultures, one has some support for the equivalence of the construct. It should be noted again that construct equivalence across cultures is never something that is concluded but it is something that is ever approximated.

After this very brief introduction to issues of cross-cultural examination of construct equivalence, attention is given to interest assessment. Most of the interest measures, models, and constructs have been developed and researched in the United States.

Holland's Typology

Holland's (1973, 1985, 1997) theory of career choice is the most widely studied and influential theory of vocational interests in history (Borgen, 1986; Swanson & Gore, 2000; Tracey & Rounds, 1993), and it remains a cornerstone of theory development and career counselling practice. Holland's is considered a person-environment typology (Rounds & Tracey, 1990), which articulates some broad, defining principles. First, people and environments can be classified according to six categories or types: Realistic, Investigative, Artistic, Social, Enterprising, and Conventional. Second, individuals, for whom these measured categories are said to constitute work personalities, tend to seek work environments that capitalise on these traits. Lastly, work performance is a product of the interaction between a person's work personality and the demands and rewards of the workplace environment (Swanson & Gore, 2000). Among several extensions of this theory is the notion of congruence, which is an index of the degree of fit between a person's work personality type and the demands and rewards of the work environment. The aim of career counselling in the vocational decision-making process is to guide exploration of careers that correspond to a person's vocational type. This is presumed to facilitate career satisfaction (Tranberg, Slane, & Ekeberg, 1993) and achievement (Assouline & Meir, 1987). However, the validity of these assumptions has not been free of controversy. Notably, Spokane (1985) touched off a debate with the assertion that measures of congruence (for a review see Brown and Gore, 1994) were rather poor predictors of academic and career outcomes. Several years later the debate continued in a special issue of *Journal of Vocational Behavior* (Tinsley, 2000) devoted to various reviews and theoretical and empirical analyses of the person-environment fit model. Notwithstanding the doubts of some researchers, the person-environment

model and congruence constitute the foundation upon which the contemporary practice of vocational guidance is built. With this basic framework in mind, attention can now be turned to the various structural models that represent distinct uses of Holland's typology, with associated theoretical and practical implications.

Holland's Hexagonal Structure

Holland (1973, 1985) articulated a structural hypothesis, which takes the shape of hexagon, with the six RIASEC types located at the vertices of the polygon as seen in Fig. 26.1. It is often interchangeably referred to as a circular structure

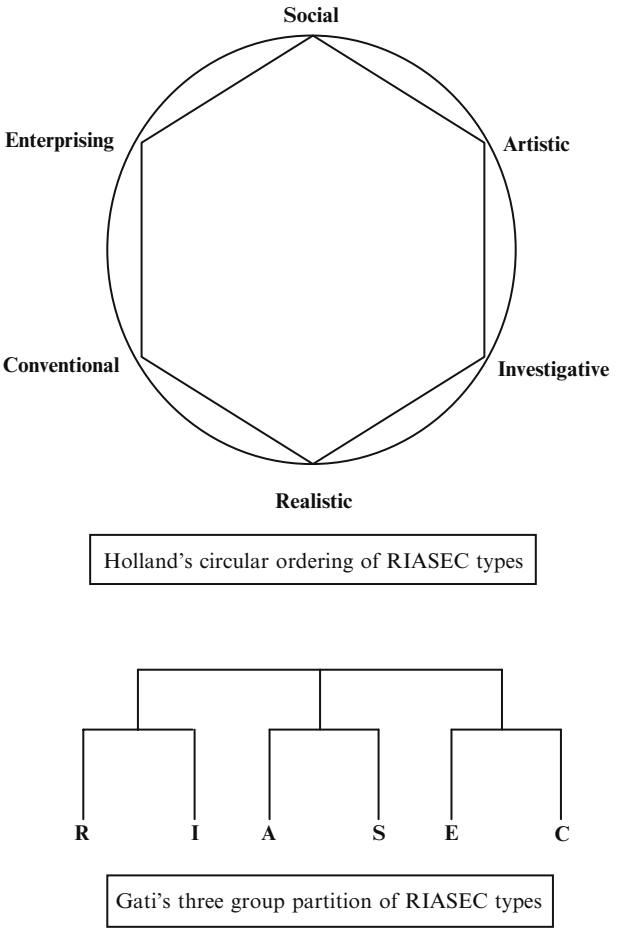


Fig. 26.1 Spatial representation of Holland's and Gati's models of RIASEC types

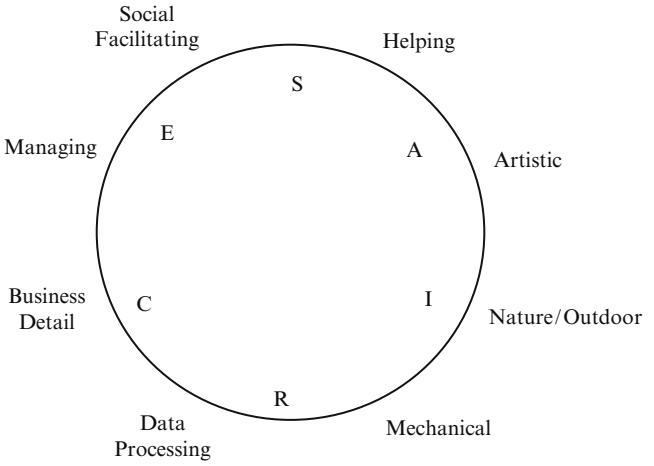


Fig. 26.2 Circular arrangement of PGI octant's along with RIASEC types

because, as can also be seen in Fig. 26.2, a circle can be super-imposed onto the equilateral hexagon, with the types distributed equally (every 60° apart) around it. Holland's hexagonal structure has meaning for the theoretical relations among the variables in the model. The relative proximity among the types in the model reflects the strength of their relations. This also implies a specific ordering of variable relations in the model. For example, the correlations between variables adjacent to one another in the model (R-I, I-A, A-S, S-E, E-C and R-C) should be greater than variables in alternate relation to one another, or one step removed (R-A, I-S, A-E, S-C, E-R and C-I). Further, variables in alternate relation to one another should be more highly correlated than those variables that oppose one another on the structural model (R-S, I-E and A-C). Finally, it follows that all adjacent relations should be greater than all opposite relations. This circular ordering is important with respect to the concepts of profile differentiation and consistency and in determining person-environment match. It provides information about what interests are similar and different and this can prove useful in career decision-making.

The circular arrangement of RIASEC scores has received good support in U.S. contexts. In a structural meta-analysis, Tracey and Rounds (1993) found support for the claim that the RIASEC scales were fitted by the circle across a variety of scales for U.S. samples. They found that there was no difference in fit of the circle across gender or age (with the lowest ages being greater than 14 years old). They did however demonstrate that the fit of the circular ordering to non U.S. samples and ethnic U.S. samples was less strong, raising doubts about the construct equivalence across cultures. Subsequent examinations on large representative samples of U.S. ethnic groups (Day & Rounds, 1998) provided some support for the construct equivalence of the RIASEC circular structure in the U.S. ethnic groups.

In another structural meta-analysis of RIASEC scales but focused on cross cultural structural equivalence, Rounds and Tracey (1996) found that with the exception of Iceland, no country showed a better a better fit for Holland's hexagonal structure than that found in the United States. However, Japan and Israel demonstrated roughly comparable levels of fit as compared to U.S. benchmark samples. Notably, the authors were surprised to find that the fit of the circular order model of the hexagon was significantly less even in countries that were linguistically similar to the United States and with similar occupational structures (Australia and Canada). In general, Rounds and Tracey (1996) found, "that regardless of the level of analysis, the cross-culture structural equivalence of Holland's circular order model was not supported" (p. 324). The model fit differences were particularly pronounced when the U.S. samples were compared to the international samples as a whole. On this score, the authors found that 94% of the U.S. benchmark samples displayed a better fit than the international samples. In seeking to account for this rather unexpected finding, the exploration of potential moderator variables such as the gross national product or certain cultural values (individualism-collectivism) of a country failed to provide any viable explanations. A final meta-structural analysis of Chinese data by Long and Tracey (2006) also revealed a poor fit of the RIASEC data to a hexagon. These results indicate that construct equivalence has not been established and that care should be taken in using and interpreting these RIASEC measures in non U.S. contexts. The scales are measuring different things in the across cultures as indicated by the varying degrees of fit to the circular model.

Gati's Partition Model

Gati (1979, 1991) introduced his three-group partition model (see Fig. 26.1) for the structure of vocational interests as an alternative to the reigning hexagonal structural model posited by Holland (1973). Gati cited what he considered to be several conceptual and empirical problems with the better-established hexagonal and circular models and offered the partition model as an option that better accounted for the relations among the variables in the model. Although the focus of this chapter precludes extensive discussion of the empirically based assertions about the fit of competing models to data, it should suffice to say that the advent of more sophisticated methods of structural analysis (Hubert & Arabie, 1987; Rounds, Tracey, & Hubert, 1992; Tracey & Rounds, 1993) cast real doubt about Gati's (1979, 1991) claims.

The structure of interests articulated by Gati has both theoretical implications and meaning for the career guidance process. In brief, the structure, which looks like an inverted tree, indicates that the variables paired together at the bottom are more highly related than any other two variables, as would be reflected in a correlation matrix. For example, according to the arrangement of the variables in the model, R and I are more highly correlated than R and A, R and S, R and E, R and C and even I and A.

For the purposes of career guidance in selecting a desired occupation, one can start at the top where no specific choice preference is indicated. Then the decision-maker may select from one of the three clusters. After selection of a cluster is made, the decision-maker may then select from among one of the broad interest types within the cluster. Finally, a more detailed exploration of specific careers within the selected interest type may take place. However, if the career decision-maker finds no career in which she/he is interested, she/he may take a step back up the "tree" or hierarchy and explore careers within the other type in the same cluster. Alternatively, after the administration of an interest assessment measure, the respondent's dominant RIASEC type may be identified. Careers representing the dominant type may be explored. If this perusal of possible careers fails to pique the interest of the respondent, then the other type in the same cluster can be explored further.

The structural meta-analyses of Tracey and Rounds (1993) demonstrated that Gati's model did not fit U.S. samples as well as the Holland hexagon but it did fit the data better in international contexts although there was still a good deal of variability. Subsequent structural meta-analyses by Rounds and Tracey (1996) and Long and Tracey (2006) also supported this conclusion. These results indicate again that there is questionable construct equivalence of RIASEC measures across cultures, but that there may be some equivalence across non U.S. cultures with respect to Gati's partition model. This model certainly cannot be assumed valid as there still was a good deal of variability with its fit varying across countries. Gati's model is much simpler than Holland's hexagon and it is this simplicity that better fits across non U.S. cultures. However the simplicity also means that it makes few predictions (see Tracey & Rounds, 1993 for a discussion).

Spherical Structure of Vocational Interest

The spherical model is associated with the *Personal Globe Inventory* (PGI, Tracey, 2002), which is a three-dimensional, spherical model, with 18 scales and assesses avocational activity and occupational preference as well as perceived competence, or self efficacy. Two rather notable findings served as precursors in the development of the PGI: (a) that the six RIASEC types typically used in most contemporary interest measures were arbitrary and (b) that support was found for a third substantive dimension in mapping interests. With regard to the first finding, Tracey and Rounds (1995) found that people responded to occupational titles such that an analysis of the placement of the titles revealed that they were uniformly distributed around the circle, rather than clustering around the six RIASEC vertices. As a result, the number of types is arbitrary; there is no natural clustering around the six RIASEC types. So any number of types can be used to represent interests, not just the six RIASEC types. Tracey and Rounds proposed an eight-type octant model and found that it fitted the data at least as well as the more traditional six-type model.

The eight types are presented in Fig. 26.2 (with the RIASEC types superimposed for comparison purposes). Tracey (2002) has found that the octant type model fitted

well in U.S. samples and somewhat better than that found for the six type model. Tracey, Watanabe, and Schneider (1997) found that this octant circular model fitted a sample of Japanese college students better than the six type RIASEC circular model. Other research has also supported the eight type circular model in application to non U.S. contexts (Darcy, 2004 for Ireland; Long, Adams, & Tracey, 2005 for China). The support yielded for the octant type model in the U.S.A. and in other countries provides some initial support for the construct equivalence. Certainly more research is need in more cultures for more confidence to be placed in the construct equivalence.

The possibility of an octant circle being more valid cross culturally than the RIASEC circle raises the issue of specificity of interests. As noted above, the six type circular model did not fit well cross culturally. However a much simpler three-group partition model of Gati (1979; 1991) did fit well. The initial data with the eight type circle shows good fit cross culturally. Perhaps the greater specification of types in the eight type model leads to better fitting across cultures. The six type model may have more gaps and holes as applied to different cultures. For example Social is divided into two different types in the octant model, Social Facilitating and Helping. The two types of social interests may apply better in other cultures than the one broad Social type.

The other aspect of the spherical model is the inclusion of the dimension of prestige. Tracey and Rounds (1996) found that this dimension was also present in interest data and constructed a model incorporating this dimension as independent of the octant interest circle. The full representation of the PGI model is depicted in Fig. 26.3. The resulting spherical structure is characterised by high-prestige occupation and activity scales located in the upper hemisphere, while their low prestige counterparts are found in the lower hemisphere. As can be seen in Fig. 26.3, there are the octant basic interest types around the equator of the sphere and five types on each of the hemispheres mentioned above representing higher and lower prestige.

Initial examination of this model has provided structural support in U.S. contexts (Tracey, 1997, 2002) across gender and across ethnic groups of high school and college students. Given the importance of prestige in many cultures, it is expected that the inclusion of this dimension adds important information to an interest profile. The spherical model fits the data well in Japanese (Long, Watanabe, & Tracey, 2006; Tracey et al., 1997), Irish (Darcy, 2004) and Chinese (Long et al., 2005) contexts supporting this claim. So the spherical model shows some initial promise of construct equivalence across culture.

Hierarchical Structure

Up to now very broad categorisations of interests have been discussed. The RIASEC types are very general aggregations of interests. Day and Rounds (1997) make an important distinction between basic interests and general occupational types such as the RIASEC types. Basic interests are homogeneous content scales that are more specific than the 6 RIASEC types or the octant types. They created a catalogue of 28 basic interest types (cf. Day and Rounds (1997) for a listing of these types) and argue that given the problems of the structure of the RIASEC

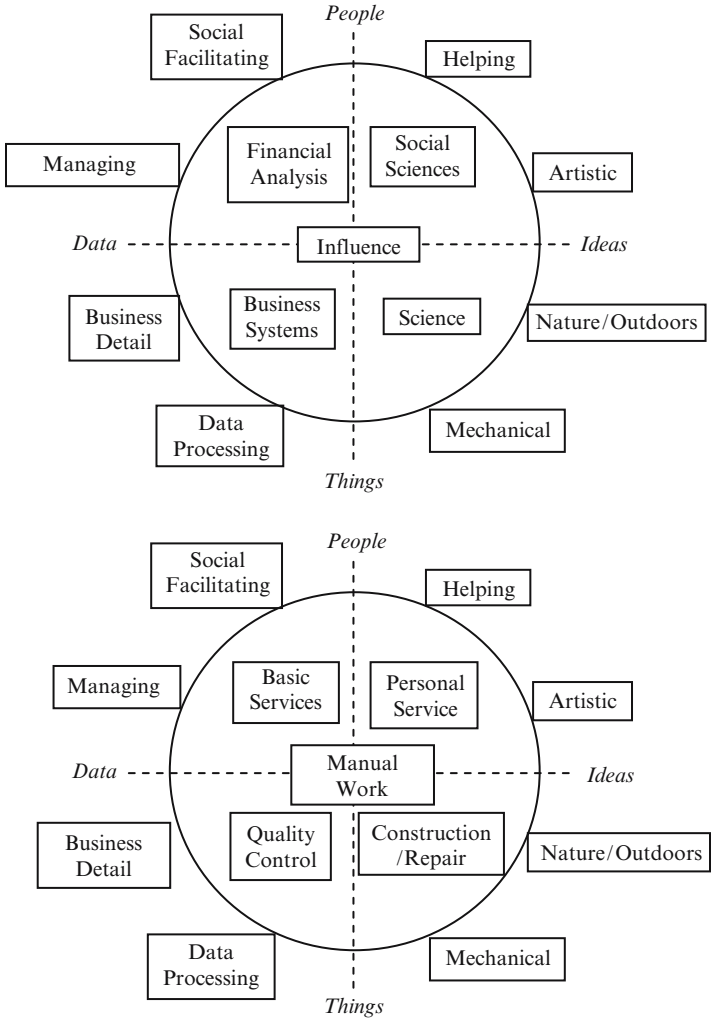


Fig. 26.3 PGI spherical model of the 18 scales. Top depicts upper half (higher prestige), and bottom depicts lower half (lower prestige). (Adapted from Tracey, 2002. With permission from Elsevier)

circle, that the greater specification of the basic interests can result in greater generalisability across groups. While their discussion did not apply specifically to cross-cultural contexts, it appears warranted to make such examinations. There have not been any examinations of the construct equivalence of these 28 basic interests across cultures. However, it is probably at these this basic interest level where cultures would vary most, at the more specific and concrete level. Cultures should have the most impact on constraining or enhancing specific behaviours and activities. As such the more specific interests should be more amenable to

cultural influence and thus vary more across different cultures. Different cultures may thus have very different patterns of interest at this basic level but at a more general level, perhaps the octant level or the sphere level, there may be more equivalence, indicating construct equivalence at a more general level but differences at the specific level. The same homogenous basic interest scales may not be in evidence across all cultures but when the separate basic interest scales are aggregated into more general scales that there is construct equivalence. While this equivalence of more broad categories is conjecture with respect to the interest domain, a similar pattern has been demonstrated in the personality area. Broader assessment of personality, that is, the five factor model, has been found to generalise across culture more than the more specific facet scales and behaviours (McCrae & Costa, 1999). Culture is viewed as having an effect on the more basic behaviours and not larger aggregations such as broad interest types (McAdams & Pals, 2006).

Such a representation would enable account to be taken of cultural specificity in the different structure of the basic interests along with construct equivalence at a more global level. The circular model of the RIASEC types may not be an appropriate representation of the general interests. The three-partition model of Gati and the octant model appear viable representations with the octant model superior in its greater specificity. Further examination of the construct equivalence of both basic interests and general interests across culture appears warranted.

Meaning of Structural Differences

Certainly if there are differences found in the structure of interests across cultures, claims of construct equivalence are inappropriate. The measures are representing different constructs and care should be taken in usage and interpretation. For example simple comparison of mean scores between two cultures should be avoided because there is no common construct involved. The two groups are responding to different scales and are interpreting the items differently. Hence saying that one culture scores higher makes little sense as one is comparing apples with oranges.

The issue arises regarding what should be done when there is a need for interest assessment in contexts where there is no validated measure. For example, one uses a measure that has been adapted to a particular culture, typically through language translation but there is no information regarding its construct equivalence. As noted by Watson, Duarte, and Glavin (2005) and Duarte and Rossier (see Chapter 24), it cannot be expected that there will be strong evidence of construct equivalence for all cultural contexts. While it is desirable to have culture specific measures of interests (and other things), it is not always practical. As such, interest measures may need to be applied. Certainly the best measures with the best models should be used. In addition, individuals with explicit knowledge of the culture should provide interpretation so as to strive to modify the test meaning as needed (Watson et al., 2005).

Are Interests Important?

Evaluating the presence of construct equivalence is important but does not carry any information about the behaviours involved such as choosing different activities, majors or occupations. Even if it is possible that some interest models are equivalent across culture, this does not imply that the behaviours linked to interests are also equivalent. It is anticipated that there will be greater evidence of behavioural differences in occupational choice across cultures than in interests themselves. Having a culturally equivalent measure of interests does not imply that interests will be equally related to occupational choice. Once the cultural equivalence has been established subsequent research is need to establish the validity of extra-measure relations.

A larger issue is the relative importance of interests in a cross-cultural context. Interests generally are viewed as providing a motivational or guiding function for behaviour (e.g., Hesketh & Rounds, 1995; Silvia, 2006). As such, interests can shape occupational and career behaviours but clearly cultures shape occupational and career behaviours. In cultures where there are fewer constraints on behaviour, it is expected that interests will be more strongly related to occupational choices and behaviours. However in other contexts, where there is less freedom in choice, it is expected that interests would not be as salient in occupational choice. Family and societal influences can affect choices in some contexts more than interests (e.g., Gupta & Tracey, 2005; Leong, Austin, Sekaran, & Komarraju, 1998). While interests may be validly measured in these contexts, the interests may not be related to occupational choice itself. However such choices of whether to include interests or not, rest on thorough assessments of the occupational choice process in specific contexts. Some of these issues have been touched on by Guichard and Lenz (2005) in their focus on context specifics.

Overall, it is imperative to assess the construct equivalence of interest measures. However it is not possible to expect that this will be done for all contexts. Hence care must be taken in selecting the best measures and models as well as use care in interpreting measures. The literature on measures and models are not supportive of the construct equivalence of RIASEC scales. Gati's model appears to have more cultural equivalence but this is attributable to its relative simplicity. There is some promising initial support for the cultural equivalence of the *Personal Globe Inventory*, but clearly more work is needed to examine the validity of this measure and model. It needs to be reiterated that all measures and models require incessant examinations of validity relating to both internal and external relations. Test validity, especially in cross-cultural contexts, is never attained but always successively approximated.

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Chapter 27
ASSESSMENT OF VALUES AND ROLE SALIENCE

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Peoples' values and the importance they assign to their life roles have long been viewed as important factors in career choice and development. In particular this is true of values, which have received considerable attention already within the traditional, trait-oriented approaches to career planning. Early approaches have emphasised values as person variables that influence individuals' career choice and development. Traditionally, vocational guidance was seen primarily as a process of helping individuals to match their personal traits with those required by occupations in order to enhance their satisfactoriness and satisfaction. By applying the matching paradigm, the vocational guidance practitioners assisted their clients in choosing the appropriate career track, that is, the one that was believed to be well matched or congruent with the client's traits. The traits used for matching have changed, however, over the years. In the beginning, during the first decades of the 20th century, abilities (what a person can do) and interest (what a person likes to do) were used as matching variables. Later, in the 1950s, work values (what a person considers important in working) were added as the third matching variable.

Several papers played an important role in introducing the concept of values to the career field. First Hoppock and Super (1950) noticed that generalised expressions of job satisfactions are related to valuation of various work aspects (such as earnings, advancement, self-expression, independence, variety or opportunity to help others). Building on this observation, Ginzberg, Ginsburg, Axelrad, and Herma (1951) asserted that differences in individuals' "values schemes" determine the kind of rewards they will seek in their work. Super (1957) developed this notion further: he identified work facets that people might differently value and termed them "work values". He also developed the first standardised instrument for assessment of work values. Initially prepared for the Career Pattern Study (Super, Crites, Hummel, Moser, Overstreet, & Warnath, 1957), the instrument was later revised and published as the *Work Values Inventory* (Super, 1970; 1973). In parallel with these conceptual and methodological developments, several authors undertook empirical studies that explored the relationship of values to occupational choice

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J.A. Athanasou, R. Van Esbroeck (eds.) *International Handbook of Career Guidance*,

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(e.g., Jakob, 1957; Miller, 1956; Rosenberg, 1957). After these beginnings, both the research on values and their assessment in career counselling practice expanded in many countries. The assessment of values rose in importance especially when the traditional matching model and the trait-and-factor approach grew to a more comprehensive conception of person-environment fit. Zytowski (1994) asserted that "work values have attained a status equaling that of abilities and interests in the array of individual differences that are considered important in career development" (p. 26) and Brown (2002) saw values as "primary variables that influence the occupational choice process…" (p. 49).

While work values entered the field of vocational guidance primarily as an individual difference variable, the concept of life roles was more germane to the developmental approach. Life roles caught the attention of vocational psychologists later than did work values – the important writings on the topic appeared only in the 1980s. Super's (1980) theoretical paper was seminal in articulating the concept of life roles and its significance for career development. In this article, Super clearly exposed the view that careers cannot be understood outside of their social context, and that to fully understand an individual's career it is necessary to explore the salience of his or her life roles in various activities, including work, family, leisure, learning, and citizenship. After all, it is "the constellation of interacting, varying roles" that "constitutes the career" (Super, 1980, p. 284). Super's perspective has been implemented internationally through the Work Importance Study (Super & Šverko, 1995) and stimulated most of the theoretical and empirical work on life role salience in the years that followed (e.g., Brown & Crace, 1996; Brown & Lavish, 2006; Cook, 1994; Niles & Goodnough, 1996; Niles, Herr, & Hartung, 2001; Perrone & Civiletto, 2004; Watson & Stead, 1990).

The main objective of this chapter is to examine the methodological issues connected with the measurement of values and role salience and to review representative measures that have been used in their assessment. Before that, however, the conceptualisation of the basic constructs addressed in this chapter must be examined.

Life Roles and Their Salience: Basic Explanation

The Concept of Roles

Individuals occupy various positions in their life, such as worker, boss, mother, student, or friend. Each of these positions can be conceived as a *role*, comprising a set of behaviours that are shaped by the expectations of others. When formalised, expectations become norms, often involving subtle punishments and rewards that encourage the expected behaviour. Individuals generally tend to comply with the expectations and norms, and thus they enact their roles. Hence, role can be defined as a pattern of behaviours, rights, and duties, which an individual is expected to perform in a given social situation.

The basic notion of contemporary role theory had been recognised already by William Shakespeare whose character Jaque, in the play *As you like it*, spoke:

> All the world's a stage,
> And all the men and women merely players:
> They have their exits and their entrances;
> And one man in his time plays many parts.

The concept of roles has long had a prominent place in social sciences. Mead (1934) used it to explain the roots of social behaviour; Linton (1936) gave it central place in anthropology; Newcomb (1950) built it into his theoretical approach to social psychology; Parsons (1951) considered it essential in the sociological explanation of social action and structure; and Katz and Kahn (1966) defined human organisations as role systems. In a related vein, Super (1980) interweaved the concept of life roles with his theory of career development.

Super's View of Life Roles and Their Interaction Across the Life-Span

In the last version of his developmental career theory, nowadays known as the life-span, life-space theory, Super (1980, 1990; Super, Savickas, & Super, 1996) brought forward a contextual perspective, that is, the view that career development can be properly understood only in the context of all life roles enacted by an individual (Šverko, 2006). The work role, although of central importance for many people in many cultures, is only one among many life roles that comprise an individual's "life space". Super conceived life space as a constellation of social functions arranged in a pattern of roles, which are played in four theatres (home, school, work, and community). He identified nine primary roles (child, student, worker, partner, parent, citizen, homemaker, leisurite, and retiree) that most people play through their lifetime. Some roles are enacted early in the life course (e.g., that of child), others later (e.g., that of student), or still later (e.g., that of pensioner, retiree). In order to illustrate the role dynamics across the life span, Super (1980) devised a Life-Career Rainbow, which graphically portrays how the life-role constellation changes with life stages. According to Gouws (1995) Super's rainbow is the "only widely used and comprehensive career development framework that explicitly uses 'role' as a major classification and explanation" (p. 25).

At some stages of their life, individuals are called on to play a number of roles at once, for example, that of worker, spouse, homemaker, parent, citizen, and many others. However, not all of them are equally important to an individual; usually two or three roles are salient, or relatively more important and other roles are peripheral. The salient life roles constitute the core of a person; "they are fundamental for a person's identity and essential for his or her life satisfaction" (Super et al., 1996, p. 129). When enacted simultaneously, the roles interact and impact on each other. The role interaction can be supportive, supplementary, or compensatory, but it can also be conflicting and stressful when the role demands are incompatible or too

demanding for the available person's resources. However, as the Life-Career Rainbow depicts, the cumulation of roles and their demands varies across an individual's life span. As Super put it (1980, p. 288) "roles wax and vane in importance" in accordance with the developmental tasks, which individuals encounter at different life stages. Therefore, to understand an individual's career, it is important to know the salience of her or his life roles and their temporal change.

Life-Role Salience

Interest in role salience begun with the focus on the work role, once considered central in most peoples' lives. A number of related constructs reflected this focus, such as "work as central life interest" (Dubin, 1956), "job involvement" (Lodahl & Kejner, 1965), or "career salience" (Greenhaus, 1973). Super (1981), however, stressed the need for "a multidimensional model of work salience, in which work is seen as one role which, for real understanding, must be seen in relation to other roles" (p. 31). The Work Importance Study (WIS), an international project launched by Super, sought to conceptualise such a model of role salience (see Super & Šverko, 1995). In the WIS, role salience was defined as relative importance of any role in relation to an individual's other important life roles. Based on the discussions among the WIS participants, a structural model of role importance emerged (Super, 1981). This triangular model (see Fig. 27.1) assumes three basic criteria of a role importance: (a) commitment, referring to one's affective attachment to a role; (b) participation, a behavioural component, which refers to the amount of time and energy devoted a role; and (c) *knowledge*, a cognitive component, which refers to the

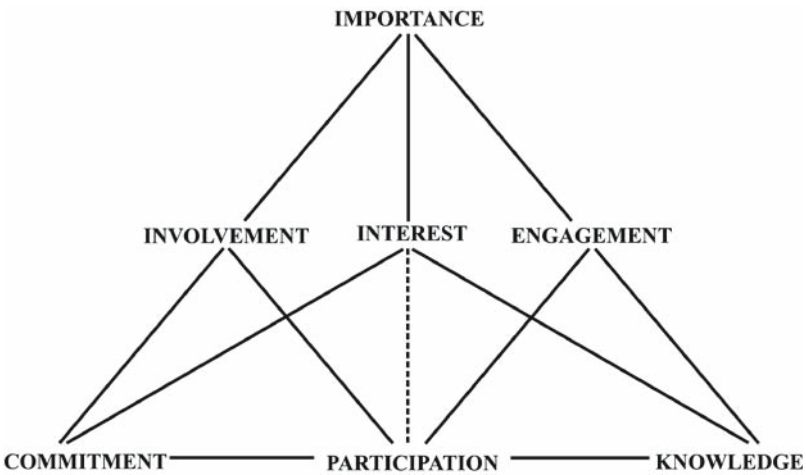


Fig. 27.1 WIS Model of role importance (Adapted from Super, 1981)

information gained through direct or vicarious experience in a role. Twofold combinations of the criteria define the concepts at the intermediate level: involvement with a role (commitment with participation), interest in a role (commitment with knowledge), and engagement (participation with knowledge). All together they define the role importance, the integrative term subsuming all of the component criteria. This model served as a starting point in development of the *Salience Inventory*, the WIS instrument for assessment of role salience, which is described later.

Values and Role Salience

It is commonsense that the salience of certain life roles reflects some deeper, underlying values. Super (1981), referring to the work role, stated that its importance "depends upon individual values and upon opportunities which the labour market and society at large offer for the attainment of those values" (p. 30). Based on this notion, Šverko (1989) elaborated and tested a model of work-importance determinants, which is shown in Fig. 27.2. In this model, which is grounded in a cognitive, expectancy-theory framework, the central place is given to work values, defined as the relatively stable goals that people seek to attain through working. The perception of their attainment possibilities in work is proposed as the main determinant of work importance (as shown by arrow *d*), moderated by the importance of work values (shown by the arrow *e* directed toward the arrow *d*). Work values are formed through socialisation process (arrows *a* and *b*), while perceptions of their attainment possibilities are additionally influenced by an individual's own experiences, real or vicarious, from the world of work (arrow *c*).

A correlational study involving large Croatian samples of high-school students, university students, and adult workers (Šverko, 1989) provided support for the model, in particular for its slice dealing with the relationship of work values variables to work

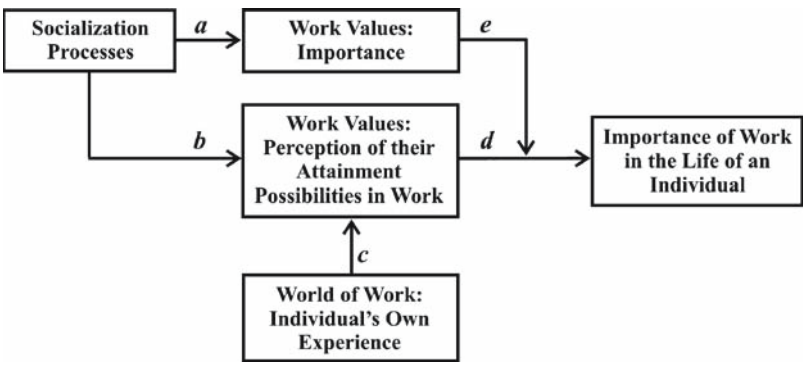


Fig. 27.2 A model of work importance determinants (Adapted from Šverko, 1984)

importance. The study revealed that (a) the perceived attainment possibilities for all values correlated substantially with the importance attached to work, and (b) the magnitude of these correlations varied with the importance that the individuals assigned to particular values: the values considered more important tended to have higher correlations of their attainment perceptions with the work importance. Essentially the same results were obtained in a replication study with six Australian samples (Lokan, 1989).

Although this model was formulated to explain the individual differences in the importance of work role, it obviously has a wider appeal – as a model explaining individual differences in the importance of any life role. Thus, according to this model, the importance of a role depends on an individual's perception of possibilities for attainment of his or her salient values through that role. A similar view has been adopted by Brown and Crace (2002) when – in explaining the theoretical underpinnings of their *Life Values Inventory* – they stated: "The salience of a single role can be determined by the extent to which that role satisfies crystallised, highly prioritized values" (p. 3). Let us now turn our attention to the concept of values, which are essential for understanding the role salience.

Values: Basic Explanation

Conceptualisation of Values

The concept of value has been treated from various perspectives – philosophical, psychological, sociological and economic. As a result, the literature is abundant with definitions of values. Two probably most frequently cited definitions came from anthropologist Kluckhohn and psychologist Rokeach. According to Kluckhohn (1951) a value is a "conception, explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual or characteristic of a group, of the desirable which influences the selection from available modes, means and ends of action" (p. 395). Rokeach (1973) saw a value as an "enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence" (p. 5). Rokeach also argued that values are integrated in a values system – "an enduring organization of beliefs concerning preferable modes of conduct or end-states of existence along a continuum of importance" (1973, p. 5). Both definitions imply that values are prescriptive and form the core around which other, less central and less enduring beliefs and attitudes are formed. Based on these views, a number of definition variants followed in the literature. They have stressed five common features of values.

Values are standards to evaluate environment and ourselves. According to Brown (1996) values provide standards against which people judge their own actions and the behaviour of others. Maio, Roese, Seligman, and Katz (1996) conceived values as standards that we use to evaluate people, actions, attitudes, objects, or ourselves. Roe and Ester (1999) saw values as latent constructs that refer to the way in which people evaluate activities or outcomes.

Values guide person's behaviour. This motivational property of values is contained in Kluckhohn's (1951) assertion that values influence the selection from available modes, means and ends of action, and in Rokeach's (1973) note about preferable modes of conduct. Šverko and Vizek-Vidović (1995) referred to values as specific priority criteria that direct human behaviour, and Schwartz (1996) defined values as desirable goals that serve as guiding principles in people's lives.

Values are organised in hierarchy by order of preference. Rokeach (1979) stated that it is the organisation of values in value hierarchies that enables us to choose between alternative goals and actions and helps us to resolve conflicts. He related existence of hierarchy to a process of "priorization" where individuals can rank values in term of their relative importance. Thus value can be seen as "organisation of a person's needs, desires, and goals, hierarchically structured according to their relative importance and priorities" (Šverko & Vizek-Vidović, 1995, p. 5).

Values are trans-situational and relatively stable. As mentioned above, Rokeach (1973) characterised a value as an "enduring" belief. Schwartz (1992) defined values as "desirable states, objects, goals, or behaviours, *transcending specific situations* [italics added], and applied as normative standards…" (p. 2)

Values are cognitive representation of needs that take in account social demands. This statement refers to the psychological origin of values and emphasised their social function. Rokeach (1973) saw values as cognitive representations of underlying needs – after they have been transformed to also take in account institutional goals and demands. Katz (1993) also specified that values may refer to culturally influenced manifestations of needs. For Brown (1996) values are cognitive structures that allow individuals to meet their needs in socially acceptable ways.

Concerning the last statement, most theoreticians would agree that values are a manifestation of needs. Among the career theorists, this view in particular was endorsed by Super (1995) who differentiated among personality traits, values and interests – all seen as derived from needs: traits are ways of acting to meet needs; values are objectives sought to satisfy needs; and interests are specific activities through which person attains values and meets needs. However, at variance with this view, Lofquist and Dawis (1978) saw values as "second-order needs", that is, as more basic dimensions, which underlie the surface traits they identify as "needs".

Life and Work Values

Each individual has a core of values which determine his or her preferences for certain goals or certain ways of attaining these goals. As these goals can be attained through general life activities or through work, a distinction between general life values and more specific work values has been often made in the literature. General values include universal constructs, such as freedom, beauty, world peace, or hedonism, and typically belong to the traditional topics of social survey research. Work values, however, are tied to occupational settings and they portray the importance of work-related goals, such as economic security, social interaction, or ability utilisation.

As such, they have received more attention from researchers and practitioners in the area of vocational and organisational behaviour.

Although life values and work values have been traditionally investigated separately, arguments have been raised in favour of an integrated prospect. Brown held that the "values system contains all the values held by individuals, including their cultural values and work values" (Brown, 2002, p. 48) and that "all values influence career decision making because of interactions with other life roles" (Brown, 1996, p. 343). Support for both assumptions is given by Schwartz (1996) who emphasised the influence of the wider cultural value system on the occupational sphere. He suggested that theorists and counsellors may benefit from considering how culture shapes a value system, rather than focusing on single work values. Schwartz (1999) also stressed the cultural values approach to the analysis of work centrality and work values. His research (Ros, Schwartz, & Surkiss, 1999; Schwartz, 1999) showed that general values correlate with work values of similar content.

Roe and Ester (1999) concurred: shared values expressed at the collective level, and individual values expressed in daily occupational behaviour, are interrelated. In an attempt to systematise possible relations between life and work values they offered three perspectives. The first is that values have a particular cognitive structure which produces a structural similarity between general values and work values. This assumption is partly corroborated by Elizur and Sagie's (1999) research. The second perspective is that general values produce work values, that is, work values emerge from projection of general values onto the domain of work. However, although several research studies found expected relations between general values and work values, the direction of causality remained uncertain. The third view is that work values are the sources from which general values develop. In contemporary business work values seem to spread easily trough such channels as management literature, international conventions, multinational companies and employment laws. However, there is little empirical evidence to support this thesis.

Regardless of which view will prove correct, life and work values are certainly interdependent. Most authors agree that work values are expressions of basic values in the work setting, or values that people try to attain through their working role (Elizur, 1984; Elizur, Borg, Hunt, & Beck, 1991; Nevill & Super, 1989; Ros et al., 1999; Šverko & Vizek-Vidović, 1995).

Taxonomy of Values

Zytowski (1970) raised the question of how many work values exist. For him the answer is obvious: "As many as there are identifiable aspects of work" (Zytowski, 1994, p. 27). However, since the identification of important work aspects is not a clear-cut task, the taxonomies proposed by various authors exhibit considerable variation in the number and types of work values included. Thus, among the work values inventories presented later in this chapter the *Work Aspect Preference Scale*

(WAPS) surveys 13 work values, while the *Minnesota Importance Questionnaire* (MIQ) and the *Values Scale* (VS) include 20. Apart from differences, the taxonomies contained in three inventories have also much in common. The most agreed-upon work values, those contained in at least two of the three inventories, include: ability utilisation, achievement, advancement, activity, authority, creativity, independence, life style, money, personal development, social relations, security, variety, and working conditions.

There have been attempts to classify work values into like groups. The most popular a priori classification differentiates among three groups of work values: intrinsic (arising from the content of work, such ability utilisation or altruism), extrinsic (representing the outcomes of work, such as security, high income), and concomitant (related to factors which accompany working, such as social relations).

Empirical classifications based on factor analysis, however, give somewhat different and more elaborate classifications. The factorisation of 20 "needs" measured by MIQ rendered six distinct values types (Lofquist & Dawis, 1978): Achievement, Comfort, Status, Altruism, Safety, and Autonomy. These value dimensions have been further categorised by reinforcer preference into three classes: preferences related to the external environment (safety and comfort values); preferences related to reinforcement provided by other people (altruism and status); and preferences related to intrinsic or self-reinforcement (achievement and autonomy). These six values can be also paired as bipolar opposites (Dawis, 1996): achievement vs. comfort, status vs. altruism, and safety vs. autonomy.

Elizur et al. (1991) analysed work values data collected from large number respondents from eight countries. With multidimensional scaling they distinguished two basic facets of values: modality of outcome and system performance contingency. By the modality of outcome a trichotomous classification of work value is proposed: instrumental outcomes such as hours of work or benefits; cognitive outcomes such as interest and achievement; affective outcomes such as relations with associates. The system performance contingency is conceptualised as dichotomous, comprising resources such as working condition, subsidised transportation or meals; and rewards such as pay, achievement or status. The study also revealed substantial structural similarity across the nations, with minor differences attributable to culture.

An extensive cross-national examination of work values structure was carried out by researchers from a number of countries collaborating in the multinational *Work Importance Study* (Super & Šverko, 1995). A series of factor analyses carried out in various countries have resulted in a set of similar factors. Table 27.1 presents the factors identified in some of the countries. As their number and names suggest, very similar factors are identified in all countries. Šverko (1987, 1995) performed a more detailed cross-nation comparison of factor structures by analysing the whole data pool obtained in the countries participating in the WIS. He found a high degree of factor congruence across the national samples and concluded that the data supported the assumed universality of the factor structure of values.

In the realm of general values, an early taxonomy was proposed by Allport and his colleagues (Allport, Vernon, & Lindsey, 1970; Vernon & Allport, 1931). Their *Study*

Table 27.1 Value dimensions identified in the factor analyses of *Values Scale* in some of the countries participating in the *Work Importance Study*

Belgium (Coetsier & Claes, 1995)	Canada (Casserly, Fitzsimmons & Macnab, 1995)	Croatia (Šverko, Jerneić, Kulenović, & Vizek-Vidović, 1995)	Italy (Trentini, 1995)	South Africa (Langley, 1995)	USA (Nevill & Super, 1986a)
Self-realisation	Personal achievement and development	Orientation toward self-actualisation	Self-orientation	Inner Orientation	Inner-oriented
Material career progress	Economic conditions	Utilitarian orientation	Material orientation	Material orientation	Material
Group orientation	Social orientation	Social orientation	Social orientation	Humanism and religion	Group-oriented
Autonomy	Independence	Individualistic orientation	Independence	Autonomous life-style	
Challenge	Physical activity and risk	Adventurous orientation	Challenge		Activity and risk

of Values measured six values (theoretical, economic, political, aesthetic, social, and religious), all taken from Spranger's (1928) typology. Rokeach (1973) extended the taxonomy: his *Value Survey* contains 18 terminal and 18 instrumental values (all listed later, in the section describing the value inventories). According to Rokeach, terminal values refer to the beliefs or conceptions about ultimate goals or desirable end-states of existence (such as happiness or wisdom). The instrumental values refer to the beliefs or conceptions about desirable modes of behaviour (such as honesty or responsibility), which are instrumental for attainment of the terminal goals.

Since 1990, Schwartz's (1992, 1994, 1996; Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987, 1990) theory has received a growing attention. His value taxonomy focuses on the type of motivational goal that values convey. From the three universal requisites of human condition (needs of individuals as biological organisms, requisites of coordinated social interaction, and survival needs of groups) Schwartz derived ten broad and basic values: Self-direction, Stimulation, Hedonism, Achievement, Power, Security, Conformity, Tradition, Benevolence, and Universalism. They are presented in a circular arrangement which reflects dynamic relations among the values: the adjacent values are similar in their underlying motivations, while distant or opposite values are more antagonistic. An extensive examination of these relationships, led Schwartz to propose a simple two-dimensional bipolar structure of values. One underlying dimension, called Openness to change versus Conservation, opposes self-direction and stimulation values to conformity and tradition values. The other dimension, called the Self-enhancement versus Self-transcendence, opposes power and achievement to universalism and benevolence values. Support for this theoretical structure and its cross-cultural universality came from extensive research comprising samples from 67 nations (Schwartz, 1992).

Although the taxonomies of values appear quite different in the number of values and their content, former research with *Rokeach Value Survey* yielded a configuration which is quite similar to that postulated by Schwartz (cf. Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987, 1990). Moreover, a few attempts to provide a taxonomy that is applicable for both work and general life values (e.g., Elizur & Sagie, 1999; Ros et al., 1999) suggest that such an endeavour is promising.

Ros et al. (1999) proposed four distinctive types of work values that parallel the two Schwartz basic value dimensions. With factor analysis they identified four basic work values types: extrinsic, intrinsic, social and prestige. In the prestige region are values whose attainment demands a personal superiority in a comparison with others (achievement, advancement, status). The work values in the intrinsic region are values that contribute to a sense of personal growth (meaningfulness, responsibility, use of abilities). Extrinsic and social values are by definition similar to the instrumental and affective values in the typology of Elizur et al. (1991). Those four types of values were empirically related to basic dimensions of general values measured by the *Schwartz Value Survey*. Extrinsic work values correlated positively with Conservation values and negatively with Openness to change, whereas intrinsic work values correlated negatively with Conversation and positively to Openness to change. Social work values correlated positively with Self-transcendence values and negatively with Self-enhancement values, whereas prestige work values correlated negatively with Self-transcendence and negatively with Self-enhancement. These findings provide grounds for a comprehensive structural integration of work values and basic value dimensions.

Measuring Values and Life Role Salience

Measurement of values has its roots in the 1920s and 1930s. After an era of extensive ability assessment, motivation and personality constructs became the focus of test developers. Seminal work in the field of values assessment was done in 1931, when Allport and Vernon published the first instrument for measurement of personal values – the *Study of Values*. From then on, numerous values inventories have been created.

The measures of values are of two kinds. First are general measures, which are broad in scope and apply to totality of human living (Dawis, 1990). General measures of values reflect the importance of universal constructs, such as power, achievement, beauty, world peace, or hedonism. The operationalisation of such measures can be seen in the work of Allport and Vernon (*Study of Values*, Vernon & Allport, 1931), Rokeach (*Values Survey*, 1973) and Schwartz (*Schwartz Value Survey*, 1992, 1994). The other measures are work-related, vocational and occupational measures and are focused on goals attained through work (Dawis, 1990). Work values are tied to occupational settings, and they portray the importance of work-attained goals, such as creativity, ability utilisation, material rewards, prestige, achievement, or autonomy. Their operationalisation is apparent in *Work Values*

Inventory (Super, 1970), *Work Aspect Preference Scale* (Pryor, 1983), *Minnesota Importance Questionnaire* (Rounds, Henly, Dawis, Lofquist, & Weiss, 1981), and *Values Scale* (WIS team; Super & Šverko, 1995).

Approaches, Measurement Techniques and Related Methodological Problems

In the measurement of values direct and indirect approaches are applied. In the direct approach people are offered particular values and are asked to estimate the importance of each value. These self-report measures of values are typically used in all common self-rated values inventories and are based on the belief that people are capable of consciously expressing their values. However, some authors argued that people might be unaware of their values or might have problems in articulating their value hierarchy (Colozzi, 2003; Maio & Olson, 1998; Meglino & Ravlin, 1998). In such cases, indirect measures of values can better depict personal values. In an indirect approach people are exposed to a list of choices and the choices they make are used to infer the individuals' values. Specifically, scenarios that posit different value-conflicts are presented to participants, followed by a possible list of actions. The examinees have to read each scenario and to choose the action they would prefer to do if they were in the same situation (e.g., Baron & Spranca, 1997; Kopelman, Rovenpor, & Guan, 2003; Mumford, Connelly, Helton, Van Doorn, & Osburn, 2002; Peng, Nisbett, & Wong, 1997; Ritov & Baron, 1999). Although indirect measures of values may have advantages in certain circumstances (if we expect that respondents could willingly or unwillingly mask their values) they are effort- and time-consuming. Thus the direct measures of values are applied regularly.

In direct value measurement approach, respondents have to estimate the importance of particular values. This can be done by two methods: normative and ipsative. In ipsative measurement respondents are asked to rank their values regarding their relative importance and in normative measurement to rate the absolute importance of each value.

The rank ordering method can be applied as simple ranking of values, or as comparison of importance of values presented in pairs or greater groups. Simple ranking of values is the most common ranking technique: respondents are at once offered a list of values and have to rank them according to their importance. When comparison in pairs or groups is applied, respondents have to rank values presented in pairs or groups (triads, tetrads, or else). Different pairs or groups of values are presented successively. In scoring, the position of each value in the hierarchy is estimated according to the number of times each value has been picked as more important than the others. The rating method requires that respondents rate each value on the scale of importance. The level of importance is usually estimated on a Likert-type scale with a variable number of points. Both procedures are commonly used in values inventories. Some researchers give advantage to the ranking order method (e.g., *Rokeach Values Survey, Allport-Vernon-Lindzey Values Study* or

Minnesota Importance Questionnaire), while the others prefer the rating method (e.g. *Schwartz's Values Survey, Super's Work Values Inventory, WIS Values Scale, Crace & Brown Life Values Inventory* or *Pryor's Work Aspect Preference Scale*).

A debate on the relative merits and drawbacks of each approach has been extensively addressed in the literature (Alwin & Krosnick, 1985; Dawis, 1990; Krosnick & Alwin, 1988; Maio et al., 1996; McCarty & Shrum, 2000; Ng, 1982, Oishi, Schimmack, Diener, & Suh, 1998; Rankin & Grube, 1980). The advocates of the rank ordering method stress that this approach is conceptually close to the cognitive process of choosing among different life goals. It reflects one's values-guided decision to engage in certain behaviour and not in the other. People rank the values as they would motivate their behaviour. However, the ranking procedure forces people to choose among two values even if they find them equally important. Such forced differences in importance of values tend to distort the stability of the value hierarchy, particularly in its middle range. Moreover, the simple ranking of values is a complex task for respondents, particularly when the number of values is greater than just a few. In any case, both ranking procedures provide just information on personal value hierarchy, but not on the level of importance of values. Such ipsative scores convey relative importance of values, rather than the absolute importance. They account only for intraindividual differences in the personal value systems and do not meet the criteria for standard parametric analyses. Therefore, although advanced psychometric approaches can enhance the usage of ipsative measures (Baron, 1996; Karpatschof & Elkjær, 2000), the researchers have traditionally preferred normative scores obtained with the rating procedure.

The rating procedure has some advantages when compared to the ranking procedure but also some limitations. It is meaningful and parallel to daily life as it reflects the feeling importance assigned to various goals and activities. The importance is assessed in an absolute sense, by asking respondents to express the degree of importance on a Likert-type scale. Such ratings provide normative scores, which allow various parametric analyses on both an interindividual and an intraindividual level (Karpatschof & Elkjær, 2000). In addition to the psychometric qualities of the rating scales, the ease of their application also matters. The respondents' task to estimate the importance of each value on a rating scale is much easier than the ranking of values. Besides, if respondents feel that some values are equally important, they can rate them equally important.

However, this potential advantage of ratings easily turns into a disadvantage when measuring values. Values are by definition important life goals and thus people tend to rate them all very important. This yields value ratings with a highly negative asymmetric distribution and restricted range. Thus, although normative measurement is considered to be psychometrically stronger than ipsative, negatively skewed and leptokurtic distributions can reduce both interindividual and intraindividual differences and limit the possible application of various statistical procedures.

The empirical studies on value measurement methods have not universally shown the superiority of either rankings or ratings (Alwin & Krosnick, 1985; Krosnick & Alwin, 1988; Maio et al., 1996; Rankin & Grube, 1980) as both

approaches turn out to have some advantages and some disadvantages. Some researchers have proposed renovated ranking and rating procedures which lessen their initial weaknesses. For example, Oishi et al. (1998) applied a method of comparison in pairs where values are compared with others in regard to the level of importance. The 7-point scale ranging from -3 to 3 is used to specify to what extent is one value more important than the other. This ipsative procedure reflects the relative difference in the degree of importance of two values, and also permits respondents to endorse two values equally. On the other hand, Schwartz (1992) proposed an alternative rating procedure, called most-least rating. This procedure assumes pre-scanning of items and identifying the most and least important ones, prior to the rating of values. Owing to the pre-scanning of all items, this procedure provides values scores that are more differentiated and not so skewed and thus improves the psychometric characteristics of the rating method (McCarty & Shrum, 2000).

The discussion on ratings and rankings also spreads to the field of cross-cultural comparison of values. For some authors, normative measurement is preferable in the cross-cultural study of values (Maio et al., 1996; Ng, 1982). Normative value scales allow interindividual analysis which is essential in cross-cultural research. Besides, normative scales are more resistant to cultural specificities. When the content of a value inventory is not representative of all values held in all cultures, the ranking of offered values would not represent the real hierarchy of values, as some more important values may be omitted (Ng, 1982). Another serious problem of the ranking procedure is the interdependence of items: the importance of one item is expressed relative to others. If the meaning of some item differs across cultures, it will reflect on the whole hierarchy of values. For the same reasons any modification of an ipsative scale (e.g., shortening or lengthening, or adaptation of some items) will generate incomparable results (Ng, 1982). Thus, normative scales have methodological advantages and provide greater flexibility in cross-cultural research.

However, the preference for normative measurement is not universal. Some authors claimed that normative scales are more sensitive to cross-cultural differences in response style, which can obscure the comparison of values across cultures (Oishi, Hahn, Schimmack, Radhakrishan, Dzokoto, & Ahadi, 2005). Others proposed the behavioural scenario method as better than either the ranking or rating method. With precisely defined behavioural scenarios, measurement of values avoids problems arising from culturally different value meanings and from different reference groups with whom participants compare when estimating the importance values (Peng et al., 1997).

In conclusion, both ipsative and normative methods have their own advantages, depending on the phenomenon one is trying to understand. Ipsative measurement would be more appropriate if one is trying to understand personal values and related life or career choices a participant made, while normative measurement should be considered if one is interested in comparing values held by different groups, such as occupations, cultures, or else (Meglino & Ravlin, 1998; Thompson, Levitov, & Miederhoff; 1982).

Tools of Assessment: An Overview of Existing Instruments

From the first assessment of values done in 1931 when Allport and Vernon published their *Study of Values*, a number of values measures have been created. Our intention is to present concisely some of the better known inventories that are still in use. The measures of both work values and more general life values are included. Unlike the values measures, not many measures of the importance of life roles have been developed. Hence, only one role salience inventory is presented here. The presentation order will be chronological: older instruments will be presented first.

The *Study of Values*, published in 1931 (Vernon & Allport, 1931; Allport et al., 1970), was the first value scale. From its early days the instrument was very popular but with appearance of other value scales its usage has declined. However, it was recently revised with an intention to renovate the outdated and culturally biased items (Kopelman et al., 2003). The *Study of Values* measures six general values: theoretical, economic, political, aesthetic, social and religious, all derived from Spranger's (1928) types. Six general values are represented with 45 items which are short behavioural scenarios, followed by the list of possible acts. First 30 items are weighted comparisons in pairs, where respondents have to express their relative preference of two presented actions by distributing three points among two of them. Next 15 items are comparisons in tetrads, where respondents have to rank four presented actions according to their personal preferences. The instrument yields scores on six value domains and is a suitable measurement of the personal values of adolescents and adults. The administration time is about 20–30 minutes.

The *Rokeach Value Survey* (RVS, Rokeach, 1973) is a well-known measure of general values. The instrument is divided into two parts: the first part consists of 18 terminal values and the second one of 18 instrumental values. Both parts present values listed in an alphabetical order. Terminal values measure the relative importance of personal goals (desirable end-states of existence), particularly: Comfortable Life, Equality, An Exciting Life, Family Security, Freedom, Health, Inner Harmony, Mature Love, National Security, Pleasure, Salvation, Self-Respect, A Sense of Accomplishment, Social Recognition, True Friendship, Wisdom, A World at Peace, and A World of Beauty. Instrumental values measure the relative importance of different approaches (behaviours or means) that a person might take to achieve personal goals. The instrumental values are: Ambitious, Broad-minded, Capable, Clean, Courageous, Forgiving, Helpful, Honest, Imaginative, Independent, Intellectual, Logical, Loving, Loyal, Obedient, Polite, Responsible, Self-controlled. The respondents' task is to rank 18 terminal values and afterwards to rank 18 instrumental values. The administration takes 15–20 minutes. For each respondent two hierarchies of values are obtained – one for terminal values, and the other for instrumental. The *Rokeach Value Survey* became a very popular measure of personal values since Rokeach developed the first conceptualisation of general values that covered both – theory and measurement.

The *Minnesota Importance Questionnaire* (MIQ; Rounds et al., 1981) is a measure of work-related needs and values. It measures 20 vocationally relevant "need"

dimensions: Ability Utilisation, Achievement, Activity, Advancement, Authority, Company Polices and Practices, Compensation, Co-workers, Creativity, Independence, Moral Values, Recognition, Responsibility, Security, Social Service, Social Status, Supervision-Human Relations, Supervision-Technical, Variety and Working Conditions. The relative importance of "needs" is assessed by comparison in pairs (administration time 30–40 minutes), or by comparison in pentads (administration time 15–25 minutes). In addition, the rating scales are provided for assessment of the importance of each need. The rating scales can be used to consider individual normative value profiles or to convert the comparative rankings to an absolute scale (Doering, Rhodes, & Kaspin, 1988; Stulman & Dawis, 1976), which allows interindividual comparisons and the usage of parametric statistics. Scoring is also possible at the level of six more general dimensions (Achievement, Altruism, Comfort, Safety, Status, and Autonomy) that have been found to underlie 20 needs. In addition to MIQ, which measures the importance of work facets, two other questionnaires were developed to measure presence of the same work facets and satisfaction with them: the *Minnesota Job Description Questionnaire* (MJDQ) and the *Minnesota Satisfaction Questionnaire* (MSQ). Those three instruments provide a set of commensurate measures for reinforcers, needs/values, and satisfaction, all referring to the same work facets (Dawis, 2005). Thus, MIQ is the first questionnaire that clearly incorporated value assessment in the P-E fit model.

The *Work Aspect Preference Scale* (WAPS; Pryor, 1981, 1983, 1999) is a measure of adults' and adolescents' work aspect preferences. It measures 13 work values: Altruism, Co-workers, Creativity, Detachment, Independence, Life style, Management, Money, Physical activity, Prestige, Security, Self-development, and Surroundings. Each work value is represented with four specific work aspects. Respondents have to rate the importance of each work aspect on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*quite unimportant*) to 5 (*extremely important*). The administration time is approximately 10–20 minutes. The personal value scores are expressed as a sum of responses to the four items representing each value. The instrument may be useful in career counselling, rehabilitation of disabled individuals or in research on personal and work values, career development and job satisfaction.

The *Values Scale* (VS) is a multi-scale, Likert-type instrument that assesses the importance both of work values (such as advancement and working conditions) and more general, personal values (such as personal development and life style). It was developed in 1980s by an international consortium of researchers collaborating in the Work Importance Study (WIS; see Super & Šverko, 1995), and subsequently adapted in Australia, Belgium, Canada, Croatia, Israel, Italy, Japan, Poland, South Africa, and the US. The generic version tapped 20 values while the number of values in the national versions varies between 18 and 21. The VS description is available in the WIS monograph (Super & Šverko, 1995) and in the manuals accompanying the national versions (e.g., Coetsier & Claes, 1990; Fitzsimmons, Macnab, & Casserly, 1986; Langley, du Toit, & Herbst, 1992; Nevill & Super, 1986b; Šverko, 1987). Preceded by a phrase "it is now or will be important for me to…", the items are simple statements such as "to do work that takes advantage of my abilities (ability utilisation), "to get ahead" (advancement),

"act on my own" (autonomy), "help people in need" (altruism), "have a high standard of living" (economics), "living according to my ideas" (life style), etc. There are five statements for each of the values. Respondents are asked to indicate the importance of each statement on a 4-point rating scale, and their scores are derived by adding their importance ratings over five items composing each value. The VS can be administered to high school, college, and adult populations in about 30 minutes. Although the instrument has been widely used both in research and counselling, there was no attempt to revise the instrument or renew its standardisation.

The Salience Inventory (SI) is a multi-scale, Likert-type instrument that measures participation in, commitment to, and value expectations from each of the five roles: student, worker, citizen, homemaker, and leisure-seeker. Developed in 1980s by the international consortium of researchers collaborating in the Work Importance Study (WIS), the instrument was subsequently adapted in Australia, Belgium, Canada, Croatia, Italy, Japan, Poland, South Africa, and the US. The instrument development is described in the WIS monograph (Super & Šverko, 1995) and in the manuals accompanying some of the national versions (e.g., Coetsier & Claes, 1990; Fitzsimmons et al., 1986; Langley, 1990; Nevill & Super, 1986a). The SI comprises three components or measurement scales. The Participation scale is behavioural in content; it contains items asking respondents to state, for example, how much time and effort they devote to activities or thinking about various roles. The Commitment scale is affective; it asks subjects to state, for example, how committed they are to being good in the various roles. The third component, the Values Expectation scale, asks respondents to estimate how much opportunity they see for the realisation of each of a range of values in each of the five roles. The Participation and Commitment scale have 10 items each, and the Values Expectation scale contain 14 items. Since they apply to each of the five roles, the SI comprises 170 items in total. It takes about 35–45 minutes to complete the instruments. A summation of scores across the items of each of the scales renders scores which reflect an individual's importance attached to each of the five life roles. Although the SI has been widely used both in research and counselling, there was no attempt to revise it or renew the standardisation.

The *Schwartz Value Survey* (SVS; Schwartz, 1992, 1994, 1996) is a measure of ten broad general values including: Power, Achievement, Hedonism, Stimulation, Self-Direction, Universalism, Benevolence, Tradition, Conformity and Security. Each of the values is represented by specific values (e.g., Hedonism is represented with two specific values and Benevolence with nine). Overall, the instrument consists of 56 specific values, which are divided in two lists that measure separately terminal and instrumental values. The respondents' first task is to study the list of 30 terminal values and to pick two of them: the one they find most important and the other they find least important or even opposite to their values. After that, respondents have to rate the extent to which each of terminal values serves as a guiding principle in their life. The importance of each specific value is to be rated on the 9-point scale ranging from −1 (*opposite to my value*), 0 (*not important*), 3 (*important*), to 7 (*of supreme importance*). After completing the list of terminal values, respondents have to choose the most and least important instrumental values

and to rate all 26 instrumental values. The respondents' results are formed together across both terminal and instrumental values, by calculating the mean rating for the items assigned for each general value. Thus, for each respondent, an individual 10-value profile is provided, which can also be presented as hierarchy of values. The *Schwartz Value Survey* was translated into many languages and its wide application in research provided a body of knowledge on cultural value profiles and structures.

The *Life Values Inventory* (LVI; Brown & Crace, 2002; Crace & Brown, 2002a, 2002b) is a new measure of personal values of adolescents and adults. The instrument measures 14 life values: Achievement, Belonging, Concern for the Environment, Concern for Others, Creativity, Financial Prosperity, Health and Activity, Humility, Independence, Interdependence, Objective Analysis, Privacy, Responsibility, and Spirituality. The inventory is divided in three parts: the rating part, the ranking part and the life-roles part. In first part, each of 14 life values is represented with three items (e.g., Creativity is represented with "coming up with new ideas", "being creative", and "discovering new things or ideas"), which yields 42 specific value items. Respondents have to rate each specific value on a 5-point rating scale to estimate the degree to which it currently guides their behaviour. After completing the first part of the inventory, respondents have to rank 14 life values, presented in the second part of the instrument. Finally, in the third part of the instrument, they have to choose and rank the values they wish to fulfil in each of three major life roles: Work, Important Relationships and Leisure and Community Activities. The inventory is self-scored and provided with advice for interpreting the results and managing particular life situations, like managing career and life roles development, transitions or stress. It takes about 20–30 minutes to complete the questionnaire. The instrument yields both ipsative and normative scale scores, and thus accounts both for intraindividual and interindividual differences. As the authors suggest, the LVI can be helpful in broad life areas: career counselling, retirement counselling and planning, leisure counselling, couples counselling, team building, or other life situations which involve decision making and interpersonal relations (Brown & Crace, 2002).

The Use of Values and Role Salience Measures in Career Guidance

Most of the inventories and measures presented in the previous section have been extensively used both in research and practical career assessment. In practice, they have been mainly utilised within the trait-oriented approaches to career planning, which employ traditional matching paradigm in helping people to make or remake informed occupational choices. Philosophically wed to logical positivism (Brown, 2003), these approaches rely heavily on psychometrically sound, standardised instruments rendering quantitative measure of values as an individual difference variable.

Two streams of research have fostered such use of values measures in career assessment. The first stream focused on the occupational differences in values. Studies using the Allport-Vernon *Study of Values* (Cantril & Allport, 1933; Stone, 1933; Vernon & Allport, 1931), Super's *Work Values Inventory* (i.e., Carruthers, 1968) or WIS *Values Scale* (Šverko, Jerneić, Kulenović, & Vizek-Vidović, 1987), as well as other instruments (e.g., Feather, 1982; Rosenberg, 1957; Simpson & Simpson, 1960) have all shown pronounced values differences among individuals with differing occupational preferences, choices, or attainments. For example, it has been found that individuals preferring, choosing, or attaining business occupations were generally high on utilitarian orientation and material values; people choosing medical occupations, social work, and teaching appeared to be high in social values, in particular on altruism; while individuals choosing architecture, art, and literature stress self-expression and autonomous life-style. Although it is possible that the type of occupational activity pursued may reinforce certain values, it is quite probable that a choice of the occupational activity pursued is at least in part influenced by an individual's value system. In support of the latter process, it has been found that job changers tended to stress the importance of intellectual stimulation, creativity, and independence (Kanchier & Unruh, 1989).

A related line of research was based on the idea of a person-environment (P-E) fit, or congruence, the approach especially stressed by the Theory of Work Adjustment (Dawis, 1996; Dawis & Lofquist, 1984). The assumption is that individuals seek work environments that are tuned to their work personality structure, including abilities, needs and values. The degree of fit between a person's personality structure and occupational reinforcer patterns is supposed to predict job satisfaction. The studies with the *Minnesota Importance Questionnaire* support this proposition: Rounds (1990; Rounds, Dawis, & Lofquist, 1987) reported that the congruence among personal and environmental characteristics explained from 3% to 30% of the variance in satisfaction. For comparison, according to the recent meta-analytic studies, the congruence among peoples' interests and work environment explained only up to 5% of the variance in satisfaction (Spokane, Meir, & Catalano, 2000; Transberg, Slane, & Ekeberg, 1993; Tsabari, Tziner, & Meir, 2005). Thus work values provide stronger linkage to job satisfaction than vocational interests.

These two lines of research laid the groundwork for assessment of values differences in career counselling. Most career counsellors assess client's values as a person variable, along with abilities, interests, and personality traits. They accept the tenet that people look for certain values in their work and that careers offer varying opportunities for attaining these values. Thus, exploring the clients' values typically has served as the first step in a counselling process aimed at channelling the client's inclinations towards occupational environments deemed congruent with their values. Both qualitative assessment of values, for example in the form of card sorts, and more structured qualitative assessment of values have been utilised by counsellors. Indeed, values are assessed today in most career counselling approaches.

Assessing personal values makes also an important part of computer-assisted career guidance (CACG) systems, such as DISCOVER and SIGI. Modern CACG systems provide assistance in career decision making process by helping clients to find the occupational alternatives that correspond to their personal characteristics. Computer assistance focuses on helping clients to explore large number of potential career alternatives in order to find a smaller set of promising alternatives that best suit their personal traits and preferences. For that reason CACG systems collect data on personal characteristics and compare them with stored occupational information. To assess personal traits and preferences most CACG systems include specific self-assessments of work values, along with assessments of interests, skills or competencies. The match between personal traits and work environments is done by comprehensive and sophisticated algorithms. In this match making processes important role is given to correspondence between an individual's personal values and work environments allowing for their attainment.

Apart from assessment undertaken to assist person-occupation matching, values and role salience measures were also used within wider conceived developmental approaches to career assessment. Developmental approaches are designed to help clients understand the meaning of their careers in the life span, within the larger framework of multiple life roles. One example of such approaches is Super's Career Development, Assessment and Counselling Model (C-DAC), which relies on collecting a large array of information about the client, including detailed information about their values, role salience, and values expectations related to various life roles. The model assesses clients' interests and expressed preferences "as basic status data to be viewed in the light of career maturity, the salience of life roles, and the values sought in life as moderator variables" (Super, Osborne, Walsh, Brown, & Niles, 2001, p. 74).

The traditional assessment of values has focused on work values considered mainly as a person variable. In the last decade, however, the interest in career-related applications of value assessment has been shifted from individual work values to "cultural" values, that is, the values which are typical of certain cultural groups (Carter, 1991; Brown, 2002). As career guidance has evolved in many countries, and became a world-wide phenomenon, questions have been raised about applicability of career theories and approaches to different contexts. Besides, in developed countries, in particular the USA, where the main theoretical models were formulated, an increased awareness of needs of diverse populations (differing in race, ethnicity, gender, socioeconomic class, sexual orientation, age, or geographic origin) has heightened concerns about the cultural relevance of career theory and practice (e.g., Fitzgerald & Betz, 1994; Kerka, 2003; Leong, 1995; Leung, 1995; Wehrly, Kenney, & Kenney, 1999). These developments and the need for better understanding of cultural differences, have stressed the importance of values and life roles as two fundamental elements of subjective culture (Triandis, 1994). It was suggested that their appropriate assessment as a "context variable" offers perspectives for enhancing the cross-cultural relevance of career theory and practice (Hartung, 2002, 2006). These trends are opening new prospects for a wider use of the general values inventories and measures of role salience.

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Chapter 28
COGNITIVE MEASUREMENT IN CAREER GUIDANCE

Jacques Grégoire and Frédéric Nils

When career guidance began in the early 1900s, the principal aim of the vocational process was job placement within the new industrial economy (Pope, 2000). The counsellors' clients were mostly young boys ending elementary school and starting work, as well as people migrating from rural to urban industrialised areas. At that time, the person/job matching perspective was focused on the fit between individual aptitudes and those required by the job. In this context, measurement was a key component of the process. Vocational counsellors were considered as assessment experts of physical and mental aptitudes, who had to convince the counselee of the validity of their advice (Guichard & Huteau, 2001; Parsons, 1909). It is important to point out that, during this period, many methods used for these assessments were based on common-sense descriptions of mental activity and job demands. Valid scientific procedures were clearly needed to make career counselling respectable in Western countries (Whiteley, 1984). Within the USA and certain newly industrialised countries, this psycho-technical conception of guidance inspired most of the research and reflection into vocational psychology until the 1950s.

Between World War I and World War II, the scope of vocational psychology was broadened to accommodate new clients. Just after WWI, the guidance process entered the classroom and important methodologies were implemented for elementary and secondary school students, notably in cognitive measurement. Since WWII, college and university students have also become part of the guidance counselees. As a consequence to the promotion and organisation of educational guidance, the assessment of physical abilities almost vanished, while the development and use of cognitive measurement methods increased. Among the tools developed at that time, the well-known GATB may be cited (General Aptitude Test Battery), the ASVAB (Armed Services Vocational Aptitude Battery), the Wechsler-Bellevue Intelligence Scale and the DAT (Differential Aptitude Tests). It must also be underlined that, between WWI and WWII, another transition in assessment occurred. While the evaluation of cognitive abilities was reaching its apogee, the 1930s marked the beginning of vocational interest assessment (e.g., Strong, 1936).

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J.A. Athanasou, R. Van Esbroeck (eds.) *International Handbook of Career Guidance*,

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The 1960s may be considered as the turning point in the measurement of cognitive abilities. As noted by Gottfredson (2003), during the 1970s, vocational psychology became somewhat hostile to the measurement of abilities. This author continued by saying that, for college counsellors, it seemed more difficult to tell a student that he or she lacked the ability to pursue a stated goal than to withhold that judgment, even when costly failures were certain to follow. This decline of cognitive assessment in vocational psychology was not specific to the USA. In the 1960s and 1970s, it also became a common trend within European countries (Watts, Dartois, & Plant, 1987). Actually, following important developments of standardised methods until the 1950s, several phenomena occurred, leading to a clear lessening of the use of cognitive assessment tests. Firstly, the psychometric paradigm in general as well as the trait-factor model in particular began to be perceived as unsuitable in the light of the development of the education system and the labour market. Secondly, in the USA, ideological and political changes concerning gender and ethnic minorities took place, and were translated into a host of legal tests. As a direct consequence, vocational psychologists became unwilling to use cognitive assessments that could yield assessments that potentially could be perceived as differentiating factors between demographic groups. Thirdly, instead of looking at cognitive abilities as a dimension to be assessed – like in the person/job match perspective – another trend was emerging, stressing the process rather than the product of decision-making. In that way, specific cognitive abilities and cognitive styles involved in the selection and processing of vocational information were becoming the key components.

In the 1980s, outplacement and private vocational counselling developed (Pope, 2000), probably as an answer to the multiple demands relating to the reduction in number of permanent jobs, job uncertainty and employer needs (e.g., technological skills). The principal point in cognitive assessment at that time related to innovations coming from outplacement firms, implementing new methodologies, among other measurement tools designed to assess specific cognitive abilities linked to particular job requirements or training programs.

Nowadays, the picture of cognitive career assessment in most Western countries encompasses the following trends: (a) a generalized cognitive assessment of pre-school children in order to find the most suitable solution for those who suffer from intellectual deficit; (b) a minimal or a complete absence of cognitive assessment during the compulsory school period; (c) specific cognitive abilities evaluation in assessment centres or personalised assessment systems; (d) a particular interest in cognitive self-assessment, especially computer-assisted measurement; (e) a strong emphasis in the interpretation of cognitive test results as part of a personal and dynamic construction process rather than an unchangeable snapshot of a person's capacities.

Relationship Between Cognitive Abilities, School Achievement and Occupational Performance

The relationship between cognitive abilities and success of individuals in our society has been extensively studied for more than 80 years. A large part of these studies has been focused on the relationship between intelligence, on the one hand,

and school achievement and job performance on the other. The relationship between intelligence and schooling is bidirectional (Ceci & Williams, 1997), intelligence being a good predictor of school achievement and school attendance conveying a significant increase in intelligence. For example, Fergusson, Horwood, and Ridder (2005) conducted a longitudinal study on a sample of more than 1,000 New Zealand children from birth to the age of 25. They measured their IQ at the age of 8–9 and, subsequently, observed that 22.7% of the children with an IQ between 95 and 104 had obtained a university degree by the age of 25. But more than 59% of the children with an IQ of more than 114 had reached the same educational level, while only 9.6% of the children with an IQ between 85 and 94 had obtained a university degree. IQ measured at the age of 8–9 was also a significant predictor of gross income at the age of 25. In this case, the educational level mediated the relationship between IQ and gross income. More intelligent children have not only a higher probability of success at school, but also pursue more intellectual activities throughout their lives (Schooler, Mulatu, & Oates, 1999). This reciprocal effect between intellectual potential and intellectual activity could explain the high correlation observed between intellectual measurements across the life span. A more impressive observation of this relative stability of intelligence was made by Deary, Whalley, Lemmon, Crawford, and Starr (2000), who measured the intelligence of 97 Scottish adults of 77-year-old and observed a correlation of .73 with their IQ measured 66 years earlier, when they were 11.

Many researchers have assessed the relationship between intelligence and job performance. In 1984, Hunter and Hunter (1984) conducted a large meta-analysis of their results. This meta-analysis was expanded and updated in 1998 by Schmidt and Hunter. The authors collected the data from validity studies conducted over 85 years on several measurements predicting job performance and training performance. The main results of this meta-analysis are presented in Table 28.1. The validity coefficients are the correlation coefficients between predictor and criterion, corrected for criterion and predictor measurement error and restriction of range. Schmidt and Hunter emphasised the usefulness of measurements of overall intelligence, which they called General Mental Ability (GMA). They defined

Table 28.1 Predictive validity for job performance and job training programs of General Mental Ability combined with a second predictor (Adapted from Schmidt & Hunter, 1998)

	Job performance		Job training performance	
Measurements	Validity (r)	Validity gain	Validity (r)	Validity gain
General Mental Ability	.51	–	.56	–
Work sample tests	.54	.12 (24%)	–	–
Integrity tests	.41	.14 (27%)	.38	.11 (20%)
Conscientiousness tests	.31	.09 (18%)	.30	.09 (16%)
Job knowledge tests	.48	.07 (14%)	–	–
Assessment centres	.37	.02 (4%)	–	–
Interest tests	.10	.01 (2%)	.18	.03 (5%)
Graphology	.02	.00 (0%)	–	–

GMA as an overall cognitive measurement combining a variety of measurements of specific abilities. The average correlation between GMA and job performance was .51, with considerable variability according to job complexity. The correlation is higher for more complex jobs (.58 for professional-managerial jobs) and lower for less complex jobs (.23 for unskilled jobs). Similar results were observed between GMA and job training performance. Schmidt and Hunter (2004, p. 170) explained these observations by the major effect of GMA on the acquisition of job performance: "People who are higher in GMA acquire more job knowledge and acquire it faster".

Schmidt and Hunter (1998) assessed the incremental validity of other job performance predictors and observed that the validity gain was rather small. The highest gains were observed when work sample tests, integrity tests and conscientiousness tests were included in the equation predicting job performance. In Table 28.1, one can observe that interest tests show low validity predicting job performance and provide no significant gain over the prediction of job performance using GMA alone. As for graphology, its predictive validity is useless.

Schmidt and Hunter conducted their meta-analysis examining only U.S. validity studies. Recently, Salgado et al. (2003a) and Salgado, Anderson, Moscoso, Bertua, and de Fruyt (2003b) extended this research on GMA and cognitive ability measurements predicting job performance and training success in the European Community. Studies from the following countries contributed to this European meta-analysis: Belgium, France, Germany, Ireland, Holland, Spain and the United Kingdom. Salgado et al. (2003b) replicated the U.S. findings, reporting a correlation of .62 between GMA and job performance and a correlation of .54 between GMA and job training (Table 28.2). They also observed a higher validity coefficient for more complex jobs and a lower validity coefficient for less complex jobs.

Salgado et al. (2003b) observed significant correlations between several cognitive abilities, measured by specific tests, and job performance and job training. These validity coefficients in Table 28.2 are always lower than the GMA validity coefficients.

Table 28.2 Predictive validity for job performance and job training programs of General Mental Ability and other ability tests (Adapted from Salgado et al., 2003b)

	Validity (r)	
Source	Job performance	Job training
General Mental Ability	.62	.54
Verbal	.35	.44
Numerical	.52	.48
Spatial-mechanical	.51	.40
Perceptual	.52	.25
Memory	.56	.34

Relationship Between Abilities and Interests

The ability/vocation and the interest/vocation fit have been frequently studied. Less research has been conducted into the relationship between ability and interest. How do these two characteristics interact? Do people develop interests according to their abilities? Or are they developing their abilities according to their interests? Ackerman and Heggestad (1997) have presented a review of the interest/intellectual ability associations. They reported the following general findings: "(1) Science and engineering interests […] tend to be positively associated with Math, Spatial and Mechanical ability scores, (2) Literary interests are positively associated with Verbal ability […], (3) Interest in Social Services […] tend to be negatively correlated with many abilities" (p. 236). Referring to the Holland model, they reported a positive relationship between spatial and math abilities and Realistic and Investigative interests, a high correlation between verbal ability and Artistic and Investigative interests, a negative correlation between ability scores and Enterprising and Conventional interests, and a negligible correlation between ability scores and Social interests. They also reported a positive association between the intelligence level and the depth and breadth of interest. These observed relationships provide only a static picture, but shed no light on the way abilities and interests interact. With this aim, Ackerman and Beier (2003) have proposed a theoretical framework called "Intelligence-as-process, Personality, Interest, and Knowledge" (PPIK) linking all these characteristics into a large model of adult intellectual development. The PPIK theory suggests that intellectual ability is directed by personality and interests toward specific domains of knowledge. This theory also describes trait complexes, considered as indicators of the direction of intellectual investment over the lifespan, which could help to give a better understanding of career choices. Although promising, few empirical studies have currently been conducted to validate the PPIK theory, or its usefulness for vocational assessment.

Recently, Reeve and Heggestad (2004) have investigated the relationship between general cognitive ability, that is the *g* factor (see the section "General Intelligence" below), and interest/vocation fit (assessed with Holland's first letter agreement, and with the Brown-Gore C index of congruence). They observed a systematic relationship between general cognitive ability and interest/vocation fit, but mediated by job complexity. When individuals have Investigative, Artistic or Social interests (often associated with a high-complexity job), the general cognitive ability has a positive relationship with interest/vocation fit. On the other hand, when individuals have Conventional or Realistic interests (often associated with a low-complexity job), the general cognitive ability has a negative relationship with interest/vocation fit. These correlations can be explained by the gravitational hypothesis: individuals tend to gravitate toward jobs corresponding to their intellectual ability level. When interests are associated with high-complexity jobs, the interest/vocation fit is positively associated with the *g* factor. But this association is negative when interests are associated with low-complexity ones.

Although a clear relationship between interests and abilities is undoubtedly supported by empirical data, more studies are needed to clarify the nature of this relationship across individual development. A better understanding of the interactions between interests and abilities would be helpful for vocational guidance.

Measuring Cognition in Career Guidance

General Intelligence

Discussing intelligence measurements means first discussing the construct that they are supposed to reflect. The concept of intelligence is far from univocal, and there is no universal agreement on its definition. Sternberg and Detterman (1986) organised a symposium with the most well-known researchers on intelligence, and highlighted the multiple definitions of intelligence among researchers themselves.

Binet, who developed the first intelligence test in 1905, referred to a general model of intelligence. A century later, it is still the most popular and widely used model of intelligence. Being at odds with the analytical psychology of the 19th century, Binet considered that the study of individual differences should be more focused on higher mental abilities than on elementary sensations. He claimed that: "An individual shows his value by his whole intelligence. We are an array of trends, and the resultant of all these trends is expressed in our acts, doing what our existence is. So, we should be able to appraise this entirety" (1909, p. 117). To reach this goal, Binet gathered in his test a large variety of cognitive tasks to have a general appraisal of the intellectual ability of the assessed individuals. He emphasised that: "A specific test, apart from the rest, is not worth much. […] What gives us a demonstrative power is a bundle of tests, a set from which we keep the average characteristics" (1911, p. 200).

According to Binet, intelligence should be seen as a property of the cognitive system as a whole rather than as an elementary ability. Some individuals are more intelligent than others because they have an efficient general competency allowing them to identify, analyse and solve the various problems with which they have to cope during their lives. Other individuals have a much more restricted competency, being efficient only in a limited area. Usually, such individuals are not considered as intelligent. In the scientific literature there is a description of individuals, often called idiot savant, who can easily solve complex calculations, but are unable to cope with most everyday problems and, consequently, to manage their own lives.

The human and life sciences often deal with collective properties, which transcend their underlying components and cannot be identified with any particular one of them. For example, the Consumer Price Index is a collective property that cannot be identified with any specific good, and can only be determined from a representative sample of goods. Similarly, the opinion of Americans on a political issue is a collective property. It is real, but it cannot be comprehended at a glance. To appraise a collective property, it is not enough to observe an isolated element (e.g., the

opinion of John Doe) of the whole that one would like to assess. A sample of elements that is representative of the whole has to be assessed. If the sample is correctly collected, the collective property will appear as a central tendency. For example, an opinion pool based on a representative sample of the American population will enable the opinion of this population to be identified with a limited range of error, relating to the sample size and the variability of the opinions within it. From the moment when the idea is accepted that intelligence is a collective property of an individual's entire cognitive system, one can follow the same procedure to measure its efficiency. A sample of tasks revealing intellectual efficiency has to be selected. These tasks will be selected from a universe of intellectual tasks. If the sampling procedure has been correctly conducted, the mean performance of an individual across this sample of tasks will provide a fairly accurate measurement of his or her general intellectual efficiency.

The general measurements of intelligence, generally expressed in an IQ number, include a large array of cognitive abilities, but also common characteristics shared by all the tasks used in the test. The observation that all the intellectual tasks are correlated was made by Spearman in 1904, and, since then, has been systematically confirmed. For example, contrary to intuitive belief, a 0.50 correlation was observed between two very different subtests of the WAIS-III, Vocabulary and Block Design (Wechsler, 1997). In the first subtest, one has to give a definition of several words, while in the second one, one has to analyse geometrical figures and reproduce them using coloured blocks. At first glance, these tasks share no cognitive procedures and, consequently, are expected to be uncorrelated. For Spearman (1904), the observed correlations can be explained by a common cognitive factor underlying all intellectual activities. Unable to identify the nature of this factor with precision, Spearman called it simply *g*. Subsequently, this factor has stimulated passionate debates and countless empirical research projects.

Those who develop general intelligence tests have quite rightly seen the *g* factor as an argument in favour of the calculation of an IQ. Until then, it was possible to consider the IQ as a numerical value without any meaning, being the mean of a melting pot of unrelated scores. As soon as it can be proved that all these scores, apparently heterogeneous, share a common factor, such an argument against the IQ can be rejected. It is legitimate to add apples, bananas, and oranges because they all are fruits. Similarly, it is legitimate to add the subtest scores of an intelligence test because all of them are, at least partially, determined by the *g* factor.

Spearman (1904) proved the existence of the *g* factor using the statistical method he created: factor analysis. This method enables the identification of latent variables (Fig. 28.1) explaining the bulk of the individual differences observed on the selected tasks. Spearman advocated that the measurement of intelligence should focus on the purest measurement as possible of *g*, but such a goal is unachievable, as no task is a pure index of *g*. The observed scores are always a mixed of several abilities, and even of non-intellective characteristics such as motivation and interest (Wechsler, 1950). The general measurements of intelligence are bundles of cognitive and non-cognitive characteristics, *g* influencing the larger part of variance, but never being the only decisive factor.

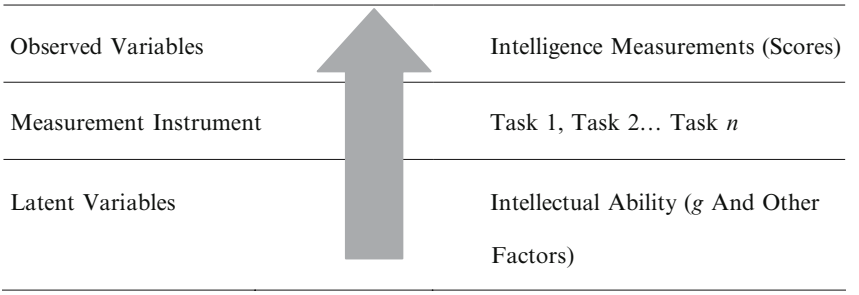


Fig. 28.1 Relationship between latent variables and observed scores (Adapted from Grégoire, 2006)

In the earlier section the measurements of general intelligence was seen to be among the best predictors of job performance. But not all intelligence tests provide the same estimates of the same individual's general intelligence. These estimates relate to the sample of tasks included in the tests. Intelligence tests including a wide sample of tasks will usually provide precise estimates of general intelligence, whereas intelligence tests including a limited sample of tasks will generally provide somewhat different estimates. The Wechsler scales provide an excellent illustration of this phenomenon. These scales are currently the most popular general intelligence measurements. Wechsler developed his first scale, the Wechsler-Bellevue, in 1939 referring to Binet's model of intelligence (Wechsler, 1944). The latest version of this scale, the Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale – Third Edition (WAIS-III; Wechsler, 1997), measurements general intelligence based on a wide variety of intellectual tasks. Several correlation studies have been conducted with this test and with other intelligence tests (Wechsler, 1997). As expected, its correlation with the Stanford-Binet Intelligence Scale, another popular test of general intelligence based on a wide variety of tasks, was high (.88). On the other hand, its correlation with the Standard Progressive Matrices, a well-known measurement of intelligence based on a single task of non-verbal inductive reasoning, was moderate (.64). Like most intelligence tests based on a wide variety of tasks (verbal and non-verbal), the WAIS-III also shows high correlation with measurements of school achievement. The correlation between the WAIS-III Full Scale IQ were .76 with reading, .81 with math and .68 with writing skills (Wechsler, 1997). Lower correlations were usually observed between achievement measurements and intelligence measurements based on single non-verbal tasks.

Intelligence Components

Breaking Down Intelligence into Components

The statistical logic underlying the general measurement of intelligence is not without flaw. While the analogy with the procedure followed in an opinion pool is appealing, there is an important difference between the procedure followed by

a pollster and by a psychometrician. The former has a precise definition of the population, from which he or she randomly draws a sample, while the latter has only a rough definition of the universe of intellectual tasks. Consequently, when a psychometrician selects the tasks to be included in an intelligence test, he or she has no guarantee that the selection is not biased and that the selected tasks correctly represent the universe of tasks.

The representativity of the tasks included in overall intelligence tests was soon seen as a weakness of those instruments. Already in the 1920s, Thorndike had criticised overall intelligence tests because they only measured abstract intelligence. He went further and questioned the existence of the construct of overall intelligence, claiming that: "The first fact is that intelligence is not one, but plural" (Thorndike, 1920, p. 227). Thorndike supported the concept of multiple intelligences, independent from one other. He suggested the existence of a social intelligence (ability to solve interpersonal problems) and a mechanical intelligence (ability to solve practical problems), along with the abstract intelligence measured by classical tests. Thurstone (1938) defended a more radical option, suggesting that the concept of intelligence be abandoned and replaced with several Primary Mental Abilities (PMA). He considered PMA as the atoms of cognition, the building blocks used to formulate complex cognitive activities. He developed a test to measure five PMAs, corresponding to five fundamental specific abilities that he identified in his research: Verbal (V), Spatial (S), Numerical (N), Verbal Fluency (W) and Reasoning (R). This test measures intelligence as a pattern of PMA scores. Performance of complex tasks is predicted using a linear combination of several PMAs. School achievement can, for instance, be predicted using the formula: 2V+R.

Guilford (1967) extended Thurstone's model with the objective of identifying all intellectual abilities. Drawing his inspiration from Mendeleyev, who developed the periodic chemical elements table, Guilford proposed a three-dimensional model of the *structure of intellect* organising all the intellectual abilities along three dimensions: (a) The cognitive operations, (b) The contents on which the operations are applied, and (c) The products of the operations. In its final version (Guilford, 1982), this model included 150 abilities (= 5 operations × 5 contents × 6 products).

Thurstone's model of multiple independent abilities had a strong influence on testing practice. Several tests measuring specific abilities have been developed according to this model in order to predict job and training performances. Many authors have considered that differential weighting of specific ability measurements would yield better prediction of these performances than traditional measurements of general intelligence. For example, the General Aptitude Test Battery (GATB), developed 50 years ago to measure several specific abilities, provides a profile of aptitudes that can be used to determine an appropriate career or training. While its fairness in selection practices was strongly debated in the USA (Baydoun & Neuman, 1992), it is still extensively used in vocational and occupational selection contexts around the world.

Are predictions combining specific ability measurements better than those made with general intelligence measurements? The meta-analysis conducted by Salgado et al. (2003b) has shown that the correlations between GMA and certain criteria are

always higher than the correlations between any specific ability and similar criteria. But, what about combinations of specific abilities? This issue was recently addressed by Brown, Le, and Schmidt (2006) who assessed the incremental validity of combinations of specific cognitive aptitudes to predict training performance. They used the data collected with the Armed Services Vocational Aptitude Battery (ASVAB) from thousands of respondents enrolled in the U.S. Navy technical schools. The training success was assessed with the final school grade. The authors compared the training success predicted by GMA and by weighted combinations of specific aptitudes. They observed that "specific ability tests provided little if any incremental validity in the prediction of training success over GMA" (Brown et al., 2006, p. 97). This observation is not surprising because specific aptitude measurements are never independent. Even Thurstone (1947) finally admitted this empirical fact. Specific aptitudes are always correlated because they share some cognitive components that Spearman called *g* (see above). Consequently, a combination of two or three specific aptitudes can be seen as a rough estimate of the general intelligence, and such an estimate is unlikely to be a better predictor than an estimate of the general intelligence based on a larger sample of cognitive tasks. As general intelligence is the best predictor of learning for a variety of jobs (see above), GMA is logically a better predictor of job training than a combination of certain specific aptitudes. However, no empirical studies have validated this conclusion in terms of job performance. Further research is needed to check whether a combination of specific aptitudes, closely matching job content, could be a better predictor of job performance than GMA.

Multiple Intelligences

Thorndike's proposal to break down the monolithic general intelligence and replace it by multiple intelligences has been revisited by two contemporary researchers: Gardner (1983) and Sternberg (1985). Both researchers advocated that the diversity of talented young people should be recognised through models of multiple intelligences. They considered that these models are fair, stimulating tailored educational programs and promoting career development consistent with each talent. Sternberg (1985) distinguished three forms of intelligence: analytical, practical and creative. The model of multiple intelligences proposed by Gardner (1999) includes, in its latest version, eight independent intelligences: linguistic, logico-mathematical, spatial, musical, bodily kinaesthetic, interpersonal, intrapersonal and naturalistic intelligences. According to Gardner, each person fulfils his or her own definition of an intelligence: "The ability to solve problems, or to fashion products, that are valued in one or more cultural or community settings" (1993, p. 7). Extending the scope of the intellectual activities, Sternberg's and Gardner's model have the merit of highlighting the limited representativity of certain classical measurements of intelligence, and of widening the span of the intellectual abilities to be taken into account in vocational assessment and career guidance.

However, these models have been severely criticised. For example, Carroll (1993) reproached Gardner for not providing strong empirical data supporting the independence

of the intelligences he suggested. Most of these intelligences are interrelated in many tasks (e.g., musical and bodily kinaesthetic intelligences are associated when playing piano) or, by and large, overlapping (e.g., interpersonal and intrapersonal intelligences). Gardner does not propose any cognitive model of this interrelation between intelligences. Moreover, for an accurate study of the interaction between intelligences, reliable and valid measurements of each of them are needed. Unfortunately, the only instruments designed to measure all the multiple intelligences described by Gardner are field-specific observational guidelines (Chen & Gardner, 1997) and questionnaires assessing previous experience and behaviour in domains relating to the eight intelligences (Shearer, 2004). Currently, the field-specific assessment proposed by Gardner is not supported by any evidence of validity. As for the questionnaires, while having some psychometrical qualities, they do not allow one to differentiate competences and interests. The measurements of the three forms of intelligence proposed by Sternberg, Castejón, Prieto, Hautamäki, and Grigorenko (2001) are not convincing either. Brody (2003) pointed to the high correlations between the measurements of the three forms of intelligence, and between those measurements and Cattell's Culture Free Test. These observations question the independence of the forms of the intelligences and suggest an underlying common factor.

Though appealing, the multiple intelligences models have at this time only a very limited impact on assessment practices and career guidance. This limited influence is related to the lack of any valid and reliable measurement of each particular intelligence. This failure to develop efficient assessment instruments seems to be related to the serious shortcomings of the theoretical models themselves.

Cattell-Horn and Carroll Models

Unlike Thurstone and Guilford, Cattell (1941, 1963) did not reject the *g* factor, but suggested that it should be split into two broad entities: Fluid Intelligence (Gf) and Crystallized Intelligence (Gc). He considered the first to be biologically determined, while the second to be strongly influenced by culture and education. Gf is mainly an innate ability to solve new problems for which individuals have no learned solutions. On the other hand, Gc originates from the use of Gf in the learning and development process. Progressively, individuals assimilate knowledge specific to their culture and learn to use this knowledge to solve a wide range of problems. Gf and Gc do not develop in the same way during our lives. According to Cattell (1963), Gf develops until the age of 14–15 and then slowly declines with age. On the other hand, Gc can continue to develop for a far longer period of time according to learning opportunities and individual motivation. Being biologically determined, Gf is sensitive to cerebral aging and all neurological impairments. Moreover, individual differences in fluid intelligence are somewhat stable across the lifespan. On the other hand, individual differences in crystallized intelligence are more volatile, being related to learning during the whole life. Gc is also better protected against neurological impairment due to aging and health problems.

Cattell considered that the intellectual ability corresponding to Gf was identical to the ability associated to *g* by Spearman, that is, the ability to draw relationships

and infer correlations. Consequently, he considered that the best measurements of Gf were tests measuring the *g* factor, as the Raven's Progressive Matrices. On the other hand, he considered that intelligence tests requiring language knowledge and school learning (e.g., word definitions) were the best measurements of Gc. Cattell claimed that tests of Gf should enable intelligence to be assessed without any cultural interference. If the content used in reasoning is completely new or known by all individuals, test performances should not be influenced by learning opportunity differences and should only reflect innate differences of intelligence. Cattell (1963) considered such tests to be "culture fair". He created his own Culture Free Test (Cattell & Cattell, 1949). Based on the mental processes recommended by Spearman for measuring *g* (i.e., the eduction of relationships and correlations), this includes only items made with geometric figures, considered by Cattell as equally familiar in every culture.

Cattell's ambition to measure Gf regardless of cultural influences was strongly criticised. Today, the possibility of such culturally independent measurements is considered to be illusory. As claimed by Bruner (1974, p. 364): "Culture free means intelligence free". Intelligence, even though rooted in individual genetic heritage, is always shaped by culture. It is not possible to reason in a vacuum, independently of any content. Every content is related to human culture and learning. It is an oversimplification to consider that only verbal knowledge is culturally related. Non-verbal knowledge, such as geometric figures, is just as much culturally related. Children discover the characteristics of a square or a triangle at school, where they learn to analyse geometric figures by their elementary components. Uneducated children do not have such learning opportunities. Consequently, a reasoning task using geometric figures will be familiar for some individuals, but new for others, and cannot be considered as culture free, and even culture fair. Finding item content equally familiar or equally new for every individual is impossible. Cattell's objective of measuring intelligence regardless of an individual's culture is unachievable.

Cattell's model of intelligence is not limited to the distinction between Gf and Gc. In collaboration with Horn, Cattell continued to develop his model, introducing several other broad intellectual abilities in addition to Gf and Gc. Between 1965 and the present day, the number of abilities and their names have developed further. Horn and Noll (1997) have provided a good summary of what is currently called the *Cattell-Horn* model. This model includes nine broad intellectual abilities, presented in Table 28.3. It is explicitly in line with the Thurstone model of primary mental abilities (Horn & Noll, 1997). The only difference is that the Cattell-Horn model only includes broad abilities. In this model, Gf is identified as the *g* factor, and is but one among the nine broad abilities. Cattell and Horn considered there was little justification in assigning a higher position in their model to the *g* factor.

Unlike Cattell and Horn, several researchers have incorporated the *g* factor and these broad abilities within hierarchical models. The most influential hierarchical model was proposed by Carroll (1993), and is called the Three Stratum Theory. Carroll analysed more than 460 correlation matrices between intellectual tasks collected in research projects on cognitive abilities conducted between 1925 and 1987 in 19 countries. He observed that a three-stratum model could explain most of the

Table 28.3 Broad abilities of the Cattell-Horn (Horn & Noll, 1997) and Carroll (1997) models

Acronym	Cattell-Horn	Carroll
Gf	Fluid reasoning	Fluid intelligence
Gc	Acculturation knowledge	Crystallized intelligence
Gv	Visual processing	Broad visual perception
Ga	Auditory processing	Broad auditory perception
Gs	Processing speed	Broad cognitive speediness
CDS	Correct decision speed	Reaction time/decision speed
TSR	Fluency of retrieval from long-term storage	Broad retrieval ability
SAR	Short-term apprehension-retention	General memory and learning
Gq	Quantitative knowledge	–

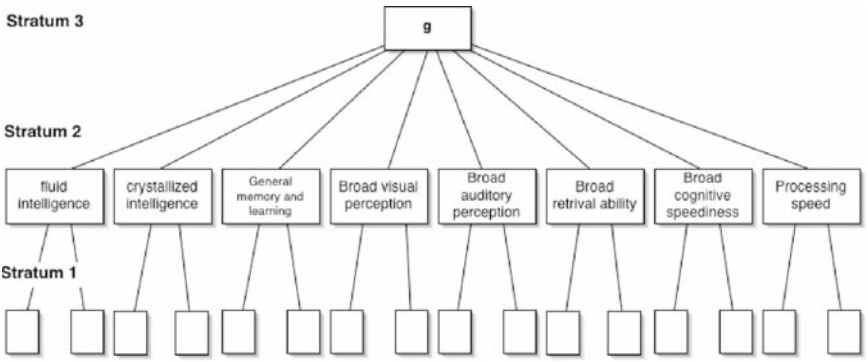


Fig. 28.2 Carroll's hierarchical model (Adapted from Carroll, 1993)

observed correlations (Fig. 28.2). The first stratum, at the bottom, includes a large number of narrow factors. The second stratum includes eight broad factors. These broad factors correspond to the broad abilities identified by Cattell and Horn in their own research (see Table 28.3). Finally, the third stratum, at the apex, includes only the *g* factor that has influence in all intellectual tasks.

According to Carroll (1993), the structure of intelligence is stable across the lifespan. Neither the number of factors nor the *g* loading change across age groups. Juan-Espinosa et al. (2002) recently confirmed Carroll's observations and demonstrated that that previous conflicting studies were caused by methodological shortcomings. They considered that: "As the human skeleton, there is a basic structure of intelligence that is present early in life. This basic structure does not change at all, although, like the human bones, the cognitive abilities grow up and decline at different periods of life" (Juan-Espinosa et al., 2002, p. 406).

The hierarchical model of intellectual abilities supported by Carroll is most influential at this time. Several tests have recently been developed referring to this model. It is most useful for sampling the task of general intelligence tests since it provides a definition of the universe of intellectual tasks. This model takes into

account the tendency of all the cognitive tasks to vary because of the common *g* factor. At the same time, it allows room for individual variability at the broad ability level. Having a similar general intelligence level, several persons can show different patterns of broad abilities. These broad abilities are stronger than the primary mental abilities described by Thurstone. The latter were too narrow for enabling good predictions. Broad abilities are larger, including several narrower abilities, and are often better predictors of achievement and job performance.

Crystallized intelligence (Gc) and fluid intelligence (Gf) have been the most studied broad abilities. Gc measurements have proved to be among the best predictors of school achievement and learning through life as a whole. Ackerman, Bowen, Beier, and Kanfer (2001) showed that, at the university level, Gc is a better predictor than Gf for knowledge acquisition in every domain (physics, chemistry, geography, biology, psychology, art, economics, management, law, and so on). More recently, Ackerman and Beier (2006) conducted a study on a sample of adults between the ages of 18 and 69, confirming their first observation. The knowledge of financial issues (financial concepts and problem solving) of each person was first pre-tested. Then, the participants received self-study material (reading material and compact disk), and were informed they would be tested on this material after a 1-week study period. Ackerman and Beier observed that Gc was a stronger predictor than Gf of field knowledge before learning. The predictions based on Gf measurements were fairly low for the pre-test scores, but were much better for the post-tests scores. However, they never outperformed the predictions based on Gc measurements.

The other broad abilities have been less studied as predictors of achievement and job performance. Among them, researchers paid some attention to the broad visual perception (Gv that is, the ability to analyse visual stimuli, discover spatial relationships and manipulate visual patterns. While this ability has long been associated with architecture, engineering, physics or chemistry, it has also been considered as more relevant to craft and trade than to intellectual careers. Recently, Shea, Lubinski, and Benbow (2001) evaluated the utility of Gv measurements for predicting educational and vocational outcomes of intellectually talented students. They assessed a sample of gifted teenagers (general intelligence higher than percentile 99.5) with tests of verbal, mathematical and spatial ability. The latter measurement was a composite of mechanical reasoning and space relation tasks. Shea and colleagues observed that the Gv measurement added incremental validity to verbal and mathematical measurements in predicting achievement and vocation. Gifted teenagers with strong spatial ability were more likely to be found in the domains of engineering, computer science and mathematics. Moreover, "selecting the top 3% of verbal/mathematical ability will result in the loss of more than half of the students representing the top 1% of spatial ability" (Shea et al., 2001, p. 612).

While numerous research projects have been conducted on general intelligence and some broad abilities, little is known about the predictive validity in career assessment of several of the broad abilities included in the Carroll and Cattell-Horn models. Unlike the primary mental abilities described by Thurstone, these broad abilities cannot be measured through a single task. They are more complex and

should be assessed through a composite score, based on a group of tasks measuring the variety of the cognitive processes associated with each broad ability.

Emotional Intelligence

The concept of emotional intelligence was introduced at the beginning of the 1990s and was popularised by Goleman's bestseller "*Emotional intelligence. Why it can matter more than IQ?*", published in 1995. This concept partly overlaps some older concepts, such as the social intelligence concept proposed by Thorndike (see above). It is also rather close to the interpersonal and intrapersonal intelligences included by Gardner (1983) among the multiple intelligences.

There is no unanimity about the definition of the emotional intelligence. According to Mayer, Salovey, and Caruso (2000), these definitions can be categorised into two broad groups: (a) models considering emotional intelligence as a subset of intellectual aptitudes, and (b) mixed models combining aptitudes with certain personality traits. Mixed models, mainly supported by Goleman (1995) and Bar-On (1997), are rather weak from a conceptual and empirical viewpoint. Models considering emotional intelligence as an intelligence component are scientifically stronger. Mayer et al. (2000) have developed the best-known model in this category. These authors considered emotional intelligence as a group of aptitudes that could be integrated into Carroll's model of intelligence (1993). The ambition of Mayer et al. was to demonstrate that emotional intelligence was a second order factor including four aptitudes, each one corresponding to a first order factor. These four aptitudes are:

- *Perception and expression of emotions*. The ability to identify and discriminate ones own and other people's emotions. This identification relates to physical expressions of emotions, but also to emotional expressions in certain situations (e.g., at a party or in a tragedy) and human artworks (e.g., in a piece of music or a novel).
- *Assimilation of emotions in thought*. The ability to use one's own emotions for judging (e.g., comparing a colour to an emotion) or memorizing information.
  Understanding and analysing emotions. The ability to label emotions and understand their emergence and swings.
- *Reflective regulation of emotion*. The ability to remain open to ones own feelings, to monitor and regulate emotions, and to act in order to stimulate or suppress them.

The issue of the assessment of emotional intelligence is crucial for research into this concept, but also for its practical use. Several measurement instruments have been developed. They can be categorised into two groups (Roberts, Zeidner, & Matthews, 2001): (a) self-assessment questionnaires and (b) tests measuring emotional aptitudes. These two kinds of instruments obviously measure different characteristics. Self-assessment questionnaires have two main shortcomings: they require a sufficient level of self-awareness to collect valid information, and they are sensitive to social desirability and related distortions. On the other hand, tests measuring emotional aptitudes provide information that is more objective. However, the scoring of these tests has proved to

be complex and questionable. Among these tests, the Multi-Factor Emotional Intelligence Scale (MEIS), developed by Mayer et al. (1997), is one of the most used in research and in practice. It enables the emotional intelligence construct and its relationship with general intelligence to be studied. This test includes twelve tasks measuring the four aptitudes considered by the authors as the core competencies of emotional intelligence. These tasks are problems that the individuals have to solve using analysis and reasoning. Consequently, the MEIS can undoubtedly be considered as measuring cognitive aptitudes. However, this explicit relationship with cognition raises the issue of the specificity of the measurements collected with the MEIS.

Several empirical studies have been conducted to assess the utility of the emotional intelligence construct for achievement and for job performance predictions. Stronger studies were conducted referring to emotional intelligence as an aptitude. Unfortunately, the observed results were inconclusive. For example, Law, Wong, and Song (2006) studied the criterion validity of emotional aptitudes predicting job performance assessed by peer ratings. After controlling for the impact of the Big Five personality dimensions, the authors found that emotional intelligence, as an aptitude, was a significant predictor of job performance. On the other hand, Amelang and Steinmayr (2006) came to the opposite conclusion. Unlike Law and colleagues, they measured the criterion as a composite, called "professional status", based on three indicators: self-rating and peer-rating of professional status, and average income. They controlled the prediction for only one personality trait, conscientiousness, for general intelligence, and for educational level. They observed that emotional intelligence could not predict any variance on the criteria beyond general intelligence and conscientiousness.

Considering these contradictory results, further research is needed to study the incremental validity of emotional intelligence in predicting job performance. Consequently, it is still unclear if emotional intelligence can be useful in vocational guidance and career development.

Specific Abilities

On the one hand, as mentioned above, general cognitive ability measurements are the strongest predictors of academic and job performance and, on average, tailored tests of specific abilities do not add much in predicting academic and job success (e.g., Schmidt & Hunter, 1998). On the other hand, the more specific an ability is, the more trainable it seems to be, while general abilities are mostly stable, even in the long run. Taking these two considerations together, general cognitive abilities may be considered as the most crucial when identifying suitable domains of study and general types of job for a given individual. Their assessment is the first and the most important step. But, as specific skills or abilities, unlike more general ones, are trainable, their assessment also become important in determining, as a second step – when the scope of possibilities has

already narrowed – that which could be enhanced regarding particular studies or specific occupations.

This perspective is applied in personalised assessments as well as in development centres. Following Aubret and Blanchard (2005), to resort to tailored cognitive tests measuring specific abilities is quite frequent during a personalised assessment procedure, while general measurements of aptitudes are almost never used. As clients of these kinds of assessments already have work knowledge and experience, the broad avenues for their possible future occupations are normally known. Therefore, the aim of specific-ability testing consists here in determining which specific skills relevant to this future occupation could be trained, in order to increase the individual's chances to obtain new job opportunities.

Implications for Career Counselling

What are the consequences for career counselling of the information presented in the previous sections? Based on the current scientific knowledge on cognitive abilities, Gottfredson (2003) pointed out four challenges for career counselling: (a) How using cognitive assessment to expand career opportunities; (b) Which cognitive abilities considering in this assessment; (c) How incorporating cognitive abilities into occupational classifications; (d) How assessing the broad cognitive abilities.

Carroll's model is currently the strongest reference for selecting the abilities that should be assessed in career counselling. Narrow abilities, at the first stratum, should not be considered in career counselling. They provide only details in the big picture and their predictive validity is rather low. On the other side of Carroll's hierarchical model, at the third stratum, the general ability is the more useful for predicting school achievement and professional performances. Consequently, general ability measure should be considered as important information in career counselling. Between narrow abilities and general ability, the status of the broad abilities, at the second stratum, is less clear. Some broad ability measures, as crystallised intelligence and fluid intelligence measures, provide useful information in career guidance. But little is know about the usefulness of other broad abilities in career counselling. More research is needed to clarify this issue.

Measuring the general ability is not a problem. Several well-known instruments provide composite scores that can be used as good estimates of the general ability, for example the Full Scale IQ of the Wechsler scales or the composite score of the Differential Aptitude Tests (DAT; Bennet, Seashore, & Wesman, 1990). Measuring broad abilities is more complex because most of the aptitude tests were developed without reference to Carroll's model. Aptitude tests, as the DAT, measure a mixed of broad and narrow abilities, usually with a single task assessing each ability. Stronger measures of broad abilities are clearly needed. These measures should be composite scores based of several subtests assessing the various facets of each broad ability.

Assessing abilities is only a first step in the guidance process. Ability measures are useful for career counselling only if they can be matched with occupations. Gottfredson (2003, p. 16) complained that, in the current occupational classifications, "ability profile is at best included only implicitly and indirectly, and general ability is absent". She proposed an interesting occupational aptitude patterns map, including the general ability and the broad abilities that could be used for career guidance. She highlighted 12 occupational aptitude pattern clusters. Five clusters include less complex occupations, almost all realistic and conventional, requiring mainly psychomotor abilities, but only a low level of general ability. The seven other clusters include more complex occupations requiring above average general ability.

How using occupational aptitude patterns in career counselling? The wrong way would be using these patterns for a determinist matching between individuals and occupations. Such a use of ability measures is the main reason of the discredit of ability tests in career counselling since the seventies. A more appropriate way to use occupational aptitude patterns is in a reality-based career exploration (Gottfredson, 2003). Individuals should be encouraged to have a closer look at what is actually required for success in specific occupations. In a second time, individuals should appraise the distance between the requirement of their preferred options and their current abilities. A perfect matching is not needed. The most important is that each individual takes his own decision based on valid and reliable information, and on risks he is ready to take. Occupational success is never certain, but only probable. Correlations between ability measures and professional performances are at best moderate. So, there is some room for non cognitive and environmental influences on career success. An individual can chose an occupation requiring more abilities than he actually has. The risk of failure is rather high, but, having a strong motivation and environmental support, he can consider that the probability of success is acceptable. In some cases, this decision will indeed lead to success. Consequently, in career counselling, individuals should be encourage to think in a probabilistic way, appraising the risk they are ready to take based on information about occupational requirements and their own abilities.

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Chapter 29
QUALITATIVE CAREER ASSESSMENT: A HIGHER PROFILE IN THE 21ST CENTURY?

Mary McMahon

Qualitative career assessment has been variously described as "informal forms of assessment" (Okocha, 1998, pp. 151–152), and as "methods that are flexible, open-ended, holistic, and nonstatistical" (Goldman, 1992, p. 616). Common forms of qualitative career assessment include card sorts, timelines, and genograms, all of which demand a proactive role for clients in the assessment process.

Capturing much of what has previously been said, a more comprehensive description explains that qualitative assessment "involves non-standardised and non-quantitatively based measurement that provides an informal means of gaining a more holistic and integrative understanding of personal meanings associated with life experiences" (Palladino Schultheiss, 2005, p. 382). Consequently, in recent years qualitative career assessment has been strongly aligned with constructivist theory and approaches to career counselling with their emphasis on active agency and the construction of meaning within the context of life. However, it should not be assumed that all qualitative career assessment is constructivist in orientation as some can be used in more traditional objective, matching and predictive ways that are in keeping with the logical positivist worldview. Indeed, the logical positivist worldview informs most career assessment which is in general quantitative in nature. Such assessment has retained a high profile in career counselling work compared with qualitative career assessment which has to date had a very limited profile.

However, McMahon and Patton (2002) suggested that with greater adoption of constructivist approaches to career counselling there may be an opportunity in the 21st century for the more widespread use of qualitative career assessment, and that its place could be "strengthened relative to but not to the exclusion of quantitative assessment" (p. 58). Therefore it is hoped that this chapter will assist in raising the profile of qualitative career assessment within the career development field. This chapter is however, in no way intended to promote one form of assessment over the other. Both have a purpose and both offer a range of potential benefits to clients, and can operate in complementary ways. Rather, this chapter will overview qualitative assessment in career counselling. First it will discuss assessment in career counselling and then it will provide a brief history of qualitative career assessment. Following this, the

The University of Queensland, Australia

J.A. Athanasou, R. Van Esbroeck (eds.) *International Handbook of Career Guidance*,

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chapter will overview the use and development of qualitative career assessment, and briefly describe some common instruments. A discussion of the features, advantages and disadvantages of qualitative career assessment will conclude the chapter.

Assessment in Career Counselling

Since the origins of the vocational guidance movement over a century ago, assessment has been integral to its practice (Chartrand & Walsh, 2001). For most of that time, the emphasis has been on quantitative assessment which is evidenced in consecutive annual reviews of practice and research in career counselling and development published in the journal, *The Career Development Quarterly* (e.g., Arbona, 2000; Dagley & Salter, 2004; Flores et al., 2003; Guindon & Richmond, 2005; Luzzo & MacGregor, 2001; Whiston & Brecheisen, 2002; Young & Chen, 1999), where qualitative career assessment is seldom, if at all, mentioned and then only briefly. Career development practitioners have been slow to move from this traditional position with its emphasis on quantitative assessment (Brown & Brooks, 1996). Thus, in the field of career development the profile of qualitative career assessment has traditionally been limited.

Assessment has been one of the distinguishing features between career counselling and personal counselling, and has largely determined the structure of the career counselling process and the roles assumed by career counsellors and clients. Many career counselling models that feature assessment have been proffered and generally suggest a linear, counsellor dominated process where career counsellors have responsibility for assessment, diagnosis and prediction, and clients assume a more passive role (McMahon & Patton, 2002).

In general, these models are derived from a theory base that is consistent with the logical positivist worldview and emanate out of the work of Frank Parsons who is widely regarded as the founder of vocational guidance and career counselling (Pope & Sveinsdottir, 2005). Such models tend to be predicated on assessment and focused on vocational or occupational decision making based on self-understanding, world of work knowledge, and "true reasoning on the relations of these two groups of facts" (Parsons, 1909, p. 5). These three elements of career decision making have pervaded career counselling and career assessment to the present day and represent Parson's lasting legacy to the field. In essence, Parsons' (1909) work represents the "first conceptual framework for career decision making and became the first guide for career counsellors" (Brown, 2002, p. 4). The matching process promoted by Parsons has dominated career practice to the present day as it gave rise to what has come to be known as trait and factor approaches and more recently, person-environment fit approaches to career theory and practice.

However, career theory is witnessing a change in emphasis with many writers suggesting that there is a need for holistic theories that take account of the subjective careers of individuals and the notion of individuals as active agents who manage their careers. In addition, work and family life in the 21st century is becoming increasingly complex (Palladino Schultheiss, 2005). The range of clients seeking

career development services is becoming more diverse, and concerns have been expressed about the capacity of the traditional trait and factor approaches to meet their complex needs (e.g., Patton & McMahon, 2006a, 2006b; Savickas, 1996).

Consequently vocational psychology has begun to look for new ways of assisting people with their career development concerns and also in "making meaning of the experiences of work in their lives" (Palladino Schultheiss, 2005, p. 381). Corresponding with this have been suggestions that career counselling move away from its traditional focus toward processes such as the use of narrative and story that are more consistent with a constructivist worldview (e.g., Peavy, 1998; Savickas, 1993) and to adopt more extensive use of qualitative career assessment. Qualitative career assessment has the capacity to recognise individuals as active agents in the construction of their careers and in so doing encourage their active participation in the career counselling process. Such an approach represents a major shift away from the traditional model where the knowledge of the professional career counsellor was privileged above that of the client. Further, such post-modern approaches suggest the construction of new identities for clients and career counsellors, and for career development practice generally (Watson & McMahon, 2005). Recently, there have been some signs of increasing interest in qualitative career assessment as reflected in a special issue of the *Journal of Career Assessment* which was devoted to qualitative career assessment (Walsh, 2005).

Qualitative Career Assessment – Something Old or Something New?

McMahon and Patton (2006) suggested that the history of career assessment located in the work of Parsons (1909) may be multi-storied, and that the dominant story that has pervaded is that related to quantitative assessment. Further, these authors suggested that the dominant story may have silenced or overshadowed a possible alternative story related to Parsons' emphasis on intrapersonal and interpersonal concerns in career decision-making (O'Brien, 2001), his acknowledgement of a broader context, and the active role he encouraged clients to assume in their career decision-making. These elements of the alternative story are more consistent with the constructivist worldview than with the logical positivist worldview and led to Spokane and Glickman (1994) claiming that "Parsons presaged the constructivist position" (p. 298). Indeed, McDaniels (1994) surmised that Parsons would not be happy about the "extensive overuse of standardized tests and inventories" (p. 328) in career counselling, a sentiment reflected by Bradley (1994) who wondered how tests and counselling ever became partners.

Parsons (1909) encouraged the active involvement of clients in the career assessment process through their completion of a 100 item questionnaire prior to their career counselling interview. His "personal record and self-analysis" questionnaire (p. 27) represented a self-assessment tool completed in private that facilitated personal analysis and self-understanding. He also encouraged clients to gather

occupational information through methods such as reading, work observation, and work experience, and to enlist assistance if necessary, from influential people from their social context such as family, friends, employers or teachers. In addition, he encouraged clients to reflect on contextual influences such as family, health, resources such as financial status, lifestyle and mobility as well as to gather information on abilities and interests. Parsons encouraged his clients to reflect analytically on the information they gathered and to integrate it and to make their own decisions. Clearly, Parsons acknowledged the influence of contextual influences in the career decision-making process and took a more holistic view that accords with the constructivist worldview. Thus there is evidence in Parsons' work of the constructivist notions of active agency, meaning making, and acknowledgement of context.

The self-assessment and written tasks expected of clients by Parsons are reflective of self-assessment techniques that are used today such as genograms, written exercises such as lifeline exercises, and occupational card sorts (Jones, 1994). Such techniques constitute qualitative career assessment processes. Thus it seems that qualitative career assessment is indeed not something new, but rather something that has existed throughout the history of vocational guidance.

Further evidence that qualitative career assessment is not something new is reflected in the pioneering work of Tyler (1959, 1961) who developed the vocational card sort. In her work, Tyler focused on the uniqueness of individuals and attempted to develop a "workable psychology of individuality" (1959, p. 75). Her work led to what she described as "a kind of assessment quite different from trait measurement, namely, the direct assessment of choice patterns" (Tyler, 1959, p. 78). Corresponding with Tyler's belief that "the core of individuality consists of a person's choices and the way he organizes them" (Tyler, 1961, p. 195), she developed a vocational card sort based on four sets of cards, occupations, leisure time activities, community organisations and first names. In 1961, Tyler reported on the application of her vocational card sort of 100 cards each depicting one occupation. Tyler initially invited her clients to identify those occupations they would choose or not choose and those occupations about which they had no opinion, and subsequently to categorise their choices and to explain what each category represented. Throughout this process Tyler observed factors such as their general approach to the task, the level of distinction of the categories, and their ability to explain their categories. Ultimately Tyler was able to produce descriptive accounts of her clients.

Dolliver's (1967) work in further developing Tyler's vocational card sort is significant in that he was the first to apply Kelly's (1955) personal construct theory to career counselling. In particular, he used Kelly's theory as the basis for creating a model of career counselling with the Tyler vocational card sort. Also credited with further development of the vocational card sort is Dewey (1974) who believed that it and other vocational tests were sexist and consequently developed the *Non-Sexist Vocational Card Sort* (NSVCS) that could be used with both men and women. In essence, the NSVCS offered the same occupational alternatives to both men and women, neutralised occupational titles and used the process of counselling to confront sex-role biases (Dewey, 1974). However, in keeping with its

vocational card sort origins, the NSVCS actively involved clients in the assessment and counselling process and maintained a focus on the criteria used by clients to make vocational decisions.

As these brief outlines of the work of Parsons and the history of the vocational card sort demonstrate, qualitative career assessment is most certainly not something new. However, as mentioned previously it has received surprisingly little attention in the career development literature. Rather it is likely, as McMahon and Patton (2002) suggested, that qualitative career assessment may see its profile rise as methods and approaches influenced by constructivism are increasingly adopted in career counselling.

Using Qualitative Career Assessment

Despite its long history, there has traditionally been little to guide career counsellors in the use of qualitative career assessment. This may relate to Peavy's (1998) claim that terms such as diagnosis and assessment do not fit well with counselling, a claim that is reflected in traditional models of career counselling that identify diagnosis, assessment and counselling as separate and distinct (Subich, 2001). However, as evidenced in the development of the vocational card sort, qualitative career assessment may reduce the traditional distinction between the processes of assessment and counselling (Goldman, 1990) by enabling them to co-exist as concurrent processes. Indeed, some authors (e.g., McMahon & Patton, 2002; McMahon, Patton, & Watson, 2003; McMahon, Watson, & Patton, 2005c) prefer to use the term qualitative assessment *process* rather than instrument or measure to reflect its dynamic, constructive, and relational nature in career counselling.

While traditional models of career counselling depicted linear step by step processes, career counselling models based on constructivism are less easy to depict in terms of steps or stages. McMahon and Patton (2006) suggested a process that emphasises the counsellor client relationship, story, meaning making, and the active agency of the client. In this process, the need for assessment of any form, quantitative or qualitative, will evolve as the client's story unfolds and their needs and issues emerge. In addition, they will have greater input into the selection and interpretation of any assessment processes used. Compared with traditional step by step models of career counselling emanating out of the logical positivist worldview, this process suggests more flexibility, is collaborative and recognises the agency of clients. The process of McMahon and Patton is reflective of the contention by Neimeyer and Neimeyer (1993) that qualitative assessment is inherently a change-generating process as it is integral to the counselling process rather than separate from it. In addition, the process of McMahon and Patton is responsive to the call by Whiston and Rahardja (2005) for assessment, either quantitative or qualitative, to be "embedded in the career counselling process in a seamless integration that helps individuals

address work and personal issues in productive ways" (p. 379). Reflective of this process, McMahon and Patton (2002) proposed the following guidelines for using qualitative career assessment:

- Individualise the process for the client.
- Map the qualitative assessment onto the story previously told by the client.
- Make the qualitative assessment fit for the client not the client fit the assessment.
- Broach the subject of using a qualitative assessment device tentatively, respectfully, and informatively.
- Acknowledge that it is the client's prerogative to engage in the activity.
- Work with and support the client through the process of the assessment using counselling skills.
- Debrief/process the activity.
- Invite feedback on qualitative assessment processes.
- Be creative.

While these guidelines are not intended to be prescriptive, they do suggest differences from traditional career counselling models, specifically:

- A shift in emphasis to the counselling relationship rather than the delivery of the service (Savickas, 1992).
- A shift in the client role from one of "passive responder" (Goldman, 1990, p. 205) to one of active participant.
- A shift in the counsellor role from expert to interested, curious, and tentative inquirer, respectful listener, and tentative observer (McMahon & Patton, 2002, p. 59).
- A shift from objectivity to subjectivity or from scores to stories (Savickas, 1993).
- A shift from a linear process to a more flexible process.
- A shift from assessment as an automatic place in the counselling process to an optional place.
- A shift from career counsellor selected and administered assessment to collaborative engagement in assessment.

The guidelines suggested by McMahon and Patton (2002) and the differences highlighted between their process and traditional counselling models are evident in the work of Parsons and also in the development of vocational card sorts.

Developing Qualitative Career Assessment

Just as there is little to guide the use of qualitative career assessment, so too has there been little to guide the development of qualitative career assessment. While it has been suggested that the development of qualitative career assessment processes can be a creative process (McMahon & Patton, 2002) and that career counsellors may develop their own assessment processes (Goldman, 1992), there has been little to guide their endeavours. It is only comparatively recently that

suggestions for the development of qualitative career assessment have been offered (McMahon et al., 2003), specifically:

- Ground the assessment process in theory.
- Test the career assessment process.
- Ensure that the process may be completed in a reasonable time frame.
- Design a process that fosters holism.
- Write the instructions for the client.
- Write instructions that are easily understood and readable.
- Sequence the process in logical, simple, small, achievable steps.
- Provide a structure that facilitates both a sense of direction and enough flexibility to cater for individuality.
- Structure processes that encourage the co-operative involvement of both counsellor and client.
- Include a debriefing process to elicit new learnings and meaning.

Subsequently McMahon et al. (2005c) described the application of these steps in a rigorous process of developing the qualitative career assessment process, *My System of Career Influences* (MSCI).

An issue that has always faced the developers of qualitative career assessment is that of psychometric adequacy (Neimeyer & Neimeyer, 1993) and there has been criticism that qualitative career assessment has questionable reliability and validity, is too informal, and lacks scientific rigour (Okocha, 1998). For example, Tyler (1961) grappled with issues of reliability and validity as they applied to her qualitative assessment instrument, the vocational card sort. However, Richardson (1996) claimed that "qualitative research should not be evaluated in terms of the canons of validity that have evolved for the assessment of quantitative research, since these have different epistemological priorities and commitments" (pp. 191–192). In this regard, Neimeyer and Neimeyer proposed that the criteria for adequacy of quantitative assessment informed by the logical positivist worldview are "normative and statistical", and that for qualitative assessment informed by the constructivist worldview the criteria are "primarily interpretive and phenomenological" (p. 23). In subsequent development of Tyler's vocational card sort, Dolliver (1967) also reflected on this issue and concluded that while the Tyler vocational card sort had "some qualities of a test it is best described as a structured interview technique" (p. 916), and therefore, in keeping with the suggestion by Neimeyer and Neimeyer, that the concepts of reliability and validity have a different meaning. The vocational card sort's role as a structured interview technique subsequently drew praise from Williams (1978) and Goldman (1983).

Types of Qualitative Career Assessment

It is not possible in the space of this chapter to comprehensively describe the extensive range of qualitative career assessment instruments that exists. Rather, an illustrative selection of qualitative assessment processes has been selected. First, card sorts, the

most well known form of qualitative career assessment, and applications of Kelly's (1955) personal construct theory which has generated a body of literature will each be described separately. Second, a brief synopsis of some common and useful qualitative assessment processes developed by career counsellors and tools from other disciplines that have been adopted by career counsellors will follow.

Card Sorts

Card sorts are possibly the most common form of qualitative assessment available to career counsellors. Most card sorts focus on a particular topic such as occupations, values, skills, interests, or motivation. As discussed earlier in the work of Tyler (1961), the card sort process generally involves clients selecting cards and discussing their selections with a career counsellor. However, many card sorts used in career counselling are grounded in theories of classification and are supported by extensive statistical documentation (Parker, 2006). Thus client choices are meant to predict their suitability for certain kinds of work or activity, and career counsellors are participating in a traditional, classification-based approach that is reflective of the logical positivist worldview. In this regard, Parker suggested that "the context in which cards are sorted, the instructions given and the relationship between the client and the assessor/counsellor are all fundamental in differentiating between usage that is or is not constructivist in approach" (p. 177). An example of a card sort that is constructivist in orientation is Parker's (1996) *Intelligent Career Card Sort* (ICCS). Using three sets of cards, each reflecting three ways of knowing, knowing-how, knowing-why, and knowing-whom, the ICCS offers an holistic approach to narrative generation in which self-awareness is fundamental (Parker, 2002, 2006).

Gysbers, Heppner, and Johnston (2003) point to several advantages of card sorts including their provision of a structure and the promotion of bonding and inclusivity in the client counsellor relationship. Card sorts reduce client dependency on career counsellors and may enhance communication and feedback processes. A further advantage of card sorts is that they may be tailored to the needs of particular clients, and Parker (2006) suggested that "the tactile aspect of physically sorting the cards (or of being in control of a computer based, on-line card sort) is particularly favourable for people who have a kinaesthetic learning style" (p. 177). Since the work of Tyler (1959, 1961), cards sorts have maintained a place in career counselling as a valuable qualitative assessment tool regardless of whether they are used in traditional or constructivist ways.

Applications of Kelly's Personal Construct Theory

Described as "a progenitor of today's constructivist movements in psychology" (Neimeyer, 1992b, p. 163), Kelly (1955) developed personal construct theory, much of which was "directed toward the exploration and reconstruction of each individu-

al's unique matrix of meaning" (Neimeyer, 1992b, p. 164). Central to this process is the expectation that the individual will determine the dimensions, constructs, that will foster self-understanding (Forster, 1992) and meaning. Essentially, personal constructs are created when "a person has abstracted a common theme from two or more events, by contrasting what is similar from what is different" (Forster, 1992, p. 176). An understanding of personal constructs may assist individuals to better anticipate and understand future events and articulate goals.

While not specifically developed for vocational psychology or career counselling, Kelly (1955) made reference to occupational and vocational choice in his work. For example, Kelly recognised that vocational choice "has far-reaching implications to one's approach to life; implications including much more than the assigned workaday duties and the size of the paycheck" (p. 747). By drawing attention to the personal meaning of vocational choice, Kelly was one of the first writers to highlight the relationship between personal counselling and career counselling (Neimeyer, 1988), a topic which has been the subject of much debate in the field of career counselling particularly in the 1990s (e.g., Krumboltz, 1993; Savickas, 1993; Subich, 1993).

Kelly's work has influenced career theory, practice and research to the extent that a special issue of the *Journal of Career Development* (Neimeyer, 1992a) focused on personal constructs and career choice. In addition, Super (1953) drew on the work of Kelly in the development of his theory of vocational development (Brown, 2002), and as previously mentioned, Dolliver (1967) applied Kelly's theory to develop a vocational counselling process related to card sorts. Indeed, listening to what clients say and taking it at face value thus allowing "direct, two-way (rather than expert, one-way) communication to take place" may be regarded as "a memorial to Kelly" (Jankowicz, 1987, p. 485) that has application in career counselling. Considerable work has also been done in applying Kelly's work to vocational assessment other than card sorts (e.g., Neimeyer, 1989, 1992b).

Kelly (1955) proposed a number of techniques through which individuals could construct dimensions of meaning including the *Role Construct Repertory Test* (reptest) and laddering. Reptests may be described as "any form of sorting test which allows for the assessment of relationships between constructs and which yields these primary data in matrix form" (Bannister & Mair, 1968, p. 136). For example, in completing a vocational reptest, an individual may be presented with elements such as three occupations and asked to identify the way in which two are alike and differ from a third, a process which is recorded on a matrix or grid. Repertory grids may be analysed using statistical procedures (Neimeyer, 1988, 1989, 1992b) that are logical positivist in orientation as well as assist individuals to elaborate meaning and self-understanding, a tenet of constructivism. Laddering techniques may be regarded as "miniature structured interviews" (Neimeyer, 1992b, p. 168) that may complement vocational grids. Both laddering techniques and the use of repertory grid techniques demonstrate the importance Kelly placed on communication and individuals being given an opportunity to express themselves.

Assessment Processes Developed by Career Counsellors

A number of writers (e.g., Amundson, 2003; Gysbers et al., 2003; McMahon, Patton, & Watson, 2005a, 2005b; Peavy, 1998, 2004; Savickas, 1992, 1997, 2002) have developed and described qualitative career assessment processes that complement their theoretical and practical work. For example, Savickas (1992, 1997, 2002) described the use of early recollections in which clients are invited to tell stories from their childhood which in turn reveal elements of life themes that can guide vocational behaviour. Savickas suggested that people begin to script their lives from an early age in their families of origin and that career counsellors, once aware of such themes, may work with clients towards overcoming obstacles and the achievement of their goals. More recently in the application of his career construction theory, Savickas (2002) described an holistic assessment process that in turn focuses on life-space, career adaptability, vocational self-concept and career themes, and vocational identity.

Reflective of the verbal process of Savickas (1992, 1997, 2002), Gysbers and colleagues (2003) described their qualitative assessment procedure, Life Career Assessment (LCA). In essence, LCA is a structured interview process that encourages individuals to focus on their experiences in order to gather information in a systematic way in a relatively short period. The LCA consists of four sections including career assessment (work experience, education and training, leisure), typical day, strengths and obstacles and summary. LCA encourages individuals to observe, infer and hypothesise about themselves through life career theme identification and may be integrated into a longer career counselling process.

Amundson (2003) described a number of qualitative career assessment tools such as mind mapping, card sorts and the use of metaphors that may be used to enhance career counselling using his active engagement approach. Reflecting a similar intention to Savickas' (1992, 1997, 2002) use of early recollections and life themes, Amundson's pattern identification exercise is built on the premise that life patterns will be revealed by examining previous experiences that are not necessarily work related. Experiences may be drawn from any facet of life, and career counsellors guide clients through a process of recalling positives and negatives about the experience. Following this, patterns and themes are examined and application to career choices or action planning is discussed. While Savickas (1992, 1997, 2002) and Gysbers and colleagues (2003) rely on a verbal process, Amundson (2003) provides an opportunity for clients to create a visual record by recording their comments on chart paper.

Peavy's (1998, 2004) life-space mapping exercise is a visualisation process in which client and counsellor work together to represent the client's ideas and feelings about an issue in a visual form. Through this mapping activity, patterns, conflicts, and contexts become more visible. Peavy (2004) claimed that life-space mapping is "an excellent tool for creating a future and planning on how to move toward that future" (p. 85).

More recently, the Patton and McMahon (1999, 2006a) Systems Theory Framework (STF) of career development has stimulated the development of the

qualitative career assessment tool the *My System of Career Influences* (MSCI; McMahon et al., 2005a, 2005b), a reflection process designed for use with adolescents. Presented as a 12 page booklet, the MSCI invites individuals to reflect on their current career decision and guides them through a process in which they identify influences on their career and represent them in a system of influences diagram. The MSCI is holistic and invites clients to explore the narratives or stories of their life career (McMahon, Patton, & Watson, 2004).

Assessment Processes Adopted by Career Counsellors

While the qualitative career assessment processes previously described are clearly attributable to the work of particular authors, a number of other assessment processes have been adopted from other fields for use in career counselling. Two that are more commonly used in career counselling, genograms and timelines/lifelines, will be briefly described here. Constructing timelines/lifelines (see Brott, 2004; Goldman, 1992, McMahon & Patton, 2003) is useful for assisting clients to review their life histories. Well constructed timelines may enable the patterns and themes of an individual's life-career become more visible. Individuals may see trends which they had not realised or gain insight into experiences (Goldman, 1992). In using lifelines to complement her storied approach to career counselling (Brott, 2001), Brott (2004) observed that it is an interactive process that enables career counsellors to "hear client's stories and for clients to hear their stories in new ways" (p. 193).

Genograms (see Gysbers et al., 2003; Okiishi, 1987; Okocha, 1998; Thorngren & Feit, 2001), sometimes termed family trees or occupational trees, provide an opportunity for developing meaning around the social, economic, psychological, and cultural influences of an individual's family (Gysbers et al., 2003). In addition they provide an opportunity for connecting past and present and understanding the dynamics of the present (Gysbers et al., 2003). The construction of a genogram engages individuals and career counsellors verbally, visually and kinaesthetically. Information may be gathered about family values in relation to gender roles or education, the nature of family support, socioeconomic and ethnic background, and family patterns of decision making and coping with transition.

Features, Advantages and Disadvantages of Qualitative Career Assessment

As evidenced by the previous descriptions, qualitative career assessment is grounded in the lived experience of individuals and as such they are viewed as experts with stories to tell. Thus clients are expected to be active participants in the career counselling process, which in turn defines the client/career counsellor relationship differently and places more importance on it. Qualitative career assessment

reduces the gap between assessment and counselling and also between career counselling and personal counselling. In essence, qualitative assessment is intended to encourage individuals to tell their own career stories, and uncover their subjective careers and life themes, thus reflecting the post modern shift from objectivity to subjectivity or from scores to stories (Savickas, 1993). Indeed, qualitative career assessment values client interpretation and meaning. Qualitative career assessment is able to cater for a broad range of learning styles, such as visual and kinaesthetic and unlike standardised assessment instruments may be adapted to suit the needs of individuals. In this regard, it has been suggested that qualitative career assessment is adaptable and flexible enough to meet the needs of diverse clients (Goldman, 1990, 1992; Subich, 1996).

However, Goldman (1992) cautioned that qualitative assessment tends to be more time consuming and labour intensive than quantitative assessment. For example, career counsellors have an extensive role to play in setting the scene for, facilitating, and debriefing the qualitative assessment process in order that individuals derive meaning, insight and learning from it. Thus, qualitative assessment requires that the career counsellor is actively involved in the process from beginning to end (Goldman, 1990).

Conclusion

Qualitative career assessment has much to offer career counsellors. However, to date it has had a very limited profile in the literature. Now, early in the 21st century, as career counsellors face challenges associated with relevant practice, it is timely to examine the possible contribution of qualitative career assessment. Qualitative career assessment in no way is intended to replace traditional standardised quantitative assessment processes. Together they may offer career counsellors a broad range of options and a greater capacity to meet the challenges of a rapidly changing world of work and the complex needs of an increasingly diverse client group. Hopefully, the 21st century will see a rising profile for qualitative career assessment.

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Chapter 30
ETHICAL ISSUES IN TESTING AND ASSESSMENT

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Career assessment involves a process of gathering information to facilitate career development, assist in understanding and coping with career-related problems or concerns, and facilitate informed career decision-making. Although career assessment often includes the use of psychometric instruments or tests, its focus is much broader. It encompasses assessing all vocationally relevant variables that may influence an individual's career decisions (Fouad, 1993). Contextual aspects are central to understanding assessment results. One must consider country of origin, language, values, customs, beliefs, the nature of work and the workforce, and other pertinent factors. It also is important to consider the influence of culture on behaviour, and the cultural context of career assessment (Blustein & Ellis, 2000). Culturally specific variables to assess include: racial and ethnic identity, acculturation, worldview, socio-economic status, gender role expectations, family expectations and responsibilities, primary language, and relationships (Fouad, 1993).

Across the globe, technological and economic factors are changing the fundamental nature of work and the workforce, creating different needs among clients who use or benefit from career assessment tools. Career practitioners need to understand these changes so that they can effectively select and use career assessment tools in a manner that is consistent with ethically competent practice (Chartrand & Walsh, 2001). Assessment of "soft skills" necessary for surviving in a shifting work environment, including self-management skills that foster compatibility and adaptability in the work environment, is becoming increasingly important (Harkness, 1997). Other essential skills to assess include: interpersonal skills, creativity, effective problem-solving to facilitate self-managed work groups (Chartrand & Walsh, 2001), work and family balance, and cultural sensitivity (Fouad, 1993).

Tests are only one aspect of career assessment that are best used with other information about the client and environment. Testing refers to a method of acquiring a sample of behaviour under controlled conditions (Walsh & Betz, 2001). Career instruments or tests also are used as measurement components of research. Thus, they play an important role in furthering our basic knowledge of the career development and decision-making process (Chartrand & Walsh, 2001).

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J.A. Athanasou, R. Van Esbroeck (eds.) *International Handbook of Career Guidance*,
© Springer Science + Business Media B.V. 2008

Ethical Codes

Ethical codes establish the identity of a profession, socialise its members on the expectations of the profession, and help to maintain public trust (Fisher, 2003). In many countries, national professional organisations have their own code of ethics that address issues of competent assessment practice, test construction, and use. They describe a common set of principles and standards upon which practitioners can build their professional and scientific work. These codes inform professional communities and societies about responsible assessment practices. They typically have as their goal the welfare and protection of the individuals and groups with whom practitioners work, as well as the education of the public regarding the ethical standards of the discipline.

The primary intent of ethical codes is to encourage ethical thinking and decision-making, rather than rule following (Pack-Brown & Williams, 2003). Ethical codes have two major purposes, reflected in ethical principles and ethical standards. The purpose of ethical principles is to promote optimal behaviour by providing aspirational principles that encourage reflection and decision-making within a moral framework. The purpose of ethical standards is to regulate professional behaviour through monitoring, and through disciplinary action against those who violate prescriptive and enforceable standards of conduct (Pettifor, 2004).

Ethical obligations of career assessment can be divided into the (a) responsibilities of those who construct, market, and score tests and other assessment procedures, and (b) responsibilities of professionals who use these tests and procedures with clients (Welfel, 2005). Professionals who use career assessments are ultimately responsible for accurate and ethical use. They need to be aware of the costs and benefits of using career assessment, as well as their potential for misuse (Anastasi, 1992; Chartrand & Walsh, 2001). Topics considered in the ethics of testing include: the use of test data, qualifications of test users, test development, fairness in testing, test selection, administration, scoring, interpretation, and the communication of results.

National Ethical Codes and Guidelines for Test Use

Ethical codes for psychologists have been developed by at least 71 national psychological associations across the globe (Leach & Harbin, 1997). In addition, numerous other professional organisations have ethical codes relevant to career assessment practice (e.g., National Career Development Association – NCDA, International Association for Educational and Vocational Guidance – IAEVG) and standards for the use of tests and assessments in career counselling.

Similar to the ethical standards of other professional organisations, the ethical standards of the International Association for Educational and Vocational Guidance (IAEVG, 1995) are dedicated to the enhancement of the worth, dignity, potential and uniqueness of those persons whom IAEVG members serve. These standards are

intended to guide the behaviour of IAEVG members and the creation of local and regional statements of ethical standards. The IAEVG ethical standards include Ethical Responsibilities to Clients, Attitudes to Colleagues and Professional Associates, Attitudes to Government and Other Community Agencies, Responsibilities to Research and Related Processes, and Responsibilities as an Individual Practitioner.

The *Paris 2001 IAEVG Declaration on Educational and Vocational Guidance* (IAEVG, 2001) declared eight features of guidance and counselling services to be essential in meeting personal, social and economic development needs and to encourage sustainable development in a knowledge-based society. It also urges governments or other agencies responsible for promoting human resource development to ensure the establishment and maintenance of adequate guidance services.

The International Test Commission (ITC) is an association of national psychological associations, test commissions, publishers, and other organisations committed to promoting effective testing and assessment policies, and the development, evaluation and use of educational and psychological instruments. Its membership includes most of the Western and Eastern European countries and North America, as well as some countries in the Middle and Far East, South America and Africa. It is affiliated with the International Association of Applied Psychologists (IAAP) and the International Union of Psychological Science (IUPsyS). The ITC has developed guidelines for adapting tests, for computer-based and Internet-delivered testing, and for test use. The *ITC Guidelines for Test Use* (2006) include five broad areas for ethical test use: (a) acting in a professional and ethical manner, (b) ensuring competent test use, (c) taking responsibility for test use, (d) ensuring that test materials are kept secure, and (e) ensuring that test results are treated confidentially.

The *Standards for Educational and Psychological Testing* (AERA, APA, & NCME, 1999), published by the American Psychological Association (APA) on behalf of a joint committee of APA, the American Educational Research Association (AERA), and the National Council for Measurement in Education (NCME), govern the development and use of all career assessment instruments in the United States. Another joint committee of six U.S. professional associations, including AERA, APA, NCME, the American Counseling Association (ACA), American Speech-Hearing Association (ASHA) and the National Association of School Psychologists (NASP), recently published a related document entitled *Rights and Responsibilities of Test Takers: Guidelines and Responsibilities* (APA, 1999). The intention of this document is to inform and educate test takers, and those involved in test development and use, so that assessment measures are validly and appropriately used. Another U.S. resource for ethical practice is the *Responsibilities of Users of Standardized Tests* (RUST, 3rd edition) (Association for Assessment in Counseling, 2003).

Research comparing ethical codes across countries has revealed a number of similarities. In a comparison of the APA ethical code with the psychological ethical codes from 24 other countries, Leach and Harbin (1997) found 10 individual standards that approached universal agreement. The codes from Australia, Canada, Israel, and South Africa were most similar to the APA code, while the code from China was most dissimilar. The Disclosures and Privacy and Confidentiality standards demonstrated the greatest degree of overlap across countries. The remaining

eight standards with the greatest amount of overlap included: Boundaries of Competence, Avoiding Harm, Exploitative Relationships, Delegation to Supervision of Subordinates, Fees and Financial Arrangements (General Standards); Avoidance of False or Deceptive Statements (Advertising and Other Public Statements), Informed Consent to Therapy (Therapy), and Informed Consent to Research (Teaching, Training, Research, and Publishing). Although there are ethical issues pertinent to assessment in most of the APA Standards, the mean overlap for the Evaluation, Assessment, and Intervention Standard of the APA Code with the codes of countries was only 33.9%.

In another investigation, Leach and Oakland (2007) reviewed 31 ethics codes impacting test development and use in 35 countries. Their findings indicated that codes from approximately one-third of the countries did not address test use. Among the remaining countries, one or more test standards were typically consistent with those in the 2002 APA Code. The most frequent overlap was for standards that require psychologists to explain results, use tests properly, and limit their use by unqualified persons. Standards that discuss test construction and restrict the use of obsolete tests were rare.

A number of issues may have contributed to underestimates of the similarities across national codes, particularly in the area of assessment. Ethics codes are not likely to discuss issues relevant to test development and use in those countries where test use is not prominent. The availability and use of tests differ considerably among countries. Research suggests that test availability and use are common in Australia, Canada, Israel, New Zealand, the United States, and most Western European countries and less common in Africa, Asia, Central and South America, the Middle East, and the Russian Federation (Leach & Oakland, 2007). In other countries in which ethical issues are viewed in light of overarching principles rather than specific standards, ethics codes are equally unlikely to address testing issues specifically (Leach & Oakland, 2007).

In a follow-up study to the Leach and Harbin (1997) investigation, Leach, Glosoff, and Overmier (2005) examined the general themes among those standards that did not match standards or principles in the APA code. Findings indicated that approximately 66% of unmatched standards were actually consistent with existing section headings of the APA ethics code. The remaining 34% represented eight new categories. The following are the eight categories presented in descending order based on the number of countries that included standards or principles related to each category: (a) Respect for Colleagues: emphasising collegiality both within and outside of the field of psychology, (b) Institutional Affiliation: presenting guidelines and/or legal information regarding joint practice, employer/employee relationships, and subcontracting agreements, (c) Licensure: standards that would typically fall under the purview of state licensure laws in the USA (e.g., educational requirements to become a psychologist, use of protected titles, etc.), (d) Policy Statements: delineating information that would be presented in position papers or policy statements by professional associations, (e) Professional Autonomy: referring to psychologists obligation and/or right to act independently in their professional practice, (f) Definitions: defining terms such as psychologist, client, and agency, (g) Evaluation

of Colleagues and Programs: emphasising fairness during audit-like reviews of colleagues, agencies, or programs, and (h) Promotional Activities: pertaining to financial gain through endorsement of products or other "promotional" activities. Most countries also were found to display unique, culturally specific standards.

Regional and Global Ethical Codes

Promising efforts are underway to characterise professional psychology in regional and global terms (e.g., Leach & Harbin, 1997), and to develop universal ethical standards across participating nations (Gauthier, 2004; Gauthier, Pettifor, & Sinclair, 2004). The development of universal ethical standards with universal acceptance and appeal, and sensitivity to national differences, will require active and cooperative participation among national and international psychological associations and the International Test Commission (Leach & Oakland, 2007). Movement towards universal ethical principles for psychologists is based on a common respect for humanity and for the diversity of beliefs in different cultures (Pettifor, 2004). In addition, Gauthier (2004) maintained that all individuals and all nations have the right to effective protection from the misuse of psychology.

Leach and Oakland (2007) recently outlined two existing regional codes and efforts to develop an international code of ethics. The *Ethical Principals for Scandinavian Psychologists* is one such existing regional code. Five Scandinavian countries (i.e., Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Iceland, and Finland) share this one code of ethics. A second regional code, the *1995 Meta-Code of Ethics*, is upheld by the European Federation of Professional Psychologists Association. The purpose of this code is the establishment of common and unifying principles that member-nation psychological associations should consider when revising their codes.

An Ad Hoc Joint Committee, including members from the International Union of Psychological Sciences (IUPsyS), International Association of Applied Psychologists (IAAP), and the International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology, recently drafted a Universal Declaration of Ethical Principles for Psychologists (International Union of Psychological Sciences, 2005). The rationale for developing a universal declaration was to provide a generic set of principles to develop and revise codes of ethics in psychology, and a universal standard to measure achievement and progress in psychological ethics throughout the world (Gauthier, 2004; Gauthier et al., 2004). A declaration of ethical principles is not a code of ethics or a code of conduct. Instead, it reflects the principles and values expected of a code of ethics or code of conduct. The purpose of a Universal Declaration is to help ensure that psychologists act with integrity, and develop and apply psychological knowledge and skills in a manner that benefits humanity and prevents such knowledge and skills from being used to harm or oppress persons or peoples.

Consistent with its purpose, the objectives of the Universal Declaration are to provide: (a) a generic set of moral principles to be used as a template by psychology organisations worldwide to develop and revise their country-specific or region-specific

ethical codes and standards, (b) a universal standard against which the psychology community worldwide can assess progress in the ethical and moral relevancy of its codes of ethics, (c) a shared moral framework for representatives of the psychology community to speak with a collective voice on matters of ethical concern, and (d) a common basis for psychology as a disciple to evaluate alleged unethical behaviour by its members. The current draft of the Universal Declaration includes four principles: (a) Respect for the dignity of all human beings, (b) Competent caring for the well-being of others, (c) Integrity, and (d) Professional and scientific responsibilities to society (International Union of Psychological Sciences, 2005).

Cross-Cultural Applicability and Transportability of Tests

A fundamental issue impacting ethical career assessment is cross-cultural applicability and transportability (Chartrand & Walsh, 2001). Assessment transportability rests on the standard of universality across values and meaning, knowing, and communication. If this standard is not met, then the test is not considered transportable across cultures. Hence, scholars caution against translating an instrument developed in one culture into another (Watson, Duarte, & Glavin, 2005). A preferable alternative is the development of an instrument by a team whose members represent the culture in which the instrument is to be used (Greenfield, 1997).

Watson et al. (2005) and Leong (1996) suggested that career practitioners need to move toward relying on *cultural specificity* rather than *cultural validity*. Cultural validity refers to the extent to which career assessment instruments developed within one cultural perspective transfer or have relevance for use with other cultural groups. Cultural validity involves starting with a previously established instrument and exploring whether or not the theory on which it is based, and the constructs it measures, can be generalised across other cultures. In essence, it is an attempt to measure the goodness of fit between the instrument and the culture to which it is being applied. Cultural specificity concerns the extent to which cultural variables such as cultural identity development, worldview, language, communication style, and decision-making style influence the assessment process (Leong & Hartung, 2000). Cultural specificity starts without a previously established measure, and moves forward by exploring the concepts, constructs and models specific to a particular group. This process promotes the development of culture-specific measures that are based on the values, attitudes, and belief systems of the culture within which an individual is operating.

If a decision is made to transport an instrument across cultures, the cross-cultural adequacy of this instrument must be examined. The instrument's scores must be valid and reliable within the new cultural group, and the norm group must be appropriate for the client. Lonner (1985) described four levels of equivalence (i.e., functional, metric, conceptual, and linguistic) that are important to establish when comparing individuals across cultures. *Functional equivalence* concerns the role or function that behaviour plays in different cultures. Efforts should be made to verify assumptions made about the function of behaviour within a cultural group. *Metric equivalence*

refers to the psychometric properties of a scale. This type of equivalence implies that a scale measures the same constructs across cultures. *Conceptual equivalence* refers to the similarity in meaning attached to behaviours or concepts across cultures. *Linguistic equivalence* concerns the translation of an instrument and the degree to which meaning, or conceptual equivalence is maintained across translated versions.

Career assessment measures that are transported across groups also should be free of bias (Fouad, 1993). The three types of bias that have been identified in the literature include: content bias, bias in internal structure, and selection bias (Walsh & Betz, 2001). *Content bias* occurs when items are more familiar to one group than to another. *Internal structure bias* refers to the internal structure of the test, or the relationships among items. This type of bias relates to the way test takers perceive items. If test takers from different cultures perceive items differently, a different factor structure may emerge. *Selection bias* concerns the degree to which a test has differential predictive validity across groups. Finally, the impact or consequences of an instrument's use must be considered when transporting an instrument. The issue of adverse impact is a societal concern that extends well beyond psychometric equivalence (Chartrand & Walsh, 2001).

Culturally Competent Career Assessment Practice

The current APA *Ethical Principles of Psychologists and Code of Conduct* (APA, 2002) requires psychologists to respect people's rights and dignity, to not knowingly engage in harassing or demeaning behaviour, and to ensure that they provide competent services. It also requires psychologists to be culturally competent in their practice. Relevant to this discussion, APA also has adopted *Guidelines on Multicultural Education, Training, Research, Practice and Organizational Change for Psychologists* (APA, 2003). Hence, competent career assessment practice encompasses multicultural competence (Dana, 1996; Ridley, Li, & Hill, 1998). Career practitioners need to understand and work with clients from the client's cultural perspective and cultural context. Hence, culturally appropriate career assessment integrates culturally relevant information about the client, attempts to understand the client in his or her cultural, personal, and career contextual realities, and considers the limitations of traditional assessments and assessment tools (Flores, Spanierman, & Obasi, 2003; Fouad, 1993).

Culturally competent assessment includes: culture-specific styles of service delivery, use of the client's first language, evaluation of cultural orientation prior to test administration, and appropriate assessment methodology and tests – including modification of tests by translation and the development of new norms. Cultural orientation information is needed prior to assessment to determine the extent to which the assessment technology and style of service delivery is applicable to a particular client. Cultural orientation provides a categorisation of several major outcomes of acculturation as a means of describing differences

within cultural groups. This cultural information informs the selection of standard tests or culture specific tests and methods for subsequent assessment (Dana, 1996).

Ethical Issues in Computer and Internet-Based Career Assessment

Computer and Internet-based career assessment is becoming an established feature of career assessment in many countries. Although psychometrically acceptable measures are available on the Internet, there also is a proliferation of unstandardised checklists and measures with little supporting psychometric data (Butcher, 2003). As Chartrand and Walsh (2001) suggested, some websites can be very attractive and easily mislead and confuse consumers. Therefore, practitioners are ethically obliged to educate the public about the appropriate use of testing and assessment on the Internet. The benefits of computer and Internet-based career assessment include access to large databases, rapid data organisation, substantial data storage facilities, multiple variable processing, increased consistency and reliability of data interpretation, rapid production of data-based narrative reports, and convenience (Barak, 2003; Sampson, Purgar, & Shy, 2003). Such potential benefits to practitioners and clients must be considered simultaneously with ethical concerns. Practitioners using computer-based assessments are ethically bound to be competent in the procedures, scoring, interpretation, and psychometric strengths and weaknesses of computer and Internet-based assessment (Sampson et al., 2003; Schulenberg & Yutrzenka, 2004).

It is the ethical responsibility of the practitioner to evaluate computer and Internet-based career assessment instruments before using them. Practitioners should not assume that the validity and reliability of paper-and-pencil measures transfer to the computer-based version of the test. Instead, test norms and the validity and reliability should be considered for each version of a test, whether it is paper-and-pencil or computer-based. Both Garb (2000) and Snyder (2000) noted that validity studies of computer and Internet-based assessment are rare. Even if a computer-based measure has satisfactory psychometric properties, the test scores should always be interpreted in association with other data, such as supplementary test scores and an individual interview, if possible.

According to Naglieri et al. (2004) there should be an opening statement on the test Internet site clarifying the limitations of the professional relationship with potential clients via the relatively impersonal Internet medium. Given evidence to suggest that the counselling relationship is an essential factor in outcome research (Hubble, Duncan, & Miller, 1999), practitioners are encouraged to consider the limits of this relationship when interactions and communication with clients are solely Internet-based. Efforts should be made by practitioners to gather information, communicate interest and concern, and offer support to clients through written communication.

Informed consent needs to be given special ethical consideration in Internet-based assessment, as it is possible that clients could misrepresent their age and/or identity. Given that the assessment of children and adolescents typically requires the informed consent of a parent or guardian, this can be a complicated issue at best. It may be difficult for the practitioner to accurately determine the age of the client, who is providing informed consent, and whether that person is authorised to do so (Naglieri et al., 2004). In addition, the practitioner should be aware of the possibility that the person completing the test may live in another country, and be in a culture different from those people represented in the norm group. Relatedly, it may be difficult to confirm that the test taker is completing the test in his or her native language (Naglieri et al., 2004). None of these issues is easy to resolve.

Ensuring a proper testing environment presents an additional challenge to practitioners. The validity of Internet test data can be compromised by an uncontrolled testing environment, such as a home or Internet café, or the presence of loud noise or poor lighting. It also is important that the test taker understands how to operate computer equipment and navigate the software program.

Psychologists have an ethical responsibility to provide clients with feedback regarding the results of testing and assessment. Interpretive reports are frequently computer generated for computer and Internet-based assessments. Despite their ease of use, these reports have the potential to be misused (Schulenberg & Yutrzenka, 2004). The effortlessness with which such narrative reports can be generated makes it easy for practitioners to rely on them without using additional data or examining these reports for accuracy and inclusiveness. To provide accurate assessment feedback, one first needs to clarify under what conditions the test took place and whether the appropriate person completed the test. Second, it is important to know a person's emotional state before providing feedback, as negative information could make some people highly distressed. Third, some clients may need emotional support after receiving test results. It is difficult to provide support to those clients who need it, if feedback is not provided in person. Some suggest that psychologists refrain from providing assessment feedback over the Internet (Naglieri et al., 2004). Therefore, some practitioners require a face-to-face meeting to discuss the results. In addition, it is important to consider assessment as a part of the career counselling process in which assessment is frequently a catalyst for self and environmental exploration. This may be challenging to accomplish over the Internet, given client attrition once assessment results are received.

Confidentiality of test results and test security are other important ethical concerns for computer and Internet-based career assessment. The practitioner is encouraged to ensure that unauthorised access to test data is not possible and that the information transmitted over the Internet is secure and cannot be read by anyone other than the intended recipient (Gore & Hitch, 2005). There are three primary ways to ensure confidentiality when distributing assessment information on the Internet: (a) Encryption Technology, which provides confidentiality and ensures that the data are sent and received by the appropriate persons, making the data unreadable without a special program to decode the data, (b) Message Digests, which are like fingerprints and ensure that information is not changed by unauthorised

persons, and (c) Digital Signatures, which can determine where the information originated and can authenticate who sent the data. By using these technologies, data security is increased considerably.

Test publishers and authors have an ethical responsibility to prevent their computer and Internet-based tests from being copied and distributed by unauthorised persons. Thus, steps should be taken to prevent people from copying them and placing them on the Internet for public use. In doing so, test publishers and authors protect the public from unqualified persons using or corrupting the tests. Finally, practitioners are urged to determine the legal issues associated with providing services to clients in other states, provinces, or countries. Therefore, practitioners are encouraged to determine if they are required to have licences to provide Internet-based assessment and test interpretation services in geographical locations other than their own.

Ethical Issues with Specific Populations

Tests are contextually embedded and thus are designed for certain groups of people at a certain time. Test scores are not necessarily universally valid or reliable. Thus, it is important for the counsellor to determine the extent to which tests and assessments can be used with diverse groups of individuals. Many of the issues associated with ethical practice concern multicultural competence as discussed previously. However, there are a number of ethical issues pertinent to specific groups. Three of these groups will be discussed in more detailed. They include: women, lesbian, gay and bisexual persons, and children and adolescents.

Women

Suzuki and Ahluwalia (2003) emphasised the importance of practitioners understanding the relationship between gender and assessment, adding that this has largely been disregarded in the literature. Whiston and Bouwkamp (2003) concurred, stating that it is ethically important for counsellors to be aware of gender issues in assessment. This requires that counsellors understand the meaning of gender in relation to the client's culture (e.g., worldviews and identity development), family values, the extent to which the client adheres to gender role expectations, gender role socialisation, self-efficacy in relation to the self and one's career, the client's reaction to the therapist's gender, and how gender plays a role in the client's presenting issues (Bingham & Ward, 1997; Brown, 1990). Hence, practitioners are urged to have knowledge of gender issues and incorporate this knowledge into the use of career assessment with both men and women (Whiston & Bouwkamp, 2003). It also is important for practitioners to examine their own biases concerning gender roles in traditional and non-traditional careers.

The gender role socialisation of women has tended to result in traditional interests that may be more indicative of individual experiences than women's deep-seated preferences. For example, Hansen, Collins, Swanson, and Fouad (1993) argued that gender role socialisation has contributed to the observation that social attributes are more central to the interests of women, than to those of men. Hence, it is likely that the process of gender role socialisation has led to a constricted range of occupational choices for women. Similarly, gender role socialisation also can restrict women's scores on aptitude and achievement tests that are often used for job placement and assessing the probability of success in certain jobs. Therefore, low scores for women in, for example, math and science, should be interpreted with caution. It is important for practitioners to bear in mind that such tests reflect "developed aptitude" rather than potential aptitude. Hence, a lack of inherent ability is not necessarily measured by aptitude and achievement tests (Whiston & Bouwkamp, 2003). In assessment and testing for women, information gathering should be aimed at empowering the client and focusing on the client's strengths and coping abilities. Fassinger (2005) pointed out that the danger of misunderstanding the limitations of measurement is that it may lead to the reinforcement of gender stereotypes among both clients and practitioners.

It is important for the counsellor to evaluate gender bias in career assessment measures. Gender bias occurs when there is systematic error in relation to the true score in a certain gender group. Gender bias can take the form of sexist language (e.g., policeman instead of police officer), gender-biased content, and the primary use of male characters in word problems in ability and aptitude tests. When considering the use of an interest inventory, Hackett and Lonborg (1994) suggested that clinicians consider the instrument's development, construct validity, and the manner in which sex restrictiveness in vocational interests is addressed. Sex restrictiveness refers to the extent to which people are socialised into traditional roles or jobs (e.g., the categorisation of jobs as either male or female). Ways to reduce sex restrictiveness include using same sex norms and gender balanced items. The use of same-sex norms is often recommended in interest assessment to facilitate the identification of women's non-traditional interests that are often obscured when interests are compared to both men and women (Whiston & Bouwkamp, 2003). Items are gender balanced when an equal number of typical male and typical female activities or traits are represented in the measure resulting in both genders obtaining similar scores on average. It also is ethically important for a practitioner to fully assess each instrument for bias in test structure. Structure bias is when a test's factor structure varies across groups. This bias may require the practitioner to interpret the findings differentially according to gender.

Practitioners should inform the client of any limitations that are found in a test, and the uncertainty in interpretation that can be associated with scores on such tests. For example, there could be intervening variables that could explain low scores on aptitude or ability tests, such math anxiety or low self-efficacy (Hackett & Watkins, 1995). It is important for practitioners to communicate to their women clients that a low ability score does not mean that achievement in that area is not possible, but instead that the particular area may not have been developed at the time of the assessment (Whiston & Bouwkamp, 2003).

In the career assessment of women, it also is important to assess internal and external barriers that can lead to the avoidance of certain careers (Betz, 2005). Common internal barriers include low self-efficacy, performance anxiety, and lower aspirations and expectations (Whiston & Bouwkamp, 2003). Hackett and Betz (1992) presented evidence that women tend to report lower confidence in their abilities than men, particularly with respect to traditionally male-dominated activities and occupations. Betz (2005) argued that practitioners also should assist women in expanding their interests in non-traditional areas, such as science and engineering, and not only rely on same sex norms and sex-balanced scales. In so doing, practitioners could increase the occupational choices of women and provide them with greater opportunities for fulfilling and satisfying work lives. External structural or environmental barriers inherent in education systems and organisations can limit the opportunities available to women. Other external barriers include gender role stereotypes, limited or non-existent contacts with role models or mentors, and a "null-environment" in which there is little assistance, encouragement, or support from others (Betz, 1994).

Suzuki and Ahluwalia (2003) stated that qualitative assessment is not beset by gender bias issues and has some advantages over quantitative forms of assessment. Qualitative assessment is a more collaborative form of assessment that potentially provides a more comprehensive understanding of the client in his or her context. It is often seen as a potentially useful method for attending to issues related to diversity in career assessment (Blustein, Kenna, Murphy, DeVoy, & DeWine, 2005; Whiston & Rahardja, 2005). In addition, in qualitative assessment it is relatively easy to translate the questions into other languages. As an alternative to structured interest assessment, the use of less structured assessment methods – such as values clarification exercises – has been recommended (Hackett & Lonborg, 1994). These less structured assessments can more easily incorporate a discussion of gender and cultural issues. Betz (2005) stated that both quantitative and qualitative forms of assessment should be used to obtain a more holistic view of the client. She added that the same ethical practices of quantitative forms of assessment need to be applied to qualitative assessment techniques, including sensitivity to gender issues.

Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Persons

Chung (2003) provided a framework for ethical and professional issues for practice, and research and education in relation to lesbian, gay, and bisexual (LGB) persons. His framework was based on the *Guidelines for Psychotherapy with Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Clients* (Division 44/Committee on Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Concerns Joint Task Force, 2000), *Guidelines on multicultural education, training, research, practice and organizational change for psychologists* (American Psychological Association, 2003), and the conceptual perspectives of Prince (1997) and Croteau, Anderson, DiStefano, and Kampa-Kokesch (2000). Chung stated that effective assessment skills are founded on (a) self-awareness and affirmative atti-

tudes, and (b) knowledge of personal, cultural, and environmental issues pertinent to LGB behaviour. *Self-awareness* includes awareness of the role that sexual orientation plays in one's own and others behaviours and interpersonal interactions. Therefore, counsellors are encouraged to determine both their own competencies in assessing LGB persons and their own biases concerning sexual orientation. Counsellors also need to be aware of the role of social stigma (e.g., stereotypes and discrimination) in the worldviews, goals, and decisions of LGB persons. For example, societal stereotypes and discrimination toward LGB persons could compromise the variety of career choices considered by LGB persons.

With regard to *counsellors' knowledge*, counsellors should take into account LGB persons' relational network including parents, families, partners, and work relationships. This can give an indication of the level of support they have in making important career decisions. Counsellors are encouraged to consider diversity among LGB persons including demographic characteristics such as gender, race/ethnicity, socio-economic status, and age, among others. Moreover, LGB clients are not one unitary group, instead lesbian, gay and bisexual persons each have unique issues that counsellors need to be aware of when engaged in career assessment (Prince, 1997).

The process of disclosing an LGB identity to family and friends can affect one's self-esteem, self-concept, and interpersonal relations with others, and in turn affect other life domains (Purcell, Swann, & Herbert, 2003). For example, research has shown how disclosure of sexual orientation at work is related to discrimination and job satisfaction (e.g., Croteau & Lark, 1995). The decision to come out in the work place is important to career decision making when individuals are considering entering job environments that have a history of discriminating against LGB persons.

Counsellors are encouraged to examine measures for heterosexist bias and determine if they include the experiences of LGB persons (Chung, 2003). Prince (1997) argued that counsellors need to be aware of whether test items and norms are biased toward heterosexual populations, and whether the interpretation of such tests may lead to bias against LGB persons. Chernin and Holden (1997) referred to three types of assessment bias with regard to LGB persons, namely omission bias (i.e., the measure ignores the possibility of membership in an LGB group), connotation bias (i.e., words with negative connotations are associated with certain groups), and contiguity bias (e.g., scales assessing homosexuality appear alongside those assessing psychopathology). There are few measures that have such norms, although some psychological measures have been reviewed for use with LGB persons (see Chung, 2003). For example, Chernin and Holden reviewed select interest, personality, life history and psychopathology measures for heterosexist bias.

Practitioners have an ethical responsibility to have knowledge of discrimination and barriers toward LGB persons and how this may affect test scores (Chung, 2003). Discrimination and barriers can have an impact on people's belief and value systems. Chung (2001) referred to three dimensions for categorising work discrimination, namely formal and informal discrimination, potential and encountered discrimination, and perceived and real discrimination. Formal discrimination refers to institutional policies, such as hiring, firing, promotion, salary decisions, and job assignments; whereas informal discrimination refers to interpersonal dynamics and

work atmosphere, such as verbal and nonverbal harassment, lack of respect, hostility, and prejudice. Potential discrimination refers to possible discrimination related to disclosing one's sexual orientation, and encountered discrimination refers to discriminatory practices actually experienced by an individual. Perceived discrimination is discrimination that one perceives or anticipates, and real discrimination is discrimination that has occurred. Although Chung (2001) stated that there are no measures to evaluate these types of discrimination among LGB persons, it may be necessary for the practitioner to consider these dimensions when assessing career and work adjustment issues.

Children and Adolescents

An important ethical challenge in the school environment is determining who the client is, namely the child, the parent, or the school system (Knauss, 2001). For children and adolescents who have not reached the majority age, it is important to get the parent or guardian's consent for assessment and testing. Although minors are typically not able to provide consent, practitioners generally request the *assent* of a minor for assessment and testing (Jacob & Hartshorne, 2003). Before giving consent, parents and children should be informed of (a) the reasons for assessment, (b) the assessment process, (c) which tests will be administered, (d) how the information will be used (e) who will have access to the results, and (f) the implications of the results (Jacob & Hartshorne, 2003). Although parental approval is generally not required for testing that is part of a school's regular program, parents should be aware when such testing will be provided (Knauss, 2001).

The tests used by school psychologists should not be biased or discriminate in terms of race, ethnicity, or gender. In addition, the results should have satisfactory reliability and validity. Ethically, the practitioner is urged to ensure that appropriate test norms are used for comparison of the child's performance. A biased test is one in which the meaning of the test scores are not equally valid for the norm group and the client's reference group. Test bias can be evaluated by examining the content validity, criterion-related validity, and construct validity of the test scores. If practitioners are not knowledgeable about particular tests, their limitations, and appropriate use, tests and assessments could potentially be used inappropriately and be harmful to the client.

Practitioners are encouraged to be sensitive to situations in which the testing environment is such that it inhibits the performance of minority children. This could occur if a test was administered in a culturally insensitive manner. Therefore, the practitioner is encouraged to take into account the possible wariness, cognitive style, and motivation of the test taker (Jacob & Hartshorne, 2003). Children and adolescents should complete tests in their first language (Knauss, 2001). Alternatively, bilingual examiners or qualified interpreters may be used. Various difficulties can occur when people translate the test for the test taker, such as the linguistic and cultural equivalence of the translated items. The interpreter should

have been instructed in objective test administration procedures, should understand the meaning of the test items, and should have no prior relationship with the test taker (American Educational Research Association, 1999). When writing the assessment report, the practitioner is encouraged to refrain from using technical language, so that the report is easily understood by professionals and non-professionals alike. The report should include recommendations for practice, in addition to providing test scores (Jacob & Hartshorne, 2003).

The ethical issues associated with computerised assessment, discussed previously, also are important in the school setting. Prior to assessment, the school psychologist should ensure that computer and Internet-based assessment procedures have satisfactory psychometric properties and that they provide valid results (Jacob & Hartshorne, 2003). With regard to computer and Internet-based assessments, Carlson and Harvey (2004) stated that school psychologists should: (a) consult manuals on the software, (b) read critical reviews on the software, (c) provide their own evaluations of the software, should reviews be unavailable, (d) determine if they are competent to use the software, and (e) ascertain if the instrument will contribute to analysing effective interventions.

It is the ethical responsibility of the practitioner to ensure that confidentiality of assessment and test data is maintained. Release of assessment data to anyone other than the parent or guardian typically requires the written informed consent of the parent or guardian of the child. Of particular concern is the confidentiality of test data in computers. The practitioner is encouraged to ensure that such test data can only be accessed by persons who have a legitimate professional interest in seeing the data. It is suggested that file passwords be used, and that precautions are taken to prevent data from being retrieved from discarded computers or data storage devices. Practitioners are encouraged to consult their respective education laws to determine how long such assessment and test records must be kept. Jacob and Hartshorne (2003) stated that the time period of record retention can be from 5 to 10 years after the adolescent has reached majority age. It is imperative that practitioners be aware of ethical codes related to testing and assessment and pay particular attention to ethical issues among specific populations.

Conclusion

Career testing and assessment are important for acquiring information about the client, counselling, and interventions. However, they have the potential to be misused and also carry numerous risks. If practitioners are not knowledgeable about particular tests and their limitations, the interpretation of test scores could potentially be inappropriate and harmful to clients. Thus, it is essential to have ethical codes to address these issues, to provide accountability, and to protect the public against the misuse of tests and assessment. There are many global, national, and organisational ethical codes referring to career assessment and testing. Ethical codes are not merely about adherence to rules, but about providing ethical thinking

when testing and assessing clients so that appropriate decisions can be made within ethical guidelines. It is important for psychologists to be conversant with ethical issues concerning the cross-cultural applicability of tests, culturally competent career assessment, computer and Internet-based career assessment, and career assessment with special populations (e.g., women; lesbian, gay, and bisexual persons; and children and adolescents). Career assessment and testing is constantly changing, necessitating psychologists to be aware of the ethical applications of these tools to diverse populations in diverse contexts.

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Part VI
Evaluation of Educational and Vocational Guidance

Chapter 31
QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH SYNTHESIS: THE USE OF META-ANALYSIS IN CAREER GUIDANCE AND VOCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY

Paul A. Gore, Jr. and Takuya Minami

Since its inception at the turn of the 20th century, vocational psychology has thrived as a result of empirical research and theoretical advances. Early studies identifying the nature of educational and career interests (Strong, 1936) and their relation to abilities (Hartman & Dashiell, 1919), and career outcomes (DiMichael, 1949) are just a few examples of how early vocational psychologists applied research methods and measurement in an effort to promote effective career decision-making. Early theories of career counselling and development often guided these research efforts and were, in turn, informed and modified by empirical findings. In the last century, our discipline has amassed a considerable volume of research. Surprisingly, however, we continue to ask similar questions with respect to the nature of educational and vocational interests (Darcy & Tracey, 2007), and their relation to abilities (Tracey & Hopkins, 2001) and important academic and career outcomes (Tracey & Robbins, 2006). One of the biggest challenges faced by scientific disciplines is that of synthesising and summarising a large number of individual studies in such a way that researchers, theoreticians, and practitioners can draw meaningful conclusions. The statistical techniques of meta-analysis permit researchers to rise to this challenge and it is this topic that will be the focus of this chapter.

The goals of this chapter are twofold. First, this chapter will provide the reader with a fundamental understanding of the family of statistical analyses collectively referred to as meta-analysis. This will include an overview of the procedure, and a brief review of the steps involved in conducting a meta-analysis. Discussion of this topic will be conceptual rather than mathematical. As such, this chapter is not a comprehensive review of current issues in meta-analyses nor will it provide sufficient procedural guidance for the reader to actually conduct an analysis. Those wishing a more comprehensive coverage of current conceptual and procedural issues should refer to Hedges and Pigott (2004), Hunter and Schmidt (1990), Kline (2004), Lipsey and Wilson (2001), and Quintana and Minami (2006).

The second goal of this chapter is to summarise several recent meta-analyses in the area of educational and vocational guidance in an effort to describe how researchers are applying this methodology in both traditional and novel ways to

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J.A. Athanasou, R. Van Esbroeck (eds.) *International Handbook of Career Guidance*,

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both new and old problems. Four representative papers were chosen for review in this chapter (Brown et al., 2003; Low, Yoon, Roberts, & Rounds, 2005; McDaniel, Whetzel, Schmidt, & Maurer, 1994; Robbins et al., 2004). These papers were selected because they represent a variety of topics within the domain of educational and vocational guidance and because they utilise a range of meta-analytic procedures.

Research Synthesis

Fundamental to every scientific discipline is the need to summarise and synthesise its research findings. Most definitions of science reference the process of *systematically* acquiring knowledge using observation and experimentation to describe or explain phenomena. They may also define science as the *organised* body of knowledge gained using such processes. Unfortunately, the day to day practice of science, even when conducted systematically, rarely results in a truly self-organising and coherent body of knowledge. Results from studies often contradict one another and this variability complicates the process of synthesising and summarising findings.

Variability among study outcomes may result from many factors. For example, different investigators may rely on different measures of the same purported construct. Alternatively, investigators may control for different sources of extraneous variability when conducting experimental or quasi-experimental studies. Additional factors that may explain why results or conclusions differ from study to study include variations in methodology, intervention, unreliable measurement strategies, and differences in sample size. Variability among study outcomes tends to be more of a concern in the social and behavioural sciences where studies are frequently quasi-experimental or observational in nature and where we enjoy (or suffer from) the availability of multiple measures (and perhaps definitions) of a given research construct.

Until approximately 3 decades ago, researchers relied on less systematic approaches to research synthesis. Narrative reviews were often used to provide a verbal report of a set of individual studies. Although these reviews are helpful in documenting the state of research efforts in a given domain, they cannot provide a systematic synthesis of results nor can they offer researchers or practitioners unbiased estimates of the magnitude of the relations being reviewed. Early quantitative reviews grew out of general dissatisfaction with the narrative review process. These reviews typically relied on the classification of study outcomes into two categories – studies that found statistically significant relations and studies that failed to find significant relations. The presence of a "true relation" in the literature was declared if studies finding significance outnumber those failing to do so. This vote-counting method has serious limitations related to its reliance on statistical significance. Carver (1978) among others (e.g., Tracey, 2000; Wilkinson & Task Force on Statistical Inference, 1999), for example, note how an over reliance on statistical significance in drawing conclusions about the relations among variables is biased in favour of studies with large sample sizes. Meta-analysis was introduced in

response to growing concerns with the use of narrative and vote-counting reviews in research synthesis.

Gene Glass is often credited with introducing meta-analysis as a statistical synthesis method. In his 1976 presidential address to the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Glass ended the controversy regarding the efficacy of psychotherapy first ignited by Hans Eysenck in 1952. Contrary to Eysenck's claims, Glass' meta-analysis (Smith & Glass, 1977; Smith, Glass, & Miller, 1980) demonstrated that the rate of recovery of those who received psychotherapy was significantly greater than those who did not receive psychotherapy. According to Glass, meta-analysis involves the quantitative analysis of a collection of analysis results for the purpose of integrating findings. Meta-analysis was introduced in an attempt to provide the same methodological rigor to the literature review process as we expect from other empirical research endeavours. As confidence in meta-analysis grew, these methods were applied to an increasing number of research domains, and methodological advancements were proffered (e.g., Hedges & Olkin, 1985; Hunter, Schmidt, & Jackson, 1982; Rosenthal, 1984). Today, meta-analysis is a well established and widely (albeit not universally; e.g., Sharpe, 1997) accepted procedure that has largely replaced narrative and vote-counting reviews.

General Overview

Meta-analysis is a term referring to a family of statistical and methodological procedures that provide a relatively objective and quantitative summary of a set of research findings. Meta-analysis can be used to answer many questions. Early applications of meta-analysis were designed to resolve ambiguity in the literature. It is not uncommon, for example, to find evidence in the literature both for and against the presence of a relation between two variables. Meta-analysis permits the systematic synthesis of such literature adjusting for factors that may account for variability in findings. The result is both a better understanding of what the "true" relation is between two variables as well as an understanding of what characteristics of the study, the measures, or the participants account for variance in findings. Such information can be helpful in guiding subsequent inquiry. Today, investigators use meta-analysis to ask more complex questions and are merging meta-analytic methods with methods of complex hierarchical regression, factor analysis, and structural modelling.

A conceptual picture of meta-analysis is best illustrated by comparing it to the quantitative review or vote counting procedure. Both procedures share steps in common: conceptualisation, literature search, study selection, coding, aggregation, analysis, and conclusion. Specifically, if investigators were to conduct a meta-analysis assessing the relation between job satisfaction and job performance, they would conduct a thorough literature search to identify potentially relevant studies and they would screen those studies based on inclusion/exclusion criteria such as

whether or not an individual study reports sufficient data to calculate an effect size estimate and whether a study included the constructs of interest. Although not emphasised in this chapter, the importance of this stage of the meta-analysis should not be underestimated. As in primary research studies, investigators must clearly describe their research questions and methods. The methods of meta-analysis include identifying and defining the constructs of interest, conducting a compressive search of the published and unpublished literature, and excluding studies that are inappropriate. All of these procedures must be clearly described in the report of a meta-analysis.

Once identified, individual studies are then coded based on factors that investigators deem crucial to drawing conclusions, such as quality of research design, age group, and type of occupation. After these preparatory steps, studies are aggregated, analysed, and conclusions are drawn. Differences between vote counting and meta-analysis exist primarily in the degree of subjectivity involved during the coding, aggregation, analysis, and conclusion steps. During the coding step, individual studies are numerically coded on factors that investigators deem crucial. This enables the investigator to include these factors in subsequent analysis as moderators. To continue our example of the meta-analysis of the relation between job satisfaction and job performance, the investigators might establish ordinal or continuous variables that capture factors such as quality of research design and age of participants. These factors could later be included in the analysis to determine whether they account for a significant portion of the variance in study findings. Although the coding of factors such as study quality might be criticised as being subjective, proponents of meta-analysis argue that the degree of subjectivity is attenuated because these decision rules are clearly articulated in the published manuscript.

After coding for potential moderators, researchers calculate or record one or more effect size estimates for each study. An effect size estimate is any metric that quantifies the strength of the observation (e.g., *r*, Cohen's *d*, explained more in detail below). It is this central quantity that captures each individual study's contribution to the overall meta-analysis. Unlike vote-counting methods, however, the effect observed in a given study is not judged on statistical significance. In fact, statistical significance of an effect size estimate is of no interest in meta-analysis. Because of the central role that effect size estimates play in meta-analysis; this topic will be discussed in more detail below.

The degree of subjectivity involved in the analysis and conclusion phases of a meta-analysis most vividly illuminates the benefits of meta-analysis over vote counting methods. In meta-analysis, significance is determined by the aggregated effect size estimates (corrected for bias as described below) and the confidence intervals about those estimates. The aggregated effect size estimate is deemed significant when its confidence interval does not include zero; in this case, the null hypothesis is rejected and we conclude that the there is support for a "true" nonzero relation between the two variables. When the meta-analysis is conducted well, the aggregated effect size estimate is a reliable estimate of the direction and magnitude of the population effect size. An additional advantage of meta-analysis is that because the review and judgment phases are systematically conducted, other

researchers could easily re-evaluate the procedures and conclusions as well as attempt replications and extensions.

It should be noted, however, that meta-analysis is not completely devoid of subjectivity. As in vote counting methods, meta-analysis is susceptible to bias during all phases unless the hypotheses and other important criteria related to the literature search, inclusion/exclusion of studies, and factors to code are determined a priori and made public in the written report of the analyses. In short, a poorly conducted meta-analysis can be as biased as a well conducted vote counting study.

Effect Size Estimate

One of the primary benefits of meta-analysis is that it allows researchers to draw conclusions from methodologically diverse studies that are, nonetheless, similar in conceptual intent. Studies often differ in analysis (e.g., regression or correlation analysis, factor analysis, ANOVA), measures of independent and dependent constructs, and methodology (e.g., randomised controlled experiments, survey methods, archival research). In order to aggregate such studies, data from each study must be converted to a common effect size estimate that is independent of the original measurement metrics (i.e., scale-free). The two most common scale-free continuous metrics used in meta-analysis are Cohen's (1988) standardised mean difference *d* and Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient *r*. Although *d* and *r* are interchangeable (e.g., Friedman, 1968; Hedges & Olkin, 1985), differences in research design often determine whether or not one would be more informative (or available for direct calculation) than the other. Specifically, *d* is often used when studies quantify the magnitude of differences among groups, as its unit is in standard deviations. For example, suppose that a career counselling intervention was compared to a no-treatment control, and that the intervention, on average, resulted in better outcomes when compared to the control condition. A difference of $d = 1.0$ between the intervention and control indicates that, on average, participants in the treatment condition scored one standard deviation higher on the outcome measure compared to participants in the no-treatment condition. In other words, approximately 84% of those in the intervention group did better than the average of the no-treatment group. According to Cohen (1988), a *d* of .2, .5, and .8 suggests a small, medium, and large effect, respectively. The *r*, on the other hand, is more common when a researcher is interested in the strength of association between two factors, such as job satisfaction and job performance. Cohen (1988) reports an *r* of .1, .3, and 0.5 as suggesting a small, medium, and large effect, respectively.

Another benefit of meta-analysis is its capacity to adjust the observed effect size for different sources of bias. For example, authors of meta-analyses routinely weight effect size estimates according to the sample sizes in the studies from which the estimates are derived. This process is based on the fundamental assumption that relations observed in large samples are more stable than are relations observed in small samples. Relations observed in small samples overestimate the true population effect

and must be adjusted downward. Hedges and Olkin (1985) described the adjustment of effect size estimates to correct for bias attributable to small sample size. Thanks to the seminal work of Hunter and Schmidt (1990), researchers conducting meta-analyses today can adjust effect size estimates for other study artefacts such as unreliability or range restriction on measures of the predictor or criterion, and artificial dichotomisation of continuous variables. The details of these procedures are beyond the scope of this chapter but each, when appropriately applied, will result in a less biased (e.g., more accurate) estimate of the true population effect.

Homogeneity

When aggregating effect size estimates from numerous studies, one concern is whether or not the studies are, in fact, similar enough to one another to warrant aggregation; in other words, are the studies all apples, or are some oranges mixed in? A test statistic that answers this question is the *Q* statistic for homogeneity of effect sizes. When *k* is the number of studies included in the aggregation, the *Q* statistic follows a χ^2 distribution with *k* - 1 degrees of freedom (Hedges & Olkin, 1985). When the *Q* statistic is significant, it suggests that one or more moderators (hopefully the ones that you coded) may be accounting for systematic differences among the studies.

A significant *Q* statistic, however, does not automatically suggest that no conclusions can be drawn. Specifically in cases where large numbers of studies are aggregated, high statistical power may lead to statistical significance even if detected differences are practically meaningless. In other situations, however, a significant *Q* statistic provides justification for conducting moderator analysis to explore possible factors that may help to account for heterogeneity in study effect size estimates. Typically investigators anticipate the presence of a significant Q statistic and have planed a priori moderator analyses. In either case, when the *Q* statistic is significant, the aggregated effect size estimate should *not* be interpreted as an estimate of a single population parameter, but rather, simply as the mean observed effect size (Shadish & Haddock, 1994).

Moderator Analysis

Today, most investigators are interested not only in determining whether or not there are relations among variables of interest, but also in identifying factors that might help account for variability in effects across studies. For example, researchers might be interested in whether or not the correlation between job satisfaction and job performance is moderated by factors such as gender, age, income, and education. Conceptually, moderator analyses follow procedures similar to those used in conducting multiple regression analyses. In cases where multiple moderators are suspected, or of theoretical interest, moderators may be hierarchically inserted into

analyses based on a priori hypotheses. Readers seeking additional information on conducting moderator analyses should consult Hedges (1994), Hedges and Pigott (2004), and Raudenbush (1994).

Example Meta-analyses in Career Guidance and Vocational Psychology

The Validity of Employment Interviews

Employment interviews have long been considered the bedrock of employee selection. Not only are interviews commonly used to make high stakes employment decisions, (Ulrich & Trumbo, 1965), but there is also a growing body of research literature investigating the relative merits of different interview strategies, the impact of impression management strategies, and the interview decision-making process. One general, but fundamental, line of inquiry has concerned itself with the validity of the employment interview. Common wisdom holds that interviews predict future job performance.

McDaniel and his colleagues (1994) published a comprehensive review of past narrative and quantitative reviews of the validity of employment interview, and conducted a meta-analysis of 245 validity coefficients derived from over 86,000 participants. Previous narrative reviews concluded that the validity of the interview process may be a function of situational characteristics such as the type of interview employed (Wiesner & Cronshaw, 1988). McDaniel et al., conducted their analyses to extend the work of Wiesner and Cronshaw by (a) investigating the validity of interviews across multiple criterion type (job performance, training performance, and job tenure) and (b) to assess the role of interview content (situational, job-related, or psychological) in addition to interview type (structured vs. unstructured) in predicting outcomes. Situational interviews require applicants to project what her or his behaviour would be in a given situation whereas job-related interviews focus on how much job-related knowledge an applicant has or on past job behaviour. Finally, psychological interviews tend to informally assess personality traits and job-related attitudes and values.

The results of this meta-analysis suggested (a) that job interviews are generally valid predictors of employment and training outcomes, and (b) that their ability to predict job outcomes varies as a function of performance criterion, interview type, and interview content. Overall, interviews appear to account for between 4% and 14% of the variance in job outcomes. Closer examination of results from this analysis reveals that interviews are not valid predictors of job tenure. Across all studies, situational interviews appear to be the best predictors ($\rho = .50$; ρ is used to designate an unbiased estimate of the population effect size) of job-related outcomes compared to job-related ($\rho = .39$) and psychological ($\rho = .29$) interviews. In predicting job performance, structured and situational job interviews appear to be most

valid although the confidence intervals for the effect size estimates derived for all interview structures and contents exceeded zero suggesting that all are valid predictors of job performance. In contrast, interviews that focus on psychological content appear to be the best predictors of training performance ($\rho = .40$).

This case exemplifies a rather typical use of meta-analysis in the field of career guidance and vocational psychology. The authors proposed an extension of past meta-analyses by identifying possible facets of importance that were previously ignored (e.g., criterion type and interview content) and by updating effect size estimates by including studies that were published subsequent to the last major meta-analysis. The results of their study have immediate application in employment settings but may be of limited utility to counsellors working with students and clients in the job search process. The conceptual methodology used in this study, however, has important implications for all career counsellors and vocational psychologists and reinforces the hallowed mantra that measures and predictors are not themselves valid – rather they are valid for specific uses. The differential validity estimates obtained in this study highlight the importance of recognising the limits of our use of predictors. Congruence between one's career interests and chosen job might be a valid predictor of job satisfaction, for example, but it is not a valid predictor of workplace earnings.

Critical Ingredients in Career Choice Counselling

Meta-analyses over the last 20 years have clearly established the effectiveness of career guidance interventions (Oliver & Spokane, 1988; Spokane & Oliver, 1983; Whiston, Sexton, & Lasoff, 1998; Whiston & Buck (see Chapter 34)). These studies have explored the moderating roles of client characteristics (e.g., race and age) and treatment modality (e.g., individual, classroom-based, or self-guided interventions) on treatment outcome. Few if any client characteristics appear to influence outcomes, and the only consistent finding with respect to treatment modality is that self-directed interventions appear to be the least helpful. Brown and his colleagues (Brown & Ryan Krane, 2000; Brown et al., 2003; Ryan, 1999) suggested that the overall treatment modality might be less important in predicting outcomes than the activities that are included in the treatment itself.

In an effort to test this hypothesis they meta-analysed data from 62 career intervention studies – many of which had been included in previous meta-analyses cited above. Studies were included if they measured outcomes commonly associated with the career choice process (e.g., congruence, career maturity, vocational identity). Each study was coded for commonly controlled variables such as date of publication, methodological characteristics (e.g., random assignment), age of participants, as well as intervention format (individual counselling, group counselling, classroom-based intervention, or self-directed intervention). Additionally, in order to test their primary hypothesis, the researchers coded for the presence or absence of 19 specific intervention components. These components included activities such

as the use of workbooks or other written exercises, values clarification, and the use of sources of information about the world of work.

In turn, methodological and subject characteristics, intervention modality, and intervention components were entered in blocks into a set of least squares regression analysis (separate analyses for each different type of study outcome). Five of the 19 intervention components were found to have significant beta weights. These critical ingredients included the use of workbooks or other written exercises, individualised sessions and feedback, a focus on providing clients with information about the world of work, the use of models in career exploration and decision-making, and a focus on helping clients understand and develop their support networks. Brown and Ryan Krane then plotted the effect size of studies that included different numbers of critical ingredients (from zero to three with no published studies including four or five ingredients). They found an almost linear relationship between number of critical ingredients used in a study and the effect size estimate (effect sizes ranged from .22 to .99). In a subsequent set of analyses, Brown and his colleagues (2003) tested whether the relationship between the number of critical ingredients used and the effect size was unique to the critical ingredients or if any combination of one, two, three, four, or five ingredients would be positively correlated with effect size. They conducted 100 simulations in which random combinations of non-critical intervention components were evaluated. Effect sizes resulting from random pairings of non-critical ingredients were essentially randomly distributed around an effect size of .20 (the effect size associated with zero critical ingredients in the original meta-analysis). From these results they concluded that it is the presence of more critical intervention ingredients (and not just more ingredients) that is associated with beneficial outcomes.

This case example illuminates several important aspects of meta-analysis. First, Brown and his colleagues formulated their research question based not on a reading of the primary research literature as much as on results from past meta-analyses. This illustrates how meta-analyses themselves might serve to inform the development of subsequent meta-analytic research questions. From this example we can also conclude that meta-analyses do not routinely extract and code all of the relevant information contained in primary research studies. In this case, Brown and his colleagues were able to code variables ignored by the authors of previous meta-analyses (e.g., intervention components). This example also highlights the appropriate use of meta-regression strategies (Greenland, 1994). Because Brown and his colleagues were interested in testing whether intervention components could account for variability observed in treatment outcomes above and beyond variability that could be accounted for by methodological, client, and treatment modality differences, they employed traditional hierarchical regression techniques using study level variables as the units of analysis. Similar methodological innovations have led to the use of meta-analytic data to fit structural equation models (e.g., Cheung & Chan, 2005; Viswesvaran & Ones, 1995). Finally, in addition to presenting basic meta-analytic findings, Brown and his colleagues further reinforced the validity of their findings by investigating the "dose-response relationship" between number of critical ingredients and effect size and by demonstrating the specificity of the effect.

Cognitive and Non-cognitive Predictors of Post-secondary Student Success

Student academic performance and persistence are topics of great interest to psychologists who study learning and motivation, to professionals who counsel secondary and post-secondary students, and to college and university officials world-wide. The literature predicting post-secondary student performance and persistence can be loosely organised into groups that focus on cognitive factors (e.g., standardised achievement test scores and secondary education GPA or class rank), pre-enrolment situational factors (e.g., socio-economic status, whether you are a first-generation college student), post-enrolment institutional factors (e.g., institutional selectivity, student housing, on-campus employment status, student academic support services), and motivational or non-cognitive factors (achievement motivation, goal striving, and self-efficacy). This latter group of predictors is likely to be of the most interest to educational and career counsellors.

Robbins and his colleagues (2003) recently published a meta-analysis of the relationship between non-cognitive factors and college student outcomes (college GPA and persistence). They identified several goals for their study. First their efforts provided the first comprehensive meta-analysis of the relationship between non-cognitive factors and student outcomes and thus their results could be used to focus subsequent research on those factors that were identified as predicting student outcomes. Second, given the established relations between more traditional predictors of college success such as high school GPA and standardised achievement scores and college outcomes, their study assessed the incremental relations between non-cognitive factors and student outcomes after traditional predictors had been accounted for.

Following a comprehensive search of the extant literature, they identified 109 studies that included both measures of non-cognitive factors and outcome measures in students attending 4-year colleges and universities in the United States. Simple effect size estimates were calculated for eight non-cognitive factors (achievement motivation, academic goals, institutional commitment, social support, social involvement, academic self-efficacy, general self-concept, and academic-related skills), four control variables (financial support, institutional size, institutional selectivity, and socioeconomic status) and two traditional predictors of post-secondary success (high school GPA and ACT/SAT scores) for each of two college outcomes (college GPA and retention).

Seven of eight non-cognitive factors were found to have true non-zero relations with college retention (only general self-concept ($\rho = .05$) had a confidence interval that overlapped zero. Several non-cognitive predictors had stronger relations with retention compared to others. Academic self-efficacy, academic-related skills, and academic goals were particularly strong predictors of college retention (ρ of .36, .36, and .34 respectively). In contrast, the remaining non-cognitive factors had ρ that ranged from .07 to .21. Among the control variables, institutional selectivity and socioeconomic status had the strongest relations with college retention (ρ of .24

and .23 respectively). Both high school GPA and ACT/SAT scores had significant non-zero relations with college retention (ρ of .25 and .12 respectively).

All eight of the non-cognitive factors were found to have true non-zero relations with college GPA. As with retention, some non-cognitive factors had stronger relations with this outcome variable. Specifically, achievement motivation and academic self-efficacy were the strongest predictors of college GPA (ρ of .30 and .50 respectively). Other non-cognitive factors had average relations with college GPA that ranged from $\rho = .05$ to $\rho = .18$. High school GPA and ACT/SAT scores were strongly related to college GPA (ρ of .45 and .39 respectively). From these simple effect size calculations the authors concluded that non-cognitive factors are related to college student outcomes, that the relations between non-cognitive factors and outcomes is somewhat dependent on the outcome measured, and that several of these factors rival traditional predictors when assessed in a bivariate analysis.

In an effort to assess the incremental validity of non-cognitive predictors of college student outcomes, Robbins and his colleagues conducted a meta-regression in which traditional predictors (in this case socioeconomic status, high school GPA, and ACT/SAT scores) were entered in to the regression equation first, followed by the non-cognitive factors. As in traditional hierarchical regression analysis, the authors inspected the overall R^2, the increment in R^2 from step one to step two, and the standardised beta weights of each of the predictors in the final model. Based on their results they concluded that non-cognitive factors incrementally predict college GPA and retention but that the specific non-cognitive factors that contribute to those two prediction equations differ. Specifically, institutional commitment, social support, social involvement, and academic self-efficacy contributed significantly to the equation predicting college retention ($R^2 = .23$, change in $R^2 = .13$) and individual beta weights of academic goals and academic self-efficacy exceed those of the traditional predictors in this equation. In contrast, the only non-cognitive variables to contribute positively to the prediction of college GPA were achievement motivation and academic self-efficacy ($R^2 = .58$, change in $R^2 = .09$). Similar to the previous analysis, these non-cognitive predictors contributed as much or more to the final prediction equation as did high school GPA and ACT/SAT scores.

As with the Brown et al. (2003) study, this study highlighted the capacity of meta-analysis to answer complex questions involving the individual and combined contribution of predictor variables across multiple outcomes. Results from the Robbins et al. (2004) study have important implications for high school and college support personnel and academic and career advisors. For example, support programs designed specifically to promote student retention should focus on enhancing student social involvement and helping students identify motivations for their college degree (in an effort to enhance college commitment). In contrast, programs designed to promote academic performance in college students are advised to focus their efforts on enhancing students' academic self-efficacy and helping them identify reasons for wanting to achieve academically. Rather than focusing on program development efforts, Robbins and his colleagues used results from this meta-analysis to develop a comprehensive measure of non-cognitive predictors of college student success (*Student Readiness Inventory*; Le, Casillas, Robbins, & Langley, 2005) thus

demonstrating the potential for meta-analysis to serve as a large-scale data/construct reduction method in advance of test development efforts.

The Stability of Vocational Interests

Lubinski and Dawis (1995) identified academic and career interests as being among the most enduring and compelling areas of individual difference. Interests are widely studied in the career guidance and vocational psychology literature and may be the most widely assessed psychological construct in practice today. One issue that has received considerable empirical is to what extent are vocational interest stable, and from what age is stability evident. (e.g., Van Dusen, 1940). The answers to these questions have important implications for theory, research, and practice. Not surprisingly, research in this area has measured the stability of interests across time points ranging from 1 week (Burnham, 1942) or less to over 30 years (Rottinghaus, Coon, Gaffey, & Zytowski, 2007) and in people of all ages.

Low and his colleagues (Low et al., 2005) recently conducted a meta-analysis of the stability of vocational interests from early adolescence to middle adulthood in an effort to shed some light on the issue of interest stability. As these authors noted, previous reviews of interest stability have either focused exclusively on one measure of vocational interests or have been qualitative in nature. Moreover, based on qualitative reviews, a general consensus has emerged that interests stabilise between 25–30 years of age and thus little is known about whether interests change after than time. Thus one purpose of this meta-analysis was to assess the overall stability of interests across multiple measures and multiple age ranges from 11 to 39. Further, Low and his colleagues assessed the role of several important moderators on the stability of interests. Three moderators included in this study were interest classification (e.g., Holland interest areas), gender, and cohort (e.g., individuals from the 1940s vs. 1990s).

The authors established inclusion criteria that eliminated studies measuring stability of less than 1 year and studies with very small sample sizes. They identified 107 samples containing a total of over 23,000 participants. From this sample they coded stability coefficients for eight participant age-range categories, cohort values (participants form the 1930s, 1940s, 1950s, etc.), participant gender, and interest classification if available.

Low and his colleagues observed stability in interests from age 12 through 40 with moderate levels of stability being observed through the middle and high school years (ρ approximately .55). They observed a large increase in the stability as participants left high school (ρ of approximately .69) and entered their late 1920s (ρ of approximately .80). Interestingly, stability attenuated during subsequent decades. These authors found little evidence to suggest that stability is a function of either temporal cohort or gender though they did observe consistent differences in stability across interest classification. Specifically across both Holland and Kuder interest classification structures, results suggest that realistic and artistic interests (mechanical, outdoor, musical, and artistic in Kuder classification) are more stable

than are enterprising and conventional interests (persuasive and computational in Kuder classification).

Results from this study have obvious implications for individuals working with students and clients of all ages. For example, as Low and his colleagues noted, it might be time to re-evaluate our aversion to measuring career interests in young adolescents. If interests are, in fact, relatively stable from early adolescent onward, interest measurement information may provide young students with valuable information with which to make early educational and career decisions.

Although this meta-analysis shares several characteristics in common with those described above, it differs in one important respect. Whereas the examples described above attempted to identify the relation between a predictor or set of predictors and a unique outcome variable or variables, Low and his colleagues conducted a meta-analysis of the relations between two separate measures of the same construct. In other words, whereas the previous examples were concerned with describing population validity estimates (predictive validity), the present example demonstrates how meta-analysis can be applied to issues that are more characteristically of concern with addressing the reliability of measures (e.g., test-retest reliability).

Conclusion

Meta-analysis is an important methodological tool that allows investigators to draw inferences from a body of research literature. At their very least, meta-analytic procedures impose order and discipline on the process of research synthesis. At their best, these procedures can help bring clarity to conflicted literature, identify important avenues for subsequent inquiry, or inform theory revision or development. Career guidance practitioners may also benefit from the results of meta-analyses. This may be particularly true as meta-analyses become more sophisticated in their application and, hence, in the nature of the questions they can answer. No longer are meta-analyses restricted to establishing simple bivariate relations among variables. Meta-analyses today can answer important questions such as what works, for whom, and under what conditions. Although meta-analyses can be found in the career guidance and vocational psychology literature, there remain many unanswered questions in this discipline that would be appropriately addressed with the use of these procedures.

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Chapter 32
ACTION THEORY: AN INTEGRATIVE PARADIGM FOR RESEARCH AND EVALUATION IN CAREER

Richard A. Young[1] and Ladislav Valach[2]

This chapter is situated in a section of the *Handbook of Career Guidance* entitled "evaluation of educational and vocational guidance." The authors of the adjacent chapters address topics such as the evaluation of programmes, meta-analysis and longitudinal designs. We have chosen to take up this important issue from a different perspective. We intend to present a paradigm or model in which the evaluation of educational and vocational guidance can be understood and practised.

The notion of a paradigm is important in career research and evaluation because it answers the "why" question of any investigation. In this way, career research and evaluation can represent a well reasoned process, not merely a routine institutional response. The title of this chapter specifies an integrative paradigm. Educational and vocational guidance, and the larger domain of career of which they are a part, are complicated and complex phenomena. One-off and isolated studies can answer specific questions, but frequently do not address the larger picture. A framework or paradigm is needed in order to integrate knowledge from specific research and evaluation studies.

Any kind of evaluation is guided by two sets of beliefs, whether tacit or explicit. One set of beliefs is about the content area, that is, what the evaluators believe about canned vegetables, learning French, or, in the case of this chapter, educational and vocational guidance. The authors of the chapters of this *handbook* have delineated a rich range of beliefs about educational and vocational guidance and career. These beliefs are themselves based on research, evaluation, anecdotal practice, and conceptual frameworks. The second set of beliefs that guide evaluation includes those beliefs about the processes of research and evaluation and what these processes are intended to accomplish.

In most cases, the congruence between beliefs about the content and the evaluation process is assumed, but not well examined. In some cases, however, the degree of discontinuity between these beliefs raises impediments for conducting evaluation and research and for understanding and acting on their findings. Beliefs about

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J.A. Athanasou, R. Van Esbroeck (eds.) *International Handbook of Career Guidance*,
© Springer Science + Business Media B.V. 2008

evaluation are frequently guided by practical issues – what are the goals of the evaluation, what questions need to be answered, how should data be analysed and presented, what meaning will the findings have? These are questions that reflect one's understanding of the content domain. Although touched on only briefly here, these issues are very substantial. When not well reflected in studies, the research or evaluation can lead to unintended consequences in educational policy and programmes, and in educational and vocational guidance in particular.

An integrative framework for the evaluation of educational and vocational guidance has to enable evaluators to identify processes and outcomes. It also has to be broad enough to capture the four levels of career explanation Savickas (2002) identified, that is, dispositions, concerns, narratives, and processes. The framework also has to speak to practice, research, and theory. The challenge of meeting these criteria is significant. The contextual action theory of career (Young, Valach, & Collin, 1996, 2002) goes far to meet this challenge. However, this challenge is not fully met by simply identifying the factors, and the relationships among them, at play in an integrative framework for educational and vocational guidance. How these factors work together to form a life-enhancing career that can be the basis for evaluation will be discussed in this chapter.

As the title suggests, this chapter also seeks to integrate research and evaluation in educational and vocational guidance. In common usage, research is the super ordinate term that refers to a "systematic investigation designed to develop or contribute to generalizable knowledge" (United States Department of Health and Human Services, 2005, Code of Federal Regulations, 46.102(d), p. 118). Evaluation is generally understood as determining the worth of something, usually a programme, for example, a programme intended to assist people to re-enter paid employment after a period of absence is appraised by it outcomes. Evaluation can also refer to the evaluation of a person, as in a self-evaluation or the evaluation of a client in an educational or vocational guidance programme. It is important to signal a caution here that to limit evaluation to determining the worth of an outcome may be to significantly constrict the nature of educational and vocational guidance. Minimally, researchers and programme evaluators should be interested in processes as well. But another critical question is whether educational and vocational guidance should be limited to technical knowledge and practice, although in many cases it is. In this contribution it is maintained, however, that educational and vocational guidance is more than technical competence that can be subsumed simply by the evaluation of outcomes. Previously, the authors asserted that career and career decision making were fundamentally moral undertakings (Young & Valach, 2004). Thus paradigm has to go beyond technical knowledge by acknowledging a hermeneutic dialogue, in Taylor's (1989) sense, that is not readily bounded by language, history, or culture.

Research in the sense of generating new knowledge is a goal that has, in the canon of traditional science, stood outside the criterion of worth. It has been associated with natural phenomena. It mostly is related to "what is". Knowledge was seen as a worthwhile goal in itself, and was often separated from the social, political, and economic context. In contrast, the definition of evaluation implies judging quality in light of criteria. It is associated with the traditional notion of *qualia*, where no amount of

information about the phenomenon itself suffices for knowledge. These two domains developed separately and it took some time until evaluation was discussed as a legitimate process in research and until research methods were introduced into evaluation. The critical feature of an integrative paradigm for research and evaluation in career is one in which aspects of consciousness and natural phenomena are considered together. Intentionality, the construct that is central to the paradigm proposed in this chapter, implicitly joins natural phenomena to goals and thereby to worth. Thus, the proposed paradigm is integrative in bringing natural phenomena and *qualia* together, and thus linking research and evaluation. Intentionality also serves to integrate *noema* and *noesis*, that is, an experienced phenomenon and its mode of being experienced (Sharoff, 1995). These steps listed here in a telegraphic manner took a long time to develop in the philosophy of science and are still only seldom encountered in educational and vocational guidance research and evaluation.

This chapter begins with an overview of action theory as an explanation of career. This paradigm is then illustrated by applying it to the issue of what constitutes a life-enhancing career, under the assumption that educational and vocational guidance is ultimately directed at facilitating such careers. How the paradigm is applied to research and evaluation in career is discussed with reference to what it allows researchers, programme evaluators, and counsellors to do, the procedures for its use in research and evaluation are provided, and its use in counselling, one of the primary means of educational and vocational guidance, is described.

The Contextual Action Theoretical Paradigm

Consider the client in an educational and vocational guidance programme. This hypothetical client reflects an image of person, who can understand the aims and goals of other people, draw them into his or her goals, and join them in actions and projects in such a way that a number of important goals are achieved. The tasks and personal issues that the client is involved in alone or with others point toward these goals. The client can perform actions, not disturbed or inhibited by traumatic emotional memories. He or she can work on projects and is skilled in participating in them, that is, the client reflects and responds to social and cognitive-emotional issues, and how a project may be organised. At the same time, he or she maintains personal goals while engaging in the project. The client has a sense and appreciation of life coherence and meaning identified in terms of goals, both striven for and achieved, how these goals are organised across time. He or she also has a sense of happiness and being appreciated by others.

The optimal processes described above should be addressed, understood, and supported in life generally. Moreover, they should be specifically fostered in career guidance programmes. The assumptions that under gird this scenario have recently been addressed and discussed by various professionals, often in terms of positive psychology (Snyder & Lopez, 2002). Contextual action theory provides a conceptual framework or paradigm for understanding these processes.

The contextual action theory of career is based on the notion that the common experience of people both within educational and vocational guidance programmes and in their lives more generally is that their own and other people's behaviours are understood as goal-directed actions (Young et al., 1996, 2002). This framework for how people understand and make sense of human behaviour looks to the goals of action and other action processes rather than the causes of behaviour for understanding. It posits a significant link between action, project, and career. *Action* refers to the intentional goal-directed behaviour of persons. When several discrete actions that occur over a mid-length period of time are constructed as having common goals, we consider them a *project*. Finally, when projects coalesce over a long period of time and have a significant place in one's life, then we can speak of *career*.

In addition to being goal-directed, action is cognitively steered and regulated, that is, as persons act, they steer that action based on their thoughts and feelings. Action is also socially influenced. In the case of joint actions, the steering and regulation of action reflects communicative as well as internal processes. Finally, action is also represented in specific conscious and unconscious behaviours that the person uses in engaging in the action.

The action theoretical paradigm proposed here has a significant social dimension. By conceptually linking action, project and career, we have already moved beyond the idea of the individual – whether considered from the perspective of personality traits or individual decisional processes – to ideas of joint action and the embedding of actions in socially constructed projects and careers. The intentionality that was mentioned before reflects, at one level, the individual intentions of the actors that they both bring to and are generated within actions. We agree with Shotter (1993) that joint action captures intentionality that is not fully accounted for by the individual intentions of the participants.

This paradigm suggests a definition of career that differs from many definitions of this term. Essentially, career can be defined as "a superordinate construct that allows people to construct connections among actions, to account for effort, plans, goals, and consequences, to frame internal cognitions and emotions, and to use feedback and feed forward processes" (Young & Valach, 1996, p. 364). This long-term construction is dependent on the construction of *projects* of a mid-term length, and projects are only possible when they can be seen as relevant actions that are associated through common and hierarchically linked goals.

In this definition, the authors made an important conceptual link between action and career. It also uncouples the link between career and occupation, suggesting that long-term, life-sustaining goals can and are found in other areas of life. Career is not simply an occupation or a series of occupations. In modern parlance, career is understood as a central construct through which people make sense not only of specific aspects of their lives, but major domains over extended periods of time. Mid-term projects provide an important link between actions and career and need more careful attention in the evaluation of vocational and educational guidance.

One can readily identify the goal-directedness of action both within career counselling programmes and in the daily lives of people. The goal-directedness of action can be discussed and understood as intentionality, which is to say that actions, projects and careers are about something. What they are about reflects the intentionality of the action. This paradigm reflects a strong view of intentionality.

These systems are further specified as being organised at several levels. Long-term career, mid-term projects, and short-term actions can be considered at the level of meaning (what meaning can and is offered and realised through them). Meaning is captured through the goals that an action, project or career has. We recognise the social dimension of human action has considerable influence on meaning or goals. A second perspective on action, projects and career involves the internal or communicative processes that the persons engage in steering them. Finally, there is the perspective of the actual behaviour that the person engages in and the structural and personal resources as well as unconscious processes that support or detract from that behaviour.

Notwithstanding the conceptual link established among action, project and career, they are distinguished on the length of time that one is involved in them as well as the significance of how particular actions and projects are hierarchically organised within careers. As actions take on a longer time perspective as a project or career, they inevitably imply greater social connection. These projects and careers are constructed in the context of roles, norms, laws, and expectations of larger and more complex social groups. One can readily engage in a caring action toward another person for a few minutes without significant reference to the larger social context. However, the caring actions and projects that contribute to the career of a parent can only be fully understood in the larger social context in which it is lived out. Thus, this view is that this contextual action paradigm for career provides an important link to culture (Young, Marshall, & Valach, 2007). Action relates an individual to his or her culture. Goals, cognitive and social processes, and behaviours are transparent and available within cultures, and cultures are continually reconstructed by them. Career, through actions and projects over the long term, allows one to relate to the complexity of environments in which we participate over time, that is, our culture or cultures. It is through career that one can engage more fully with culture and it is culture that allows us to engage in career. This is a complex interaction as both career and culture are high order constructs. But culture represents more than individual beliefs and opportunities, and career more than either action or project.

The contextual action theory framework for career is itself not prescriptive. It does not describe what should be the case. Rather it is a conceptual framework that allows for understanding the constituent parts of career. By examining each of the constituent parts, we can propose what may be life-enhancing rather than life-limiting. The critical feature is that, because this paradigm posits interrelated systems, process and levels for our understanding of career, it allows a more detailed response to what comprises the life-enhancing career.

Life-Enhancing Career

This paradigm based on goal-directed action leads us several steps closer to issues of quality in research and evaluation in educational and vocational guidance by linking natural phenomena to the consciousness within which goals are held, as was pointed out earlier. Thus far, a framework for understanding goals, and internal and social processes and behaviours that compose action has been developed. But, the goals themselves were not yet identified. At some level to identify goals explicitly would be to undermine the representation of intentionality in the assessment of quality. It would suggest that the person him- or herself, with his or her individual and joint goals, is not important in understanding how this paradigm can address what should be the case in life. Indeed, one may argue that the opposite is the case, that the contribution of this paradigm is that it links goals to natural phenomena. Nevertheless, this paradigm can be used to illustrate how a life-enhancing career can be formed through the attention to action, project and career, and thus gently point to evaluative criteria in research and evaluation.

From time immemorial, philosophers and religious leaders have been interested in what composes the good life, or what makes a life good, or worth living. Among the answers are various combinations of knowledge, friendship, beauty, altruism, and acting out of sense of duty. In the same vein, the phrase "to love and to work" has been attributed to Freud in answer to the question of what constitutes mental health. Vaillent (2003) suggested psychiatry's recent attempts to identify the factors contributing to positive mental health, including models of normality, positive psychology, and maturity, must take into account the capacity to love and to work over time as well as the assessment of social competence and coping style. Similar questions have been asked in the field of occupational psychology. For example, Warr (2002) identified the psychological attributes of work that are seen as important for psychological well-being. These include personal control, and opportunities for using one's skills and for interpersonal contact.

All of these characteristics of the good life reflect, in one way or another, the action theoretical paradigm that has been proposed for the field of career. But these findings represent a rather static understanding of traits, statuses, or environments. What is added in the paradigm proposed here is their grounding in a conceptual framework that includes the dynamic relation among action, project and career. That is, rather than consider one or other characteristic of the good that may contribute to a long-term goal, such as friendship or altruism, a work status, such as number of years employed, or a work environment that provides opportunities to use a skill, a comprehensive answer can be approached by using the levels of the organisation of goal directed systems as action, project, and career and the levels of action organisation implying the meaningful goal level, the level of steering and control of the cognitive-emotional and interactive action and the level of action elements with its process of regulation.

While critical moments of decision are important, the good life is also composed of the actions of everyday life. Kupperman (1999), for example, suggested that the life worth living is created between the moments of the big decisions such as occupation, education, or having a family. This is true in vocational guidance as

well, when, for example, we consider that significant decisions are supported by longer periods of exploration and trial. The point here is that an integrative paradigm has to include everyday actions as well as larger frameworks and phenomena such as those identified as career.

The question of what composes the good life, although broad, can be re-phrased in the career field as, "What comprises a life-enhancing career?" By life-enhancing, is meant one that intensifies or increases the quality of life. It denotes careers that lead one to fullness and can be understood as maintaining the human person over a long period of time, despite the negative turns and twists of fate. The notion of the life-enhancing career is proposed because evidence suggests that all careers, and the occupations that contribute to them, are not necessarily life-enhancing. In fact, many would report careers that are life-limiting, life-diminishing, and even life-destroying.

Answers to questions similar to the one that was posed above are emerging from various areas of psychology, for example, positive psychology (Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000), strength-based counselling (Smith, 2006), and posttraumatic growth (Tedeschi, Park, & Calhoun, 1998). The particular answer to the question, "What comprises a life-enhancing career?" is based on the contextual action theory of career that has been described above and elsewhere (Young et al., 1996, 2002). The rationale for answering this question is at the core of the counselling perspective presented here and critical to research and evaluation in this area.

At first glance, the challenge to answer the question of the life-enhancing career seems formidable but by breaking it down into its constituent parts the answer becomes manageable and useful to counsellors. The answer is directly related to the issue of assessment and evaluation in career guidance. The possibility of generating an integrative paradigm for research and evaluation in educational and vocational guidance requires it address comprehensiveness and specificity. Unless our understanding of career has breadth and depth, then subsequent evaluations of career guidance programmes are apt to be piecemeal and fragmentary. The approach requires the specificity to allow the evaluator or researcher to look in detail at a range of career components and processes and broad enough to see them in the context of the whole (related to each other).

Table 32.1 presents a range of components involved in the life-enhancing career. It reflects the two dimensions identified in the contextual action theory of career, that is, the systems of goal directed processes in forms of action, project and career and the levels of action organisation. Reading across the table from left to right, you will see that the conceptual relationship between action, project and career has been posited, that is, meaningful goal-directed actions can lead to motivated participation in projects, which, in turn, can lead to a life-enhancing career in the long-term. In each case, an evaluative word has been added to denote that it is not just any action, project or career that is on interest, but actions that are meaningful, projects that reflect motivated participation, and careers that are life enhancing. The implication is that the evaluative terms are linked as well.

The levels of goals, internal and social processes, and elements are provided when one reads the table from top to bottom. The meaning level represents how specific actions, projects, and career represent goals and how these goals fit into the

Table 32.1 Domains and issues of the life-enhancing career

	Meaningful goal-directed actions	Motivated participation in projects generated by actor and/or others	Life-enhancing career
At the level of meaning	• Shared action goals • Relevant to projects and career	• Joint, goal-directed projects • Cooperative • Emotionally sensitive • Relevant to career and identity	• Long-term meaning of life • Socially integrated • Emotionally satisfying
At the level of functional processes	• Serving identity and goal processes • Emotional and cognitive components	• Mid-term challenging • Successful steps • Positive feedback in cooperative undertakings • Emotionally functional	• Long-term challenging • Allowing predictability and novelty • Attendance to emotional issues
At the level of unconscious and conscious behaviour, structural support, resources	• Energy • Cognitive and emotional regulation • Skills • Habits	• Adequate structural support • Predictable and manageable time order • Adequate emotional resources	• Long-term adequate time and sequence • Structural properties • Resources • Functional emotional regulation

larger pictures of our lives. These actions, projects and career are steered through internal and social processes (our thoughts and feelings and our interactions with others). Finally, the specific verbal and non-verbal behaviour that we engage in is represented at the third level. This level also recognises that unconscious processes are likely at play in people's behaviour. As well, it suggests that behaviour is supported or not supported, as the case may be, by structural variables and resources, and that functional emotional regulation, skills, and habits are critical.

The cells of this table are illustrated with specific concepts and constructs. The effort here is to be illuminating rather than comprehensive, but the items in the table go a long way to describe the components of the life-enhancing career. Some examples of the relationship among the components of the table follow. One cannot expect a person to engage in a meaningful joint project if he or she does not have the skills needed to engage in the actions in that domain. The International Labour Office considers employment skills to be a crucial factor worldwide in sustaining and enhancing opportunities through work (International Labour Office (ILO), 2006). In Young and colleagues' research, they have repeatedly run into the lack of time and poor time management as deterrents to the joint projects of parents and adolescents pertinent to the adolescent's future (e.g., Young et al., 2006). Further, the possibility of a long-term, life-enhancing career in the occupational sense, is being continually eroded by massive economic and social changes in the world of work. Sennett (1998), for example, did not use the goal-directed language of this chapter but essentially argued that changes in the structural properties of work

through increased competition, flexibility, globalisation and other factors may be associated with the experience of betrayal (attendance to emotional processes – cognitive and emotional steering) and lack of relational connection (at the level of meaning) needed for the life-enhancing career.

More challenging is to appreciate the place of steering processes in these three systems of action. One can readily recognise that as one engages in action, at the moment, one has thoughts and feelings which serve to guide that action in the moment, for example, the anxiety a person may experience at a job interview (McCarthy & Goffin, 2004). For mid-term projects, one's cognitive and emotional steering requires that tasks remain challenging, that there is positive feedback, and success is experienced. For example, Salmela-Aro, Näätänen, and Nurmi (2004) showed that personal work projects offered a heuristic framework for understanding and reducing negative emotions at work, pointing out the salience of the connection between projects and internal processes. For longer-term careers, one expects that the steering processes will involve a succession of necessary steps, a regular attendance to important issues such as those related to emotional and physical well being and the relevance of these steps to the overall goals and values.

Finally at the level of meaning, the issue of meaningful goal-directed individual and shared actions and projects are addressed. The relevance of actions to projects and career is of decisive value. Ongoing alternate attention would have to be paid to the relevant projects in the person's life, not only to occupational or educational ones, but also to identity, relational, and emotional projects. Their quality stems from their regulatory value and their contribution to the larger long-term goal-directed system the persons engage in. In the career systems the issue would be the contribution of the career to satisfactory projects and actions as well as to issues of meaning of life, spiritual qualities, individual and community existence, survival, and flourishing. A range of studies have shown the significance of the meaning level of anticipated or realised long-term career (e.g., Bauer & McAdams, 2004; King & Napa, 1998).

It would be presumptuous to imply that this explanation of the life-enhancing career closes the circle on our search for the good life. Although life-enhancing careers are possible, people never experience them as complete. One's search for meaning continues. The question of career, of "What kind of life am I to have?", is an existential and ethical question that no amount of technical and rational knowledge can fully answer. As an open system, new actions, projects and careers arise and are, or potentially are, continually in the making. The call for participation and engagement in life, the sense of responsibility, and the ongoing desire for meaning making reflect aspects of intentionality that ensures the openness of this system.

Research and Evaluation Methods

The specific means to conduct research and evaluation studies in career guidance using the action theoretical paradigm have been described before (see Valach, Young, & Lynam, 2002; Young, Valach, & Domene, 2005). These methods include the following.

The Unit of Analysis

The action is the unit of analysis in research and evaluation framed from an action theoretical perspective. This unit of analysis is in contrast to the person, which has typically been the unit of analysis in career guidance studies. Particular studies may assume a unit of analysis that is an extension of action, that is, they may focus on project or career. More specifically, it is the action in which the person or persons are involved jointly. In the case of projects, this can be represented as a series of actions over time that the parties involved in it see as having common joint goals. For example, the family career development project as the series of parent-adolescent actions pertinent to the adolescent's future has been identified and researched (e.g., Young et al., 2006).

Data Gathering

Data gathering that reflects the perspectives on action has been proposed as outlined earlier, that is, it is recommended to collect data from the three perspectives, manifest behaviour, internal processes, and social meaning (Young et al. 2005). First, video-recording is used to collect data about the manifest behaviour involved in the action, but other means to observe and record the manifest behaviour associated with action are also appropriate, including self-observation. The focus, however, in collecting data about the manifest behaviour of action is to have a concrete record of behaviour for use during the analysis. Second, data are gathered about the internal processes that participants use to steer and guide their action. These thoughts and feelings are gathered immediately following the action through the use of the self-confrontation procedure (Young, Valach, Dillabough, Dover, & Matthes, 1994). During this procedure, the manifest behaviour just collected on video is played back for the person or persons separately, the video is stopped at intervals of one or two minutes – depending on the length of the meaningful action unit, and the person is asked to recall what he or she was thinking or feeling at the time of the action that has just be replayed on the video. Data on the person's internal processes while the action is taking place can also be gathered through diaries and other self-assessment forms where the person is asked to recall thoughts and feelings about a current or just completed action (e.g., Csikszentmihalyi & Larson, 1984). Finally, data are collected about the social meaning of action by encouraging the persons themselves and others, such as naïve observers, to comment on the action as appropriate. One source of this social meaning data is provided in the self-confrontation interview, where the partners comment on each other's actions, but other means of accessing the naïve observations of the participants' cultural and language community represent suitable ways to collect social meaning data, including interviews and diaries. The critical factor in data-gathering is not the specific data gathering means described above, but that the researchers and evaluators

obtain substantial data from the three data sources identified. When taken together these data can contribute significantly to understanding the action in question.

Analysis

The research or evaluation question is critical in the analysis of the data just described. Essentially, the method requires that, as a result of the analysis, researchers are able to describe the actions in question, and then to infer to the participants' projects and careers. The analysis as proceeding from description to organisation has been described (Young et al., 2005). Two critical steps in the analysis are working from both a top-down as well as a bottom-up fashion. In the top-down procedure, the effort is to identify broad intentional frameworks and series of goals and sub goals for the participants involved in the action, as well as to identify their joint goals. Subsequently a bottom-up analysis is undertaken in which the specific verbal and non-verbal behaviour involved in the action is analysed at a micro level and attention is paid to regulation of behaviour and to unconscious and subconscious processes, to the extent that access to these processes is available. This analysis of behavioural elements is then used to identify the functional steps that are subsequently related to previously identified goals and sub goals. Finally, the identification of action steps comes together in a comprehensive description of the action, project, or career under scrutiny.

Application of the Action Theory Paradigm to Counselling

Counselling is one of the primary processes in educational and vocational guidance. One of the important reasons for choosing the action theory informed paradigm for research and evaluation of educational and vocational guidance is its ability to capture how counselling itself is organised and encountered. An attempt will be made to make the case below that counselling can be understood and practised from an action-theoretical paradigm. If this paradigm is heuristic in understanding counselling, then its use as a framework for research and evaluation of counselling is warranted. In this discussion, counselling is the used as a case in point. This discussion can be applied to other formal and informal educational and vocational guidance interventions and programmes.

When meeting clients, counsellors have to offer their professional services in such a way that the clients will be able to unfold, develop, and expand their ongoing projects and career in both their narrative and the actual process of the encounter with the counsellor. Clients' narratives may represent some or all of the nine cells depicted in Table 32.1. Counsellors have to initially encourage the construction of the narrative as a whole, but recognise that the perspectives and organisation of any narrative can be extensive. Counsellors also have to assist clients to present themselves

as self-responsible, meaning-making, and goal-directed agents who experience themselves in this way in the encounter with the counsellor, thus giving them good reasons to believe that they will proceed in a similar manner in their actions and projects following counselling.

Joint Actions During the Counselling Encounter

To organise the encounter with clients, counsellors should aim at identifying and using significant joint actions and projects between themselves and their clients. One possibility for the counsellor is to help clients understand their own goals. Counsellors can inform their clients that they will assist them by helping to identify their goals. In turn, clients will see the counsellor as someone who takes them seriously, who understands them, and who also will help them to achieve their goals. Counsellors can encourage clients to provide narratives of the ongoing action, projects and career with which they can work. Counsellors have to show that they take the clients' feelings seriously and understand them accurately. This is particularly the case when clients show emotion related to traumas they have experienced in their life career (Michel, Dey, Stadler, & Valach, 2004). At the same time as recognising, addressing, and understanding these feelings, counsellors have to respect the client's narrative in which client emotion is embedded.

Counsellors can assist in the joint construction of the narratives by helping clients to transform their ideas and experiences to a linguistic form, while being supported during this process. As this often is difficult to achieve in one interview, a procedure was adopted, which helps us in repeatedly returning together with the clients to the interview to address issues at various levels. The video supported feedback, called the self-confrontation interview, which was discussed earlier as a data collection procedure, can also be used in practice. It consists of video recording the interview and subsequently playing back meaningful segments to the clients to discuss specific issues (Valach, Michel, Dey, & Young, 2002; Young et al., 1994). Counsellors can ask about and attend to the feelings and thoughts clients had during the interview, and they can ask about additional information such as context or background data, about client assumptions, or the implications of particular statements. This procedure allows counsellors to limit their interruptions during the interview itself to a minimum without losing anything.

Joint Goal-Directed Processes Preceding Counselling

Our empirical research, informed by this action theoretical paradigm, has shown that people organise their ongoing life processes in terms of actions, projects, and career (e.g., Young et al., 2001, 2006). These actions, projects, and careers also serve individuals as a cognitive and social organisation scheme or frame of reference

for their experiences as well as a means for them to present their lives and their involvement in their lives. Once given the authority and the freedom to steer the joint actions with counsellors according to their own standards, clients will provide narratives that are built up in this way. In various studies with the clients involved in naturally enfolding conversations with their peers or their family members, we demonstrated how the clients describe their ongoing life processes in terms of joint goal-directed actions, projects and careers (e.g., Young et al., 2001, 2006).

Vocational Actions, Projects, and Career Following Counselling

Any counselling or educational or vocational guidance intervention or programme strives for clients' self responsible agency in organising their lives in terms of goal directed actions, projects and career following the intervention or programme. This is true of naturally occurring guidance, such as the joint actions of parents and adolescents intended to facilitate the adolescent's career development or transition to adulthood, in a trans-generational cultural context (Young, Valach, Ball, Turkel, & Wong, 2003). It also occurs in formal programmes intended to facilitate these types of outcomes, such as the occupational integration of former mental health patients (Valach, Trattnig, Hierlemann, & Young, 2006), for persons who have attempted suicide (Valach, Michel, & Young, 2006; Valach, Michel, Young, & Dey, 2006), and for rehabilitation clients (Valach & Wald, 2002). However, the self-responsibility for organising one's life in terms of goal-directed action, project, and career is evident for a full range of people, including those, who, after traumatic experiences, found a sense of coherence (Antonovsky, 1979) and life meaning (Frankl, 1992).

Conclusion

In this chapter, attempts to show that the action theory paradigm is particularly well suited to research and evaluation in educational and vocational guidance. It is particularly suitable to the extent that educational and vocational guidance is directed toward establishing, maintaining and changing joint processes that are present at the action and project levels. Educational and vocational guidance is not usually directed at structural changes in the client's life, thus, the proposed paradigm does not address structural change explicitly. For example, the purpose of counselling or other educational and vocational guidance programmes is not usually to change directly the economic conditions of a person's life nor to increase the number of occupational opportunities in a particular field. Nor it is expected that structural changes by themselves will engender a good life or a life-enhancing career. Consequently, the role of counsellors lies in supporting their clients in these processes and not in 'repairing' structural or other factors.

As a paradigm for research and evaluation in educational and vocational guidance, the contextual action theory of career accomplishes five goals. It emphasises the processes level of conceptualisation proposed by Savickas (2002) without losing any of the perspectives provided by dispositions, career concerns, or narrative. It opens the understanding of evaluation by focusing on processes as well as outcomes. It shifts the focus of research from studying the "reasons why" phenomena occur to studying the "reasons for" by bringing consciousness and natural phenomena together, that is, its perspective is teleological rather than causal. It recognises formal and informal educational and vocational guidance as a largely joint process. Finally, it sees action, project, and career as open systems in which fundamentally moral questions can and are asked.

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Chapter 33
USING LONGITUDINAL METHODOLOGY IN CAREER GUIDANCE RESEARCH

Jane L. Swanson and Sarah A. Miller

The definition of career rests on the concept that one maintains or progresses in one's work over some long period of time, often the entire lifespan. For example, *career* is described as "the job or series of jobs that you do during your working life, especially if you continue to get better jobs and earn more money" (Cambridge Dictionaries On-line), or "an occupation undertaken for a significant period of a person's life, usually with opportunities for progress" (Oxford Dictionaries). More formally, a career is "an individually perceived sequence of attitudes and behaviors associated with work-related experiences and activities over the span of the person's life" (Hall, 2002, p. 12).

Similarly, the study of careers implies interest in how some aspect of individuals' work lives develop over time. However, research in the field of vocational psychology and career guidance has been criticised for its under use of longitudinal methodology (Hartung, Porfeli, & Vondracek, 2005; Savickas, 2002; Silbereisen, 2002). For example, Savickas (2002) offered several proposals for reinvigorating the study of careers, focusing on a series of issues that "we have come to ignore" (p. 381). He argued that researchers need to increase the use of prospective, longitudinal research designs, particularly to study *development* (vs. vocational behaviour) and to study *careers* (vs. occupations). Savickas also encouraged a focus on development first and careers second, drawing on work in life course sociology and life-span psychology.

Previous authors have made a compelling case for the benefits of increasing longitudinal research. Increasing the frequency of longitudinal research would advance knowledge about vocational development over the lifespan; more important, however, is to conduct longitudinal research that incorporates careful thought and planning. In other words, a few well-crafted studies that are sensitive to expected and unexpected change, and that attend to potential methodological issues, will add more than a multitude of poorly designed studies. Fortunately, an abundance of resources and guidelines exist regarding longitudinal methodology.

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J.A. Athanasou, R. Van Esbroeck (eds.) *International Handbook of Career Guidance*,

© Springer Science + Business Media B.V. 2008

This chapter presents a discussion of the use of longitudinal methodology in career guidance research, using a conceptual framework borrowed from developmental psychology as a way to think about some practical and theoretical issues. Additional methodological issues in designing longitudinal studies are then discussed, including approaches to acquiring longitudinal data through prospective and retrospective designs and through the use of using existing datasets. Although it is beyond the scope of this chapter to provide an exhaustive review of extant longitudinal research, examples from published research will be used to illustrate application of the framework to career guidance research.

The Role of Longitudinal Research in Vocational Psychology

Researchers interested in vocational psychology and career guidance ask a whole host of questions that are well suited to longitudinal methodology. How do childhood activities translate into later career pursuits? Does job satisfaction during initial career entry predict satisfaction at mid-career and beyond? Do career interventions during adolescence have a long-term impact on individuals? How does occupational self-concept develop and become implemented through the lifespan? How do changes in economic and cultural conditions influence the choices that individuals make regarding work?

Questions such as these (and many more) truly cannot be addressed in cross-sectional studies, which typically compare two groups at one single point in time (such as comparing job satisfaction for younger vs. older workers). Cross-sectional studies provide useful information, but do not allow researchers to answer questions regarding actual changes across time. Any observed differences in job satisfaction between younger and older workers could be due to a variety of factors, but the conclusion that "workers become more satisfied over time" is not possible without studying younger workers until they become older workers.

To gain a quick perspective on the state of longitudinal research in vocational psychology, issues of the *Journal of Vocational Behavior, Journal of Career Assessment*, and *Journal of Counseling Psychology* from the last 2 years were examined, as well as some studies outside of these publication outlets or time frame. This admittedly unsystematic review revealed a substantial number of published longitudinal studies, covering a wide variety of topics. Some studies were prospective, most studies used samples well-suited to the research questions, some studies made creative and appropriate use of large existing datasets, some studies included data over very long time intervals, and some studies involved meta-analyses of several datasets. Very few studies involved a sufficient number of measurement occasions. These issues and limitations are to some degree inevitable, at least to some extent, in all longitudinal research. But, the negative effects of these limitations are likely exacerbated by a lack of awareness of the most common methodological issues.

An Example: Stability of Interests

There are many topics within the realm of career guidance and vocational psychology that are particularly amenable to longitudinal research, such as job search behaviour, congruence, satisfaction, career paths, job change, career maturity or adaptability, career commitment. While readers are invited to choose any topic to use as an example throughout the chapter, the topic of stability of interests is quite useful for illustrating these ideas further. Interest stability cannot be studied without a longitudinal design; by definition, stability can only be determined by assessing individuals at two or more points.

Stability of interests has been researched since the 1940s, and recent studies continue to refine the questions and methodology (Low & Rounds, 2007; Low, Yoon, Robert, & Rounds, 2005; Tracey & Robbins, 2005; Tracey, Robbins, & Hofsess, 2005). The understanding of stability of interests has deepened, but there is still much to investigate, including why some people are more stable than others, and what predictable or serendipitous events are likely to lead to a change in interests. Many of these questions remain unanswered because previous studies all used samples of convenience, measured at times that were convenient to the researcher. The theoretical mechanisms underlying stability/change in interests have not been adequately defined, nor have they been systematically sampled, measured, and studied (Swanson, 1999). Stability of interests has been studied among (a) the most persistent folks (e.g., those who stayed in college), (b) people who were easiest to find (by living in the same residential area, or staying in the same occupational field), (c) high school students who were college-bound, (d) people who agreed (self-selected) to participate in later follow-ups, (e) high school or college students who were captive (and unmotivated) audiences, and (f) people who have been in a situation (non-random) to take an interest inventory. These studies are rarely prospective in design so that other contextual or psychological variables can be included as well as the interest inventories. Interest measures are not equivalent across time (from childhood to adolescence to adulthood), nor used in that manner even when they could be. Moreover, researchers are at the whim of commercial test publishers who revamp item pools and scale scores that impede research goals.

Although these methodological issues are particularly evident in studying stability of interests, they present challenges to any research that focuses on the course of a construct over time. A common pitfall is to underemphasise the impact of methodological considerations on the interpretation of results.

First Things First: Defining an Appropriate Sample

There are essentially three approaches to identifying or developing a sample appropriate to the longitudinal questions of interest: (a) prospectively, by collecting data from Time 1 forward through later waves, (b) retrospectively, by collecting data at

the present time by asking respondents to recall earlier events, or by identifying an existing Time 1 data ("shelf" data) and collecting data at Time 2 to build a longitudinal dataset, or (c) using an existing longitudinal dataset. Each of these approaches comes with its own set of issues, some common and some unique. There are threats to internal and external validity that are common across all approaches. As noted later, these cannot be avoided, but can be minimised. Researchers must be alert to these issues at all phases of the research.

Prospective Studies

In designing prospective studies, researchers need to consider issues such as how many waves of data to collect, the spacing of waves, how to measure the passage of time, determining the statistical characteristics of the outcome variables, and preserving these characteristics over time (some of these are discussed later). Researchers also need to deal with important substantive questions regarding what to measure at each wave: What are the primary variables of interest? What are relevant contextual and psychological variables that are crucial to include? What variables are researchers willing to exclude? Moreover, researchers need to clarify whether they are expecting stability or expecting change in the primary variables, and whether the chosen measures are sensitive to constancy or change (or both). Finally, researchers may build in ways to minimise mortality and non-random attrition that could occur before the second (and later) waves of data collection.

In the example of stability of interests, researchers designing a prospective study would have the luxury of deciding what variables to measure during the first wave of data collection that might help explain or predict later stability or change. For example, perhaps the "Big Five" personality factor of Openness to Experience (Digman, 1990; Larson, Rottinghaus, & Borgen, 2005) is related to change in interests over time because individuals high in Openness are more likely to try new activities than those low in Openness. Thus, measuring personality at Time 1 would allow researchers to test the hypothesis that personality predicts stability of interests.

Retrospective Studies

The typical meaning of a "retrospective" longitudinal design (also called a quasi-longitudinal design) is to ask participants to recall events that occurred at some earlier time. Such recall may be compromised by poor memory and distortions. However, there is another meaning of "retrospective," which solves some problems and raises others: It is possible build a longitudinal dataset retrospectively through a variety of avenues, some planned and some serendipitous. Researchers may find data on a shelf, in a box, or stored electronically, and decide to contact the participants to collect follow-up data; these are "retrospective" in the sense that the Time

1 data is accessible to the researchers but they had no control over its collection, and so no input into any of the issues discussed earlier. In these cases, researchers are in a position of making do with what is available to them, including creative interpretation or reframing of data that exists from Time 1, to fit their questions of interest.

One particularly thorny set of issues relates to the equatability, validity, and precision of measurement at later times: A measure used in childhood or adolescence may not be appropriate or the scale scores not easy to equate with those obtained in adulthood. Threats to internal validity may be out of the researchers' control, yet nonetheless need to be addressed and acknowledged. In addition to looking backward and dealing with the current data collection, researchers also ought to be looking ahead to Time 3 and later, in terms of the kind of planning that prospective studies afford: What are the primary and contextual variables that should be included at Time 2 in anticipation of later waves? How can mortality and self-selection be minimised? Thus, a retrospective study may also serve as a launching point for a future prospective study.

Stability of interests has been most frequently studied via retrospective designs, where researchers collect Time 2 data – over short or long time intervals – from participants for whom Time 1 data has already been collected for some purpose. For example, some early studies of interest stability were conducted by recontacting some years later individuals who participated in the development of occupational scales for interest inventories such as the *Strong Interest Inventory* (Harmon, Hansen, Borgen, & Hammer, 1994).

Using Existing Datasets

Several large-scale, multiple-wave datasets are publicly available to researchers, yet have not been used very frequently by vocational psychologists. These datasets typically are sociological, economic, or educational in nature and philosophy; on the surface they may not seem readily suitable, and so researchers may need to delve into the datasets to envision the possibilities. Datasets that have been used by vocational psychologists in the United States include the National Educational Longitudinal Study, developed by the U.S. Department of Education (National Center for Education Statistics, n.d.; see Diemer, 2007, as an example), the Youth Development Study conducted at the University of Minnesota (see Porfelli, 2007, as an example) and a series of surveys known as the National Longitudinal Surveys, developed by the U.S. Department of Labor (Bureau of Labor Statistics, n.d.). However, others also are available to researchers, such as the Health and Retirement Survey (HRS, n.d.), funded by the National Institute on Aging and available through the University of Michigan. Another type of existing dataset is not widely available to researchers, but frequently used to examine longitudinal questions, such as those maintained by testing companies such as ACT (e.g., ACT, 1995).

On the other hand, existing datasets have their own drawbacks. The primary and most obvious disadvantage is that a researcher has no control over the variables and

how they are measured. Many of the problems parallel those apparent in other longitudinal research, such as variables that are not equatable between occasions due to changes in how they were measured. Moreover, because these datasets were developed and continue to be managed by sociologists and economists, the variables occasionally do not meet the mark as psychological variables. For example, what the HRS describes as a measure of "personality" is not related to the widely used Five-Factor model (Digman, 1990), thus limiting its conceptual linkage to the substantial body of psychological literature on personality.

As previously mentioned, developmental psychologists face these challenges in their research and have consequently become experts in longitudinal design. The field of developmental psychology in itself is dedicated to the study of change over time. The next section of the chapter focuses on the contributions of those psychologists who are intimately familiar with longitudinal methodology.

Longitudinal Design Models from Developmental Psychology

The field of developmental psychology offers valuable approaches to studying phenomena over the lifespan. If vocational psychology and career guidance researchers want to recommit to conducting longitudinal studies, particularly prospective ones, then familiarity with the terrain of developmental psychologists is necessary. Some of their methods will need some translation, and some will not fit the study of vocational behaviour. What vocational psychologists study may not be "developmental" in the same terms. Vocational researchers may not expect systematic change or growth over time in the same way that developmental psychologists do. However, longitudinal methodology is the *sine qua non* of developmental psychology, the only way to truly study stability and change over the lifespan, and there are some important conceptual issues that could inform the way that research is conducted in vocational psychology.

In a superb text on longitudinal data analysis, Singer and Willett (2003) described two general categories of developmental research designs: (a) modelling *change* over time, and (b) investigating the occurrence and timing of *events*. So, in some studies, researchers are interested in how people mature and develop; in others, they study whether and when events occur. In career guidance research, researchers might ask how interests develop and unfold from childhood through adolescence into and through stages of adulthood; and also might ask whether substantial changes occur in individuals' interests and career directions, and if so, at what point in the lifespan these changes are most likely to occur. In terms of design and analysis, these two categories of questions treat time as a predictor (in the case of change) and time as an outcome (in the case of events) (Singer & Willett, 1996).

Singer and Willett (2003) noted that major advances in statistical methods allow answers to questions that were posed (and often discarded) earlier. While discussion of specific statistical techniques is beyond the scope of the present chapter, it is important to acknowledge that one can analyse data obtained over multiple

longitudinal intervals, and often in quite complex ways. In fact, the increased availability of large longitudinal data sets has contributed to the proliferation of complex multivariate analytic strategies (Bollen & Curran, 2006).

Describing and Predicting Change over Time

The first category of developmental research design focuses on *change* over time, and incorporates several sub models and statistical techniques. Researchers studying change over time are interested in group, within-person, and between-person change (Bollen & Curran, 2006; Singer & Willett, 2003). In the case of stability of career interests, researchers seek to describe the degree of stability or change for a sample as a whole (e.g., how stable are interests during adolescence?) as well as for individuals within the sample (e.g., are there different patterns of stability or change during adolescence?). Further, what variables might predict these different patterns (e.g., are those who make a career decision at a younger age more or less likely to change?).

This developmental framework allows an integrative approach to analysing change, so that within-person and between-person questions about change can be addressed at the same time. Of particular interest is the shape of each person's pattern of change over time, or their "individual growth trajectory". Growth trajectory is a uniquely developmental concept, but it clearly has relevance to career guidance research. In studying stability of interests, for example, researchers could examine "trajectories" of interests for individuals over the elementary and secondary school years, to summarise how each person changes over time. Different patterns of interest development could then be further examined for their association with other predictor variables, such as classroom or extracurricular experiences, parental involvement, cognitive development, and self-efficacy experiences.

To measure change, one needs a longitudinal design; however, not all longitudinal studies are suited to measuring change. Singer and Willett (2003) outline three critical characteristics: (a) three or more waves of data collection, (b) a "metric" for quantifying the passage of time, and (c) an outcome variable whose values change systematically over time. While these three features might seem to be obvious, researchers need to consider them carefully when designing a longitudinal study focusing on change.

Three or More Waves of Data

As noted earlier, cross-sectional data cannot be used to make conclusions about change. Longitudinal studies that collect data from the sample individual at two different times allow for stronger conclusions about change, yet Singer and Willett (2003) noted that collecting data at two different times is still not sufficient for truly analysing change. In two-wave studies, change typically is conceptualised as the simple difference between scores obtained on two occasions; for example, an

increase in career maturity as measured in secondary school and 4 years later in university. Change is thus viewed as gaining or losing a "chunk" of something (Singer & Willett, 2003, p. 10), in this case, career maturity. But the size of that "chunk" does not describe the *process* of change, for two reasons. First, it does not reveal the *shape* of each person's pattern of change. Did all the increase in career maturity occur immediately after the first assessment in high school? Did it increase steadily into the university years or dramatically just before the second assessment? Second, true change cannot be distinguished from measurement error. In a classic case of regression to the population mean, if scores at the first testing are too low due to measurement error and scores at the second testing are too high due to measurement error, then one might conclude erroneously that scores increase over time.

Another circumstance related to an insufficient number of waves of data relates to studies that are focused on the effects of a treatment or intervention. A common practice is to administer measures both pre- and post-treatment. However, these results may not reflect participants' responses at times before or after treatment. Post-test results might show that the intervention had immediate effects, but lasting effects may only be determined by delayed post-testing (which is rarely implemented). The more waves of data collected, the better, particularly when it comes to applying complex statistical models.

Several recent career-related studies illustrate the use of multiple waves of data. Salmela-Aro and Nurmi (2007) analysed the change in self-esteem measured four times during university study and again 10 years later, using latent growth curve modelling; differences in self-esteem were found to predict work-related outcomes such as stable employment, salary, job satisfaction and work engagement. Elfering, Semmer, Tschan, Kälin, and Bucher (2007) used three waves of data to describe workers' positive and negative experiences as they transitioned into their first jobs, 1, 2, and 4 years after completing job training. Athanasou (2002) used a sample of Australian adolescents tested annually for a 7-year period after leaving school, to examine patterns in interests and occupations in terms of Holland's typology. These three studies (and others) demonstrate the utility of multiple waves of data collection in observing change over time.

A Metric for Quantifying the Passage of Time

Because time is the fundamental predictor in every study of change, it is important to consider how time is quantified in a particular study, and to measure it reliably, validly, and logically. In developmental psychology, age or grade are the most commonly used metrics, but research related to careers might define different metrics, including months since intake, years since graduation, tenure in first job, etc. Singer and Willett (2003) advise researchers to adopt whatever scale makes the most sense for the outcomes and the research question. They use as an example the longevity of automobiles, in which "time" could be measured in age, miles, number of trips, number of oil changes; each scale denotes the passage of time, but has different assumptions and consequences. There may be multiple, suitable metrics to use in a given study; the point is to choose one that "reflects the cadence" expected to be most

useful for observing the outcome (Singer & Willett, 2003, p. 11). In research on career counselling, it might be weeks, number of sessions, elapsed time since a test interpretation. In research on childhood or adolescent career development, it is likely to be age or grade. For stability of interests, perhaps years or decades. Another decision related to time is how to space the waves of data collection. The goal is to collect sufficient data to provide a reasonable view of change over time, but there is no specific reason that waves need to be equally spaced; again, researchers are advised to choose spacing of waves that make sense given the variables under study.

Continuous Outcome that Changes Systematically over Time

Analytical techniques used in developmental psychology, such as individual growth models, are designed for outcome variables that are continuous in nature (vs. nominal- or ordinal-level data), and that are expected to change in some systematic fashion. For example, in examining vocational interests, developmental analyses would be less well suited for analysing interest types (such as those represented by Holland's theory, 1997), or even for the continuous scores produced by a variety of interest inventories, because a specific interest might not be expected to change over time. However, there are other ways to represent interests longitudinally that would be well suited to developmental analyses. For example, we might expect interests to become more clearly defined or differentiated with time, or to become more complex in terms of their emerging structure (as Tracey and colleagues have noted with childhood interests; Tracey, 2001, 2002; Tracey & Ward, 1998).

Important characteristics of "continuous" measurement are well known, such as being able to support arithmetic manipulations. Further, the importance of choosing measures with solid psychometric qualities is also well established. Longitudinal research that focuses on the study of change imposes three additional requirements: The metric, validity, and precision of measuring the outcome all must be preserved over time. "Outcome equatability" relates to preserving the metric over time – a given value of the variable on any occasion must represent the same amount of the variable, or be "equated," on every occasion. This is easiest to achieve if the same measure is used on every occasion, but this is not always appropriate. For example, studies of childhood interests and of adolescent interests use measures that are based on the same theoretical underpinnings, but the measures themselves vary according to the age of the participants. Outcomes also must be equally valid across all measurement occasions, and the precision/reliability of measuring an outcome should be equivalent over time, so that errors are not introduced by instrument administration.

Investigating the Occurrence of Events

The second type of longitudinal design used in developmental psychology focuses on the occurrence and timing of specific events. This type of design also is conceptually very well suited to questions in vocational psychology. For example, another

perspective on interest stability is to study career change. How frequently does career change occur? Who is most likely to make a career change? When are they most likely to do so? What are the precipitating factors?

Singer and Willett (2003) advised that if research questions include either "whether" or "when" something occurs, then *survival analysis* is the recommended analysis (Hosmer & Lemeshow, 1999). Three methodological features are important in survival analysis: (a) the event to be studied must be well defined, (b) the beginning of the interval in which the event might occur must also be clearly defined, and (c) there must be a meaningful metric for measuring time.

Only three published career-related articles using survival analysis were identified. Two compared the occurrence of the "event" of career choice in East and West German adolescents following the country's reunification in 1990 (Silbereisen, Vondracek, & Berg, 1997; Vondracek, Silbereisen, Reitzle, & Wiesner, 1999), taking family relocation and other contextual variables into account. Results suggested that early vocational choice was associated with advanced identity development. A third study by Ferreira, Santos, Fonseca, and Haase (2007) followed Portuguese individuals from age 7 to age 17, spanning four waves of data. Survival analysis was used to predict persistence in school, with sex, parents' educational level, socio-economic status, antisocial behaviour, and teachers' ratings of behavioural problems contributing significantly to the prediction.

Well-Defined Event

The occurrence of a specific event represents an individual's transition from one "state" to another. A state may be tangibly observable (starting a new job, graduating from university) or unobservable but measurable (career decision status), but the states must be both mutually exclusive (nonoverlapping) and exhaustive (of all possible states). Usually there are only two possible states to occupy (such as employed or unemployed), but there could be more (such as being a college freshman in "state 1," who either persist as "state 2" or drop out as "state 3"). Within vocational psychology, studies of science/math/engineering careers serve as a good example, as researchers frequently study whether students remain in these fields, change to other science-oriented fields, or change to non-science fields (for example, Schaefers, Epperson, & Nauta, 1997).

Some states occur only once, and may only be entered once (first job after college), whereas some states may be re-entered repeatedly (job change). States must be defined precisely, so that it is clear when an individual has entered a different state. This is often the most difficult requirement to meet, and becomes an important measurement issue. For vocational psychologists studying career persistence and change, when is a change truly a "change"? A freshman engineering major (state 1) might change her major to physics or to elementary education. Whereas education would undoubtedly be considered a change, physics might be considered either change or persistence, depending on the criteria and research questions.

Clear Definition of "Beginning of Time"

A second methodological issue in studying the occurrence of events is deciding when to "start the clock" in terms of measuring elapsed time (Singer & Willett, 2003). This start is a defined time when no one in the population has yet experienced the event but everyone could do so. Birth (age) is a popular start time for developmental researchers because it is often the most convenient. A study examining the career decision-making process might begin with a group of undecided university students at the start of the first year; and individuals move from the original state (undecided) to the next state (decided) at measurable time intervals.

Meaningful Metric for Quantifying Time

Quantifying time was discussed earlier in the context of the study of change; here, its relation to the beginning of time is crucial. Once the beginning of time has been identified, researchers then must select the units in which to record its passage. Ideally, time should be recorded in the smallest possible units relevant to the process under study. As before, no single metric is universally appropriate, and different studies of an identical event might use different scales dependent on the researchers' perspectives.

Summary of Developmental Paradigm

Developmental paradigms are particularly well suited for studying the nature of change over time, as well as the occurrence of specific events, and so may be beneficial for vocational psychology research. In particular, the model by Singer and Willett (2003) helps to conceptualise (a) within-individual change over time via charting individual growth trajectories, and (b) interindividual differences in change that might be predicted by other variables. Attending to the methodological issues described by Singer and Willett will improve the quality of conclusions that are feasible from studies of change.

Further, many of the outcomes of interest to vocational researchers are "events" – choice of major or career, entering or leaving educational institutions, changing careers, retirement – about which researchers want to describe whether and/or when they occur. These questions might be fruitfully examined via survival analysis and other associated statistical models.

Additional Methodological Considerations

The issues and limitations noted earlier in existing longitudinal studies in vocational psychology typify those found in all longitudinal research, and, to some extent, are inevitable in all longitudinal research. But, the negative effects of these

limitations are likely exacerbated by a lack of awareness of the most common methodological issues. Although Singer & Willet (2003) addressed many of these issues, there are additional methodological considerations particularly pertinent to the validity of longitudinal studies. These problems are related to design, sampling, measurement, timing, self-selection, non-random attrition, threats to external and internal validity, and other limitations, which are briefly discussed in this section. For a more detailed discussion of threats to validity, and the impact of these threats on the conclusions that may be drawn from research, the reader is referred to Shadish, Cook, and Campbell (2002).

Longitudinal designs are subject to the standard threats to internal validity that accompany repeated measurement of the same individuals, including *history effects* (events occurring between waves that influence the measured variables), *maturation* (changes due to passage of time), *testing/practice effects* (the process of measurement at time 1 influences measurement at time 2), *instrumentation* (changes in instrument or procedures that produce differential outcomes), *selection biases* (who chooses to participate), and *experimental mortality* (loss of subjects during study). Each of these issues is influenced by the length of the time interval that elapses between waves of data collection. In addition, there are some broader issues that weaken the utility of longitudinal studies.

Samples of Convenience

Convenience sampling is a potential hurdle in all research, but it may be more evident in the context of longitudinal designs. Because longitudinal samples are time- and labour-intensive to collect, researchers often conduct research with large samples drawn from pre-existing pools, such as students who have taken a standardised test, or those at a particular university. However, the convenience of these large samples may come at a cost to the overall quality of information obtained. Sampling on the basis of convenience is also relevant to the distinction between prospective and retrospective designs; retrospective studies often are conducted because data becomes available to the researcher.

Timing and Sensitivity of Measures

Measures may not be sufficiently sensitive to change, particularly over the interval of the study; for example, expecting a broad construct such as career maturity to increase during an academic year. Further, the timing of measurement may not be sensitive to when change might occur, but rather be administered at a time convenient to the researcher or setting. Further, as noted earlier, the amount of time and the number of observations should be appropriate given the research question(s). When considering how many observations are needed, researchers would do well to carefully consider when change is likely to occur, how quickly might it happen, and what developmental stages are involved.

Self Selection and Non-random Attrition

Self selection is a threat to external validity in that it may produce a sample that is unrepresentative in many regards. It begs the question, who participates in research? More than likely, it is individuals who have more free time, live in university communities, those who are required to participate, or those who are motivated for various other reasons. Non-random attrition is a particularly difficult issue in longitudinal designs; researchers need to be as vigilant as possible about the mortality or drop-out that occurs in subsequent waves of data collection. Is attrition more likely among specific groups such as women, African Americans, or younger individuals? If so, why?

Confounding of Historical Effects with Age Related Effects

Natural developmental changes may often be confused with the effects of an intervention or event. For example, if participants are under investigation for an extended period of time, they will inevitably mature, gain knowledge outside of any intervention, and will be exposed to any historical events (such as political situations, wars, etc.) and other environmental factors. To avoid this confounding effect, researchers must at a minimum be aware of current trends in employment, and political or economic fluctuations that may influence individuals. In addition, some of the confounding may be minimised by using participants from similar developmental groups.

Lack of Comparison or Control Groups

This is often one of the most challenging obstacles in research, let alone in extended longitudinal designs. Using control or comparison groups has the potential of adding greater validity and reliability to research in that it allows researchers to gain better insight into the unique effects of an intervention or developmental period.

Procedures That Vary Across Time

Changing procedures over time (such as using different assessments, methods of data collections, etc.) also has the potential of confounding the results of an intervention in that different procedures may produce varying trends in individuals, mimicking false effects of the treatment. This is of particular concern in longitudinal designs when certain variables or constructs may be more or less relevant during different developmental stages, or if measures must vary out of necessity because of the developmental progression of the construct under study. If changes must be made, researchers may benefit from calibrating old results with new procedures. One way in which procedures may vary is in the degree of choice vs. forced participation that varies across measurement occasions. For example, high school students may take an interest inventory as part of required achievement

testing, whereas a follow-up assessment is administered during an optional career information class.

Applications of Longitudinal Methodology

A Developmental Approach to the Study of Personality

A recent account (Block & Block, 2006) of an exemplary model of longitudinal research is especially pertinent to the current discussion. Jeanne and Jack Block began in 1968 to produce a quality longitudinal data set that would provide rich prospective information. They embarked upon a landmark study of personality, with an original sample of 128 nursery school children, 104 of which were followed through age 23, and 94 followed until age 32. Extensive observations were made at ages 3, 4, 5, 7, 11, 14, 18, 23, and 32. The richness of the data goes beyond simple frequency of observations, or the developmentally appropriate metric of time. Each wave of data collection consisted of up to 10 hours of extensive measurements using multiple methods of data collection, including information from teachers and parents, self reports, and standardised measurements. Measures were reevaluated at each wave for developmental appropriateness, and, at each observation, some measures were administered several times and averaged to more accurately depict individuals' true scores. Family environments also were observed and measured by various methods such as parental interviews, parental personality inventories, parenting styles, and observations of parent-child interactions.

Of particular interest to the present discussion is the great value gained from the prospective data. Many studies are retrospective in nature, noting present behaviours and correlating them with past events. For example, children of divorced families have been typically described as exhibiting behavioural problems, suggesting that divorce was the precipitating event. However, the Block and Block project identified the personality trends of children who would experience divorce in the future. They found that many of these behaviours were present in children *before* they actually experienced divorce. Their interpretation was similar for other results. For example, they found that participants who later identified as politically conservative versus liberal differed as children on a variety of personality and behavioural indices.

The Block and Block collaboration is exemplary in the care that was taken to avoid numerous obstacles such as measurement timing and sensitivity, attrition, appropriateness of time/developmental measurements, practice effects and numerous other threats to validity, all of which make it a worthy model for future studies. Some may look at this type of research and be overwhelmed by its magnitude. However, as Block and Block noted "If one casts a line only into the shallow waters of a nearby pond, only little fish will be caught. To catch the big fish, it is necessary to venture out into deep water. Psychologists should try for the big fish" (Block & Block, 2006, p. 325).

Recent Applications of Developmental Methodology to Vocational Psychology

If we want to truly study the development of vocational interests (or any other topic) over time, what would we do? This is where paradigms from developmental psychology could inform our work. It is instructive to provide a few recent examples within vocational research, in addition to those cited earlier.

Conducted from a prospective, exploratory perspective, Wiesner, Vondracek, Capaldi, and Porfeli (2003) followed 202 at-risk males from ages 9–10 through age 23 to investigate possible correlates of future career paths of men from lower socio-economic living conditions. The researchers placed great emphasis on noting environmental factors as well as individual factors. Beginning at the ages of 9–10, researchers employed a multimethod, multiagent, annual assessment involving self-reports, interviews with parents and teachers, interaction sessions with peers and parents, home observations, and school and court records. As hypothesized, young men who experienced long-term unemployment came from more disadvantaged backgrounds, including poor parenting skills, associations with deviant friends, and more difficult personal adjustment as adolescents. In contrast, men who came from more stable backgrounds including school success, avoidance of deviant friends, and who experienced better parenting skills, were more likely to be continually employed or to have obtained a college degree. The study's use of structural equation modelling was especially useful in its ability to analyse models of predictors and their associated outcomes.

An additional example of longitudinal designs used within vocational research is provided by ter Bogt, Raaijmakers, and van Wel (2005) in their study of the development of work ethic in adolescents and young adults. Their study followed 620 Dutch adolescents and their parents to examine environmental factors (such as socio-economic status and parental educational levels and work ethic) that led to the development of adult work ethic. Adolescents were measured in three waves each 3 years apart. Again, as in the last example, structural equation modelling was employed to track the fit of various models of work ethic outcomes. For additional examples of exemplary longitudinal research within vocational psychology, see Hansen and Dik (2005), and Pinquart, Juang, and Silbereisen (2003).

Conclusion

Lifespan career patterns, work adjustment, the effects of incongruence, development of career maturity and adaptability, foreclosure of career choice during adolescence, transitions from one stage of career development to another, stability of

interests, the impact of career counselling and other interventions – these all are topics that could benefit from further research using longitudinal methods. Vocational psychology would be well-served by becoming more familiar with and adopting methodology from developmental psychology, particularly frameworks that focus on the patterns and predictors of change over time, and on the occurrence and timing of life events.

Longitudinal research, particularly well-done longitudinal research, is difficult to complete, for all of the reasons discussed in this chapter. However, as Block and Block (2006) noted, we need to "try for the big fish" (p. 325) in order to understand how careers unfold over the lifespan, how individuals make meaning of their work lives, and what factors facilitate positive experiences and smooth transitions. Planning prospective studies, maximizing the use of existing data sets, collecting sufficient data, and attending carefully to problems with sampling, threats to validity and other methodological issues will ensure that longitudinal research truly adds to our understanding of vocational behaviour.

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Chapter 34
EVALUATION OF CAREER GUIDANCE PROGRAMS

Susan C. Whiston and Ilene M. Buck

The *International Handbook of Career Guidance* is intended to provide practitioners and researchers information concerning how to both implement and evaluate career guidance internationally. Dennehy (2003) argued that career guidance must be lifelong, accessible, and meaningful for all individuals. This can be achieved through the national and international levels of collaboration of policy-makers, researchers, trainers, practitioners and other stakeholders to guarantee the integration and evaluation of career guidance services and to ensure that the services are comprehensive and quality driven. This chapter will focus on the evaluation of career guidance programs by first examining the current research related to the effects of career guidance programs or interventions with a focus on general trends on the effectiveness of career guidance. Consistent with other chapters in this volume, the definition of career guidance is quite broad and will include various interventions or programs that are designed to facilitate career and, to some extent, academic and personal development. Second, the authors will discuss how current practices regarding the effectiveness of career guidance programs can be translated into evaluating various programs in diverse settings. This discussion will not provide a list of approved evaluation tools, but will focus on the complexities of thoroughly evaluating career guidance programs with an appreciation of cultural considerations. We will conclude the chapter with recommendations for further research and evaluative studies and provide suggestions on how career counsellors or guidance specialists can work with researchers or scholars to enhance the overall quality of the evaluation of career guidance programs.

Are Career Guidance Programs Effective?

One of the first questions an administrator, parent, or participant may ask is whether a career guidance program is worth either the time or financial investment? Although there is over 50 years of research related to evaluating career guidance

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J.A. Athanasou, R. Van Esbroeck (eds.) *International Handbook of Career Guidance*,

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programs, the answer to whether career guidance programs are effective is equivocal and cannot be adequately answered with a simple response. Meta-analysis studies are an important source of data in examining the effectiveness of career guidance programs. In meta-analytic studies, the mean of those who received the career guidance program is compared to the mean of those who did not receive the treatment in a statistical procedure that combines the results from multiple studies into an average effect size. The average effect size provides a standardised mean difference and indicates the degree to which career guidance programs are effective as compared to no programs (i.e., a control group). There have been three meta-analytic studies that have examined the effectiveness of career interventions. Spokane (1991) defined career interventions as any activity designed to enhance an individual's ability to make improved decisions. In analysing studies on career interventions published before 1982, Oliver and Spokane (1988) found an unweighted effect size of .82; whereas, Whiston, Sexton, and Lasoff (1998), replicating the same procedures as Oliver and Spokane with studies published between 1983 and 1995, found an unweighted average effect size of .45. While these effect sizes may appear discrepant, a careful examination of these findings reflects some similarities in results. Oliver and Spokane reported that their mode and median fell within the .40 to 60 range, which are similar to the effect size of .45. When sample size is considered, the difference between the effect sizes also diminishes. Whiston and colleagues found a weighted effect size of .44, as compared to Oliver and Spokane's weighted by sample effect size of .48. In recent years, a number of researchers (Lipsey & Wilson, 2001) have recommended a procedure for correcting effect size based on sample size and the inverse variance of the effect size. A third meta-analysis, Brown and Ryan Krane (2000) used this procedure and found an overall effect size of .34, which is similar to the effect size of .30 that Whiston et al. (1998) found using this same procedure.

These meta-analyses indicate that a broad range of career interventions are moderately effective. There are, however, some limitations with these meta-analytic reviews. First, the studies in the meta-analyses included interventions that ranged from one session to more systematic programs; however, the average number of sessions was 3.74 (Oliver & Spokane, 1988) and 4.19 (Whiston et al., 1998). Hence, the effect sizes calculated in these studies did not include comprehensive career guidance programs. A second limitation of these meta-analytic reviews is the research used was primarily from studies conducted in the United States and, thus, the findings do not necessarily apply to career guidance programs in other countries.

In England, Bimrose, Barnes, and Hughes (2005) found that approximately 1 year after the participation in the guidance interview, 78% of the 50 adult participants felt that the guidance they had received resulted in direct and positive changes for themselves. In addition, over half of the participants found the guidance interview had enhanced their occupational competence as they engaged in additional education or training.

Although guidance services often vary depending on the country or location of the service provider, Watts and Sultana (2004) found commonalities among the career guidance policies from 37 different countries and concluded that there are

some similarities across countries. They further argued that there is a growing base of positive empirical evidence that consists of immediate learning outcomes, intermediate behavioural changes and long-term outcomes, which are all of significant interest to policy-makers. Hartung (2005) argued that many nations are increasingly recognising the importance of career guidance programs in terms of enhancing the lives of their citizenry and improving the economy of the various nations. Watts and Sultana (2004), however, stressed that career guidance programs are most successful when the process is customised to the needs and cultural conditions of the country.

Which Guidance Modalities Are Effective?

In evaluating career guidance programs, it is important to examine the methods in which the programs are delivered. In examining the career guidance policies in 37 countries, Watts and Sultana (2004) found some convergence among policies but also variation in the methods in which career guidance is delivered. They found that services were provided in several formats, such as individually, group-based, face-to-face, or at a distance (e.g., help-lines and web-based services). In some countries, such as the United States, career guidance is often considered to be part of the school counsellors' responsibilities; however, Whiston, Eder, Tai, and Rahardja (2005) found very few studies related to career guidance in their analysis of school counselling research.

Watts and Sultana (2004) examined the career guidance policies in 37 middle-income countries and found a movement toward self-help approaches. This trend may be reinforced by the expanding number of internet based vocational assessments and occupational information sites on the web (Whiston & Oliver, 2005). This trend toward self-help or counsellor-free career guidance is disturbing given the preponderance of evidence that Whiston, Brecheisen, and Stephens (2003) found regarding the ineffectiveness of counsellor-free career-free interventions. Whiston et al. used meta-analytic techniques to compare differing intervention modalities (e.g., individual career counselling, career classes) and found that interventions involving a counsellor were significantly more effective than those interventions that were counsellor-free. In particular, they found that the combination of computer system and counselling were more effective than allowing individuals to just use a computerised guidance system.

Whiston et al's (2003) findings should not be construed that computer-assisted career decision-making system should not be used, for Gati, Gadassi, and Shemesh (2006) found with an Israeli sample that career counselling accompanied by a career-assisted decision-making system had long-term effects. These researchers found that clients, who 6 years later were in a occupation that matched with suggestions provided by their computerised results, were significantly more likely to be satisfied with their occupational choice than those who were working in an occupation that did not correspond to their earlier computerised results. Sverko, Akik, Baborvic, Brcina, and Sverko (2002) also found support for an Internet-based system for career planning that was developed in Croatia.

Whiston (2002) concluded that the most effective modalities for providing career interventions were individual counselling and career classes. Brown and Ryan Krane (2000) found that there were five critical ingredients that should be included in any method of providing career interventions and these included: written exercises, individualised interpretations, occupational information, modelling and attention to building support. Regarding the guidance interview provided in the United Kingdom, Bimrose, Barnes, Hughes, and Orton (2004) found a high level of agreement among clients, practitioners and expert witnesses about what constitutes useful interventions. They all agreed that usefulness of the interview was related to the following: the welcome and introduction by the practitioner, whether the client felt comfortable in discussing personal information, agreement on a future action plan and issues of respect.

Who Benefits from Career Guidance

More than 20 years ago, Fretz (1981) made an eloquent plea for more research related to which clients benefit from what type of career counselling. Fretz's (1981) call for research on client aptitude-by-treatment interactions is still relevant today where research is needed related to effective interventions for clients at various ages and with different attributes. The research used in the previously discussed meta-analyses (Brown & Ryan Krane, 2000; Oliver & Spokane, 1988; Whiston et al., 1998) involved studies conducted primarily in the United States with college students. Guichard (2003), Killeen and White (2000) and Dennehy (2003) stressed the importance of guidance internationally being lifelong, comprehensive and accessible in a way that is meaningful for people in whatever economic, social, cultural, educational, or personal situation they find themselves in. Clearly, as will be discussed later, more evaluation of career guidance programs that focus on what programs work with which groups of individuals need to be completed and disseminated internationally.

Guichard (2003) argued that although career interventions often emerge from a common theoretical and empirical foundation, the methods for distributing and the types of interventions might depend on the individual country or even educational systems within a country. For example, Guichard pointed out that within Germany there are three types of middle schools as compared to France where there is only one type of middle school. As an example of a study of career interventions with an international population is Portnoi, Guichard, and Lallemand (2004), who investigated the effect of a career intervention designed to increase self-knowledge of French adolescents. Using some innovative outcome measures Portnoi et al. found that students who received feedback regarding their personality based on the "Big Five" factors of personality did develop schemata about themselves and exhibited better self-knowledge about their personality than students in the control group. In Italy, Nota and Soresi (2003) designed an assertiveness training program as indecisive students often present with social skills problems. The researchers found that the

intervention decreased the level of social discomfort and the indecisive students learned to analyze situations, gather information, examine their own wishes and objectives and to effectively communicate this to significant others (Nota & Soresi, 2003).

Commonly Used Outcomes in Career Guidance Research

In Canada, Lalande et al. (2005) found that practitioners, employers and policy makers all agreed that assessment of impact of career guidance is important and current evaluation practices were inadequate. In terms of outcome measures used in career counselling or guidance research, researchers have often used measures of indecision or measures of career maturity (Whiston, 2002) with measures of career maturity tending to be more sensitive to treatment effects. Brown and Ryan Krane (2000) also found large effect sizes associated with career interventions that were evaluated using measures of vocation identity. Lalande et al. (2005), however, found that policy makers were interested in client outcome, particularly as it relates to economic benefits and long-term effects. Reardon (1996) addressed the dearth of published studies in the United States related to the cost-effectiveness of career interventions. This trend was also evident in the United Kingdom, where Bysshe, Hughes, and Bowes (2002) found a lack of evidence to substantiate the economic benefits of career guidance due to insufficient coordination of research efforts.

Increasing Evaluative Practices

In evaluation, Love and Russon (2004) contended that open evaluation practices that consider the setting and culture are more relevant than precise steps that may be applicable in one culture but not another. The following discussion is based on Whiston and Brecheisen's (2002) proposed six-step process for evaluating career counselling programs; however, we suggest that this model should serve as a foundation that readers from various locations can adapt to meet the needs of their context or culture (see Table 34.1). It should be noted that the steps are designed to be sequential, but they should not be interpreted as being prescriptive.

Table 34.1 Steps in program evaluation

Program evaluation
Step 1: Identify focus of evaluation
Step 2: Formulate the evaluation design and procedures
Step 3: Determine evaluation or outcome measures
Step 4: Gather program information
Step 5: Analyse and interpret the program information
Step 6: Use information gained from program evaluation to make decisions

Identify the Focus of the Evaluation

The initial step in evaluating any career guidance program is determining what needs to be evaluated and what specific information is needed. This fundamental step is sometimes omitted because practitioners launch into an evaluation in order to meet a deadline or to respond to some external pressure (e.g., annual evaluations or reports to funding organisations). The fundamental purpose of evaluation is to gather information and it is important to consider what information is needed and why. There is no universal template for conducting an evaluation study of career guidance services, for as Rees, Barlett, and Watts (1999) documented, even in the European countries of Germany, France and England, the focuses of the guidance services are quite different. Nota, Soresi, Solberg, and Ferrari (2005) discussed how various vocational intervention methods with Italian clients have been evaluated in several studies and with different instruments that varied depending on the intervention. In most evaluations, there needs to be a direct connection between the program goals and/or objectives and the evaluation. In this era of accountability, those involved in career guidance programs should ensure that the objectives of the program are measurable. In career guidance programs, developing program objectives simply means stating programmatic goals in quantifiable terms, such as determining the number of clients the program anticipates serving, identifying indicators that the program provides quality services and specifying the expected outcomes of those career services. Reviewing of program goals and objectives can often assist in identifying the focus or central purpose of the evaluation. Furthermore, analysing program goals and objectives can often facilitate program enhancement by simply requiring individuals to reflect on processes and procedures of their guidance program. Some countries, such as Canada, have country-wide competencies. In the case of Canada, they have developed the *Blueprint for Life/Work Designs*, which details competencies people can expect to learn from different career development organisations (Blueprint for Life, 2006). Selecting which competencies the organisation is focused on facilitating can serve as a good beginning to the evaluation process.

In clarifying the focus of the evaluation, one of the initial factors an evaluator needs to consider is whether the evaluation needs to be *formative* or *summative*. According to the Joint Committee on Standards for Educational Evaluation (1994), formative evaluation or feedback concerns the improvement of an ongoing program, whereas, summative evaluation pertains to drawing conclusions about the overall worth or merit of a program. In formative evaluation, the goal is to evaluate an ongoing program and provide recommendations for improving the guidance program. The term summative evaluation applies when the intent is to evaluate the overall merits of the program, which is often accompanied by decisions to retain, alter, or eliminate the program.

Dennehy (2003) supported the importance of gathering information and soliciting input from stakeholders, which should be concerned in evaluating career guidance programs. It is often useful in evaluating career guidance programs to seek

information from those providing the direct services, from clerical staff that assisting in program delivery, and from a robust sampling of clients who have been the recipients of the services. Although Benkofski and Heppner (1999) contended that evaluators should gain information from stakeholders, they also suggested that evaluators set boundaries before progressing into design and methodologies issues. Evaluation studies can quickly become overly complex and unwieldy if parameters are not set. Therefore, when evaluators begin designing the evaluation study, it is important that they retain a sense of clarity regarding the focus and purpose of the study.

Formulate the Evaluation Design and Procedures

The second step in Whiston and Brecheisen's (2002) evaluation procedures concerns selecting the evaluation design and methodologies (see Table 34.1). Fundamental to designing an evaluation study is the type of information desired. Typically, evaluating a career guidance program is more complex than simply selecting one outcome or criterion measure that indicates whether the program was successful. In certain situations, it will suffice to describe the program and summarise the outcome or evaluative information. Providing descriptive information about clients after they have completed the program can often provide useful information, but it is difficult to attribute positive results directly to the career guidance program without a comparison group. For sake of illustration, let us assume a program is designed to assist unemployed individuals with job search skills and the program will be evaluated by determining the number of individuals who are employed 6 weeks after completing the program. It could be that a new employer has moved into the community and there was a hiring shortage and so, even if 95% of the participants were employed after participating in the guidance, it would be difficult to attribute those positive results to the career guidance program without comparison data. Comparison data that contrasts their employment status to others who have not completed the program often provide more compelling findings.

If an evaluator determines that comparison data would be desirable, then he or she needs to consider whether an *intersubject* (variations across subjects that usually take the form of some group comparison) or *intrasubject* (variation within subjects that usually focuses on the temporal unfolding of variables within individual subjects) design is preferable. In intersubject designs, there needs to be a comparison group in which the evaluator will determine if those receiving the career interventions have better outcomes than a comparison group. Some evaluators of guidance programs may avoid intersubject designs because of the difficulties associated with not providing guidance services in order to have a traditional control group comparison. In outcome research, researchers often use a wait-list control group in order to address both ethical concerns and group equivalency issues. In a wait-list control group design, participants are randomly assigned to either the treatment or wait-list control group. After the treatment phase and the post-tests are administered, the treatment is made available to the wait-list control group

(Heppner, Kivlighan, & Wampold, 1999). The use of random assignment to either the treatment or the wait-list control group addresses many of the issues related to group equivalency. Furthermore, members of the wait-list control group do receive guidance services, thus diminishing the difficulties associated with not providing services to individuals in need of those services.

In some settings, however, a wait-list control group may not be a viable alternative. Another option in using intersubject designs involves varying treatments so that knowledge can be gained concerning the effects of various career interventions. For example, a guidance program may want to investigate whether the use of a computerised career guidance program is worth the financial investment. In this case, they might compare the outcomes of individuals who used a computerised career guidance program as compared to those who received traditional services.

Examining group differences is not the only evaluation design available. Evaluators can also use intrasubject research designs, which typically focus on changes within each subject or participant. A common approach in intrasubject designs is to pre-test individuals before they participate in the guidance program and then post-test them at the conclusion of the career guidance program. For example, comparing how many interviews the participants had 6 weeks before the program as compared to how many interviews they had in the 6 weeks following the guidance program. The problem with a pretest-posttest design is that without a control group, it is impossible to rule out the possibility that client changes may be due to other factors.

An additional approach to intrasubject designs is to use a single-subject or single-case design. In counselling research, there has been increasing interest in using single-subject designs (Heppner et al., 1999). Although single-subject designs are not commonly used in evaluation studies, there are circumstances where gathering in-depth information on one individual can be useful. Single-case studies can be either quantitative, qualitative, or a combination of methodologies and those who are interested are directed to Franklin (1997) and Yin (2003). A good example of a case study approach to evaluation research is Bimrose et al. (2004) where they conducted 49 in-depth interviews regarding what clients found useful in their guidance interviews and what constitutes good practice in guidance.

Another factor to consider in the design of an evaluation study is whether cost-effectiveness or cost-benefit information is needed. Specific information needs to be gathered if the evaluation study is going to include analyses of the relationship between the cost of the career development program and the effectiveness of the services and/or benefits to a specific organisation (e.g., agency or educational institution) or to society (e.g., reduction in state and federal spending). Specifically, the evaluator will need to gather information on the cost of the career development program, which Yates (1996) found should include costs of personnel, facilities and utilities, equipment, and supplies. Moreover, the design of the evaluation also will need to include methods for gathering monetary data. As Bysshe et al. (2002) documented, this is not an easy task. Transforming outcome information into tangible benefits requires the evaluator to examine closely the services that were provided. Results of an evaluation study are meaningless if there is not a clear description of

the services clients actually received and some documentation that they indeed received those services. Rossi, Lipsey, and Freeman (2004) indicated that one of the reasons programs fail is that the treatment is unstandardised, uncontrolled, or varies across target populations. Sometimes evaluation results can reflect difficulties within a system where clients are receiving quite different services or, in some cases, less than optimal services. Yates (1996) suggested that very specific information about program procedures must be gathered in cost-benefit analyses in order to examine the relationship between the cost of the procedures and the benefits of the program. Examining the implementation of a program is similar to ensuring treatment integrity in psychotherapy research. In psychotherapy research, treatment manuals or supervision and training of those delivering the counselling services are some of the more common methods for ensuring that the counselling treatment is provided consistently and appropriately (Hill & Lambert, 2003).

Determining Evaluation or Outcome Measures

The legitimate effect of a career guidance program cannot be determined without sound evaluative measures or procedures. The selection of appropriate measures is not an easy task and sometimes individuals will avoid evaluating a career program because they are unfamiliar with appropriate instruments or measures. Outcome research conducted over the last 50 years on the effectiveness of career interventions can assist evaluators in selecting reliable and valid measures. In terms of measuring outcome, the trend is to use more than one outcome measure and to gather information from more than one source (Ogles, Lambert, & Fields, 2002).

Whiston (2001) designed an organisation scheme to assist evaluators in selecting multiple career outcome assessments. Table 34.2 contains an overview of the organisational scheme and its four domains (i.e., content, source, focus and time-orientation). Within each of the four domains are categories for the evaluator to consider in selecting outcome measures. The scheme is designed to encourage individuals to consider each of the four domains and to consider outcome measures that will provide diverse information. In an ideal world, career guidance practitioners would select instruments so that all of the categories in each of the domains were addressed. This goal is fairly unrealistic, as practical limitations (e.g., financial constraints, time limitations) will influence instrument selection.

Table 34.2 Career outcome measures scheme

Content	Source	Focus	Time orientation
Career knowledge & skills	Client	General	Macro-outcome
Career behaviours	Counsellor	Specific	Micro-outcome
Sentiments & beliefs	Trained observer		
Effective role functioning	Relevant other		
	Institutional/archival		

The organisational scheme, however, can be used to systematically consider diverse outcome measures that examine various facets of the vocational process and to avoid needless duplication of certain outcome categories. Although researchers encourage using more than one outcome measure, this organisational scheme also can be used in settings where the goal is to use only one outcome assessment in order to select the most comprehensive measure.

The first domain in Whiston's (2001) organisational scheme is the *Content Domain*, which includes the categories of career knowledge and skills, career behaviours, sentiments and effective role functioning. These categories are similar to the ones included in Fretz's (1981) classic monograph about measuring career outcome. Within the content domain, career knowledge and skills is the first category and it entails the goal of increasing individuals' knowledge of self and the world of work. Kidd and Killeen (1992) suggested that learning outcomes often serve as sound indicators of career guidance programs effect on individuals. As the intent of Whiston's scheme is to assist practitioners in selecting multiple outcome measures, when an evaluator has selected one outcome assessment that measures career knowledge and skills (e.g., knowledge of the job search process), he or she would want to select a second measure that would assess career behaviours, sentiments, or effective role functioning.

In Whiston's (2001) outcome scheme, the second category within the Content Domain is *career behaviours*. The focus in this category is not on acquisition of knowledge or skills but on the vocational behaviours exhibited by clients. Examples of career behaviours are performing in a mock interview, applying for a vocational training program, reading career information, enrolling, or submitting job applications. The third category within the Content Domain is *sentiments and beliefs* and this domain involves attitudes, beliefs, perceptions and other affective responses. Included in this category are attitudes toward certainty, commitment and career salience and measures such as the *Career Decisions Difficulties Questionnaire* (Gati, Krausz, & Osipow, 1996) or the *Career Decision Scale* (Osipow, Carney, Winer, Yanico, & Koschler, 1987). This category also includes beliefs, such as measures of self-efficacy, such as the *Career Decision Making Self-Efficacy Scale-Short Form* (Betz, Klein, & Taylor, 1996), which could be selected to measure whether the career program being evaluated influenced clients' beliefs.

The last category in the Content Domain is *effective role functioning*. This category relates to whether the guidance program results in an increases in individuals' ability to function, with an understanding that effective role functioning varies depending on the population's age and developmental level. Commonly used assessments of effective role functioning in research are measures of career maturity. Other measures of effective role functioning are self-concept, locus of control and measures of adjustment.

As indicated earlier in counselling and psychotherapy outcome research, the trend is to measure change from multiple perspectives (Hill & Lambert, 2003). One of the major reasons for this practice is that studies have found that the effects of the interventions vary depending on who is evaluating the counselling. As Table 34.2 reflects, the categories in the *Source Domain* are client, counsellor, trained observer,

relevant other and institutional/archival information. Many instruments used in the career area involve client self-report, while very few instruments have been designed for others to complete (Whiston, 2002). In evaluating career guidance programs, others (e.g., guidance specialists, counsellors) can often provide unique perspectives on the effects of the career counselling. Furthermore, institutional or archival information (e.g., employment records, salary, time spent unemployed) may also be available and contribute to the overall evaluation of the career program.

In selecting career guidance outcome measures, Whiston and Brecheisen (2002) suggested that individuals use both global and specific measures. The third dimension of the model is the *Focus Domain*, which encourages evaluators to consider both global and specific evaluative measures. Typically, global measures have included numerous behaviours whereas, specific measures incorporate only a few (Gelso, 1979). Watts (2005) argued that the available evidence on the benefits of career guidance is not very comprehensive. We suggest collaboration from international scholars to develop comprehensive career guidance evaluation assessments that can be used internationally. The development of a battery of instruments that can be used internationally is a daunting task but it is undoubtedly essential to the continuance of career guidance programs in these times of accountability and restricted resources.

The last domain in Whiston's (2001) classification model is *Time Orientation*, which emphasises the importance of both short-term and long-term program goals. Kidd and Killeen (1992) argued that not all criterion measures are equal and that more efforts should be devoted to using meaningful measures. In evaluating career guidance programs for adults, practitioners may assist clients in developing skills (e.g., networking skills, resume writing), but the long-term goals are related to gaining employment or career satisfaction. Whiston (2001) labelled the categories in this domain macro-outcomes and micro-outcomes to distinguish between more significant and less consequential measures. Micro-outcome measures are less significant than macro-outcome assessments and reflect short-term changes that hopefully contribute to those more consequential effects. Examples of micro-outcomes would be decreasing career indecision, increasing networking skills, and increasing career decision-making self-efficacy; whereas, macro-outcomes would measure more long-term or ultimate criteria, such as gaining employment. In evaluating the economic benefits of career guidance programs in the United Kingdom, Bysshe et al. (2002) found that evaluation of guidance in the UK was usually short-term and did not focus on the long-term effects of guidance programs.

In conclusion, Whiston's (2001) classification scheme is designed to assist evaluators in considering the use of multiple measures from multiple perspectives. It does, however, assume that all of the evaluative measures are psychometrically sound and pertinent to the program being evaluated. It is particularly important that evaluators select evaluative measures that are appropriate for adults in their specific career program. Whiston et al. (1998) found evidence of researchers using outcome measures that were not developmentally appropriate for the participants in the study.

Gathering Information

The fourth step in Whiston and Brecheisen (2002) proposed six-step process for evaluating career guidance programs is gathering evaluative information. Benkofske and Heppner (1999) contended that data collection can be rather straightforward with proper planning and preparation. As the previous steps emphasised, it is important to determine prior to gathering data what information is needed and the most appropriate methods for gathering that information. The actual gathering of information or data can be an arduous task and problematic situations that arise during the collection of data can undermine the entire evaluative process, which, in turn, may result in negative consequences for the career guidance program (e.g., insufficient data to support ongoing funding). Benkofski and Heppner (1999) suggested piloting the data collection process in order to identify problems when there still is sufficient time to adjust the process. Piloting the data collection process will also identify problems, such as participants not understanding the instructions or survey questions; observation techniques that are too cumbersome; or difficulties in retrieving archival/institutional data (e.g., graduation rate, employment record).

Data Analyses and Interpretation

After the data is collected, the next step is to analyse the data and interpret the results (Whiston & Brecheisen, 2002). Some practitioners may shy away from conducting an evaluation study because of their uneasiness with statistical analyses. In many situations, evaluators can rely on descriptive statistics (e.g., mean, standard deviation) or qualitative data analyses procedures that do not involve inferential statistics. In addition, many current statistical packages make data analysis relatively simple and user friendly. Individuals with limited training in using statistics may want to consult with an experienced researcher since statistical decisions are complex and involve issues related to statistical power, such as (a) the particular statistical test used; (b) the alpha level; (c) the directionality of the statistical test; (d) the size of the effect; and (e) the number of participants (Heppner et al., 1999). Practitioners may also want to consider following the suggestions of some researchers (e.g., Thompson & Snyder, 1998) and calculate effect sizes. An individual can easily calculate an effect size by subtracting the mean of the control group from the mean of the experimental group and dividing that by either the pooled standard deviation of the two groups or by the standard deviation of the control group. Therefore, effect sizes provide an indication of the magnitude of difference between program participants and non-participants on the outcome measures used. An example of a study that included effect sizes is Nota and Soresi (2003) and they found that their assertiveness training program for undecided students resulted in the treatment group scoring between a quarter to a half of a standard deviation higher than the control group on various outcome measures (e.g., level of decision, locus of

control). Some of the meta-analytic studies discussed earlier (e.g., Whiston et al., 1998) combine these simple effect size calculations and readers may want to refer to that study for a further explanation of effect size.

Correlational and regression analyses can also provide insightful information, particularly related to the relationship between the costs and benefits of a program. For example, there needs to be additional research related to the career guidance programs and money saved from changing educational programs, cost of replacing employees and medical expenses related to job stress. Practitioners that are not knowledgeable about interpreting correlational and regression analyses should seek assistance from researchers of career guidance or local statisticians.

It should be noted that data analysis does not need to be solely quantitative for as Guichard and Lenz (2005) discussed there is an emerging focus internationally on self-construction rather than on occupational choice. If the underpinning of the career guidance is constructivist, then the approach to data analysis should correspond to the philosophical foundation of the guidance interventions. In our experience, which is primarily in the United States, there have been very few published outcome studies of career guidance that have used a qualitative design.

Once the data are analysed, the crucial task of fully interpreting the results should begin. Once the results are analysed and interpreted, the evaluator should begin writing the results for the intended audience or pertinent stakeholders. Benkofski and Heppner (1999) suggested that all evaluation reports contain an executive summary and a list of recommendations that include the positive aspects of the program as well as the areas that may need improvement. Any report, however, needs to be geared to the potential audience(s) with an understanding of the "lens" the readers will use in reading the report. Gearing the report toward an audience does not mean that results are distorted or findings misrepresented, for accurate representation of the findings of an evaluation study must be consistent with ethical standards in the profession.

Using the Information

The last step in Whiston and Brecheisen's (2002) six-step process is a critical one that guidance professionals may sometimes overlook given large caseloads and numerous responsibilities. An evaluation should not stop after the final draft of the report has been written because the purpose of an evaluation study is to use the information generated. Evaluative report sometimes are filed away and rarely seen by stakeholders or other professionals. The lack of systematic methods for disseminating evaluative information on career guidance programs results in the dearth of information that is available to document the effectiveness of career guidance programs and services. The accumulation of information internationally may contribute to more funds being dedicated internationally to career guidance programs and, thus, more individuals could be helped with quality career guidance.

Conclusions

The focus of this chapter has been on current findings regarding the evaluation of career guidance programs and the importance of conducting evaluative studies of current career guidance practices. The need to provide accountability information will most likely continue and those guidance programs that do not have readily available evidence documenting the program's effectiveness are at risk. Administrators of career guidance programs not currently gathering evaluative information are encouraged to promptly begin the process before their programs are in jeopardy and they need evaluative information immediately. Conducting evaluations should not be viewed as an isolated activity, for it should be seen as a continual process that complements program services. The steps discussed in this chapter are designed to serve as an initial foundation in which organisations can adapt to fit their needs. We also want to encourage career guidance specialists from all nationalities to share their evaluative processes and information with the profession so that all practitioners, researchers and policy-makers can learn from one another.

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Conclusion

Chapter 35
AN INTERNATIONAL AND SOCIAL PERSPECTIVE ON CAREER GUIDANCE

James A. Athanasou[1] and Raoul Van Esbroeck[2]

Notwithstanding its different manifestations throughout the world and across history, it is clear that career guidance has a constant and unique focus. Despite a plethora of theories, policies and approaches the personal and fundamental issue in career guidance is still that of one's career! The purpose of this chapter is to draw together some themes that relate to career guidance on a broader scale, both socially and internationally. Technical aspects of career guidance, in particular related to cross-cultural influences or counselling approaches for different groups or globalisation are not the focus of this section as there has been ample discussion already in the previous chapters of the Handbook.

Of course there will be many different perspectives that have an impact upon career guidance. Those selected for this chapter are reflected in the fact that guidance is essentially a value-laden normative activity. It is not viewed as just the dispassionate provision of information or counselling techniques or career services. It is considered that there are ethical and social aspects that are fundamental to career guidance provision internationally. Two broad factors that have an impact upon career guidance perspectives throughout the world are considered in this chapter and for want of better titles are described as (a) individual and vocational factors; and (b) guidance delivery factors. The first section of this chapter considers the background of career guidance as a basis for understanding the perspectives that already had an impact upon it. Then some selected social and international perspectives relevant to career guidance are considered jointly as part of the existential issues facing each person and each practitioner. At the outset, no claim is made that the discussion is comprehensive or all-encompassing.

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J.A. Athanasou, R. Van Esbroeck (eds.) *International Handbook of Career Guidance*,

© Springer Science + Business Media B.V. 2008

What is Career Guidance?

Although many definitions of career guidance have been offered (e.g., Collin & Watts, 1996; Hiebert & Borgen, 2002; Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD]/The European Commission, 2004; Sears, 1982), in this chapter the definition of career guidance that will be used is that of the ordinary dictionary definition of the words. This approach remains in line with the definitions proposed by Swanson and Miller (see Chapter 33) that referred to in the Cambridge and Oxford Dictionaries. In the national Australian (English) dictionary the meaning of guidance as a noun is fairly straightforward, namely, "the act of guiding; leadership; direction… advice, instruction" (Delbridge, Bernard, Blair, Peters, & Butler, 1995, p. 781). The definition of career assumes the broad meaning of a "general course of action or progress of a person through life, as in some profession, in some moral or intellectual action, etc…. an occupation, profession, etc., followed as one's lifework [F. *carriere* from It. *carriera* from *carro*, from L. *carrus*]" (Delbridge et al., 1995, p. 274). This is reasonably consistent with the official definitions (e.g., Hansen, 2006; OECD, 2004). Juxtaposing these meanings provides a fairly uncomplicated definition of the scope of career guidance – at least in the mind of a layperson. The transition from the layperson's concept to the modern field of theory and international practice, however, was a more complex matter.

Some Background to the Changes in Career Guidance

One can trace the history of the field across several stages. Initially most forms and methods of guidance throughout the world have relied upon informal advice-giving probably from family, teachers or friends. For most of the history of the world career guidance has been unstructured and informal in its services and delivery. This is consistent with the literal meaning of career guidance.

Though a more detailed description of these developments is given by Mark Savickas in Chapter 4 of this Handbook, it may be worthwhile to reiterate some key aspects to frame the background changes which are taken into account within this chapter. With growing industrialisation, the move to urban life and an increase in the complexity of work there was perceived to be a social need from the late 19th century for more formal and better organised systems of vocational guidance. This was epitomised by the *Vocophy* of Lysander Richards in 1881, in which he encompassed "The New Profession: A System Enabling A Person to Name the Calling or Vocation One is Best Suited to Follow"; or school guidance programs, such as that of Jesse B. Davis in 1889; or the Vocation Bureau of Frank Parsons in 1908 (see Zytowski, 2001). At this time, the underlying orientation was toward a career as a calling (i.e., vocation) with advice and matching for suitability. In 1916, the progressive educator and philosopher John Dewey emphasised the suitability of an occupation in *Democracy and Education*:

> An occupation is the only thing which balances the distinctive capacity of an individual with his social service. To find out what one is fitted to do and to secure an opportunity to do it is the key to happiness. Nothing is more tragic than failure to discover one's true business in life, or to find that one has drifted or been forced by circumstance into an uncongenial calling. A right occupation means simply that the aptitudes of a person are in adequate play, working with the minimum of friction and the maximum of satisfaction. (1916, p. 240)

The parent discipline for much of what has occurred in the history of career guidance seems to have been psychology. This was evident in the application of psychological testing, such as Binet's test of intelligence or Strong's Vocational Interest Blank; they offered a technology that promised an objective basis for matching. This was epitomised in the well-known trait-factor approach to guidance and which evolved into the more sophisticated person-environment fit approach. It is evident in the *Dictionary of Occupational Titles* and its successor *O*NET*. Person-environment fit could be characterised as static or arid when misused. On the other hand it continues to provide one of the most coherent and defendable forms of career guidance in its fundamental tenets but not necessarily in its everyday applications.

Accompanying this trait-factor approach was the era of directive guidance epitomised by Williamson (1939) and Patterson (Patterson & Darley, 1936). It was characterised sarcastically as the "test-and-tell" era (Cochran, Vinitsky, & Warren, 1974) or the "three interviews and a cloud of dust" approach (Crites, 1981). Much of the foundation for career guidance at that time was differential psychology and industrial psychology.

This framework gave way to post-war social influences such as humanism that was a reaction in part to the scourge of World War II (and its aftermaths – the Cold War, Korea, the Vietnam era), the futility of psychoanalysis, the sterility of experimental psychology and an increasingly materialist age. The non-directive psychotherapy of Carl Rogers suited the *zeitgeist* of that age promoting self-actualisation based on unconditional positive regard. It injected a personal and counselling perspective into career guidance and indirectly brought about a move away from occupational psychology.

These changes in the field were also reflected in the nomenclature of career guidance journals. The *Vocational Guidance Magazine* had changed to *Occupations* then to the *Personnel and Guidance Journal*. It was reflected in the later transformation of the *Personnel and Guidance Journal* into the *Journal of Counseling and Development*. It is no coincidence that today the Society for Vocational Psychology is located within the counselling psychology division of the American Psychological Association.

All this was accompanied by the impact of the developmental perspective on careers outlined by Ginzberg, Ginsburg, Axelrad, and Herma (1951), and which was characteristic of the work of Donald Super (1953). The simplistic view of a career as one single occupation was transposed into a developmental life sequence. One may characterise this period as the counselling *cum* developmental period of careers guidance, much of which has extended to the present-day. By the same token the *Vocational Guidance Quarterly* became the *Career Development Quarterly* and further reflected this evolution in career guidance.

This counselling approach to guidance was augmented by behavioural learning approaches. It included techniques such as modelling and reinforcement that emanated from the social learning theory of Bandura. It included the well-known and very effective Job Clubs developed by Nathan Azrin of token economy fame (Azrin & Philip, 1979). Behaviour modification, however, was overcome by the cognitive revolution in psychology and this was also replicated in the move towards decision-making approaches in guidance. The final stage in guidance approaches is now shaking some of the earlier foundations.

There is a move towards a constructivist and critical approach to career. It is largely phenomenological and characterised by developments in qualitative assessment and narrative interventions with a focus on meaning. This embodies changes in social science research, methodology and epistemology away from so-called positivist, empirical and reductionist emphases in education and psychology. Savickas (2005), for instance, pointed out that careers are idiosyncratic interpretations that are created into a life theme. Present, past and future influences are thought to act synergistically to determine the subjective reality that "…emerges from an active process of making meaning, not discovering pre-existing facts" (p. 43). It is not clear where these newer ideas will lead.

At the same time as all these developments in individual career guidance occurred there was an explosion in the provision of career education in secondary schools and governmental attempts at large-scale vocational guidance provision as both a human resource and welfare policy provision throughout the world (see for instance the 1975 *Human Resources Development Recommendation* of the International Labour Office). To all intents and purposes it meant that a Western form of career guidance services permeated the international scene. Moreover the introduction of information and communication technologies now allowed the provision of large-scale services through the Internet. Finally these developments were reinforced by the formation of professional organisations such as the International Association for Education and Vocational Guidance in 1951 as well as national organisations that acted as a catalyst for professional practice in the field and which gradually led to the development of career development competency standards.

It may be helpful to summarise the changes in the guidance aspect of career guidance. It began as advice giving, evolved into matching with directive guidance. This was replaced by a career counselling approach and specific interventions. The final stages reflect the influences of self-direction and self-construction. These changes in guidance have occurred simultaneously with and partly in reaction to changes in the world of work. From the 1970s onwards career services also had to readjust their thinking to cope with a new set of problems such as downsizing, retrenchments, redundancies and long-term unemployment.

What perspectives dominated career guidance? One can only answer with hindsight and with the potential of a *post hoc ergo propter hoc* error. Much of the influence has been Western and decidedly North American. Some of the influence has come from the social sciences, especially psychology. The perspective has shifted, however, from that of occupational psychology and guidance to one of education, welfare and counselling. As a result most of the contributors to the field are now

located in faculties of education or ancillary behavioural science fields rather than mainstream departments of psychology.

The patience of the reader in traversing these well-known pathways is appreciated. The purpose in providing this packaged tour through guidance is not only to see what transpired but also to enable the discussion that follows. Like all package tours it is highly selective and omits more than it includes. Since the focus of this chapter is on career guidance it is now appropriate to describe its content and structure in a little more detail.

A Framework for Career Guidance

The domain of career guidance can be organised in a variety of ways such as (a) the populations served; (b) the purposes; (c) the core processes of guidance; and (d) the outcomes of interest. A schematic for this classification is depicted in Fig. 35.1.

The client group for career guidance has moved from adolescents to include the entire life span. The purpose of guidance, however, continues to be the clarification and achievement of personal goals and the enhancement of the quality of life. The core processes of guidance have been refined over time and include a heterogeneous range of services from information through advice and counselling to placement. Fouad (2007) selected the three areas of counselling, interventions and working alliance in her review of vocational psychology and in response to the question of "How are clients effectively helped?" On the other hand, Van Esbroeck, Tibos, and Zaman (2005) elaborated these activities as (a) sensitisation or becoming aware, (b) exploration of oneself, (c) exploration of the environment, (d) deepening one's knowledge and (e) specifying the choices available and finally (f) decision-making. The outcomes of career guidance have also broadened from the making of educational, training or occupational choices to include how people

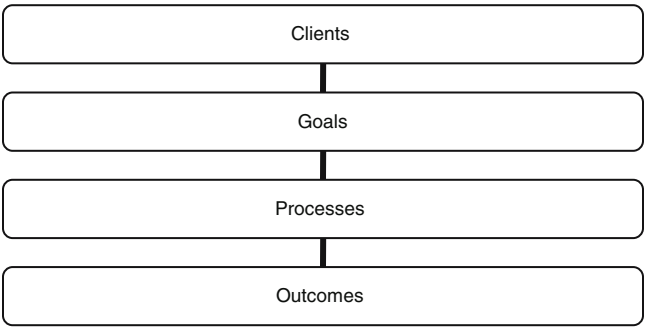


Fig. 35.1 A schematic representation of career guidance

might manage their careers. The wider scope of modern day guidance is now reflected in some of the official definitions of career guidance, viz.:

> Career guidance refers to services and activities intended to assist individuals of any age and at any point throughout their lives, to make educational, training and occupational choices and to manage their careers. Such services may be found in schools, universities and colleges, in training institutions, in public employment services, in the workplace, in the voluntary or community sector and in the private sector. The activities may take place on an individual or group basis and may be face-face or at a distance (including help lines and web based services). They include career information provision (in print, ICT-based and other forms), assessment and self-assessment tools, counselling interviews, career education programmes (to help individuals develop their self awareness, opportunity awareness, and career management skills), taster programmes (to sample options before choosing them), work search programmes, and transition services (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development/The European Commission, 2004, p. 10)

Nevertheless, the key emphasis is still on making an educational, training or occupational choice and this means that the core of formal vocational guidance from the late 1880s to 2007 has remained largely unchanged.

The different career guidance activities mentioned in the above descriptions can be depicted in a tentative overarching framework that might be used to classify what now occurs in modern career guidance (see Fig. 35.2). It is recognised that this structural representation is in part recursive, that some areas overlap, and that the representation may not be comprehensive. It might, however, find application as a conceptual framework for describing career guidance. At the very least it recognises that much if not most career guidance is informal and unstructured.

International and Social Perspectives

The international and social perspectives considered in this section apply to both formal and non-formal career guidance. They are categorised firstly as individual and vocational factors and secondly as guidance delivery factors (see Table 35.1). Each of the factors was selected because it has a potential impact upon the nature and type of career guidance that occurs.

Table 35.1 Factors influencing perspectives on career guidance

Individual and vocational factors	Guidance delivery factors
(a) Nature of the person	(a) Free career guidance
(b) Importance of the person	(b) Mandatory versus voluntary services
(c) Freedom to choose	(c) Sustainable service delivery
(d) Vocational rights	
(e) Economic survival and sustainability	
(f) Societal contribution and ethics	

Individual and Vocational Factors in International and Social Perspectives on Guidance

The individual and vocational factors are largely related to the emancipatory and transformative purpose of career guidance in the life of each person. This means that career guidance is not intended as a value-free service – it is intensely activist. Career guidance was founded upon the importance of the individual and the value of human life (see for example Super, 1947). Accordingly, the nature of the person and their occupational roles are an important perspective for the conduct of career guidance. The first three factors are at the individual level.

Nature of the Person

Traditionally, formal career guidance has tended to be worldly, mater-of-factual and non-judgemental. This reflects its largely American influence. It makes the assumption that each person should be treated equally and the guidance that is provided is largely secular in nature. The world, however, is not secular. For a start there are many prevailing religious perspectives on the person and life, ranging from Buddhism to Hinduism, to Islam, to Christianity or atheism. Indeed, the overwhelming majority of the international world has a vastly different religious perspective than a Western secular view. There are also major religious changes that will need to be accommodated within developed nations; in Australia for instance, Buddhism has doubled in size over the last 6 years. Normally the practice of guidance has not considered religion but these underlying beliefs or world-views are ignored at great peril. For instance, if one accepts that each person is more than meets the eye, that they have an eternal spirit or soul or psyche, that they might be prepared to sacrifice their life to some ideal then it would have an impact upon the guidance that is provided, about what is meaningful in life, about the purpose of work, and about the nature of the life to be lived. If opposite propositions are accepted then it raises alternative acceptable scenarios for a person.

Importance of the Person

The importance of the person is called into question when career guidance serves as an extension of the State. In developed nations, formal and informal career guidance is often employed to meet skills shortages. In other instances it is used to address the needs of the military, as with the *Armed Services Vocational Aptitude Battery*. In developing and transition economies guidance was described as a policy instrument and as supporting economic efficiency by reducing what were called "labour market failures" (Watts & Fretwell, 2004, p. 1). To be fair it was seen as having other benefits, nevertheless this is the language of the economist, the technocrat and the capitalist and hardly the view of the humanist, the idealist or the socialist. In this chapter it is suggested that career guidance suffers when people are

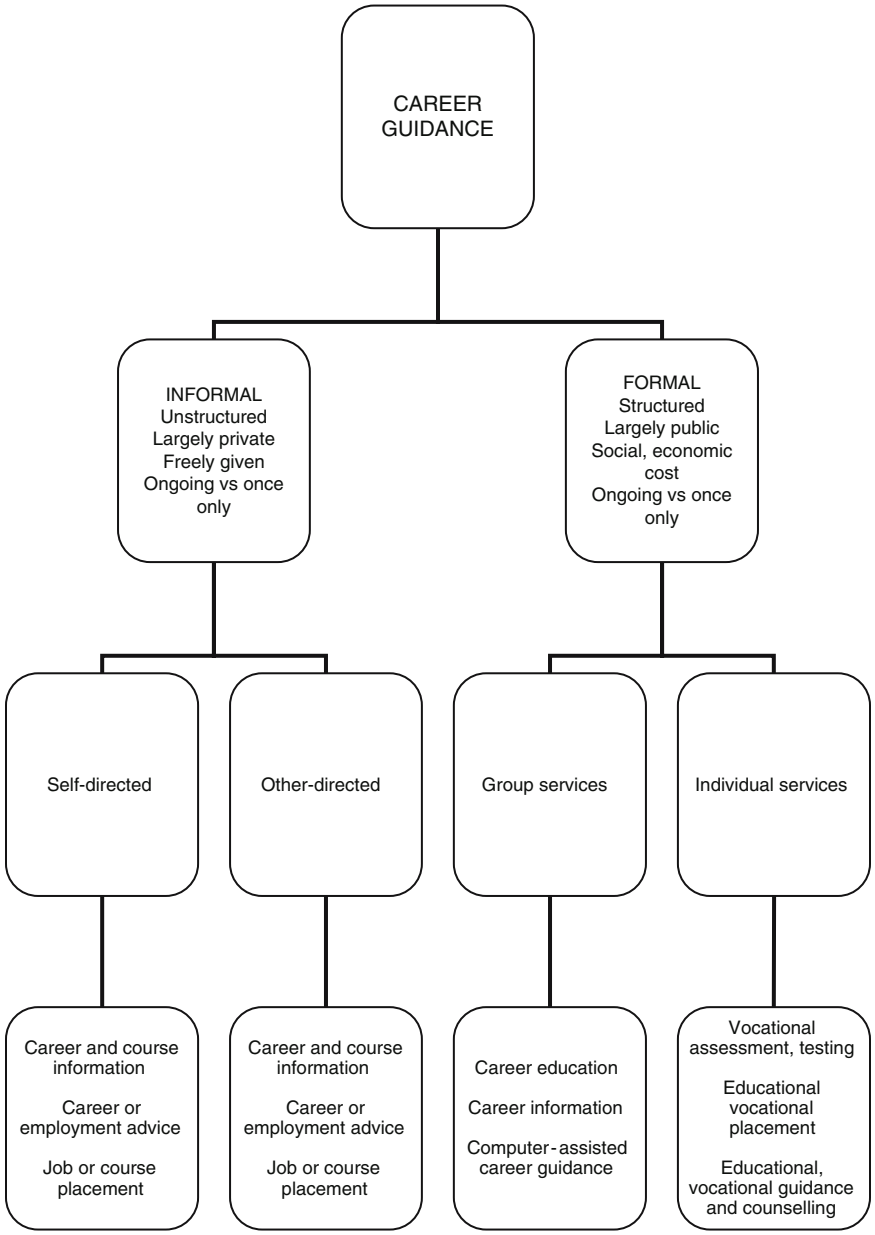


Fig. 35.2 Career guidance processes

treated as objects or economic units; the general philosophy is that the individual person and his or her right to a life is paramount. This also implies that career guidance *per se* values the human existence irrespective of social, political, economic, cultural or religious background. This has not always been the case in human history and even today, formal career guidance services are largely the preserve of the few or the privileged.

Freedom to Choose

An additional perspective is that career guidance respects the freedom of the individual to choose their own pathways in life. In many cultures the freedom to choose might be restricted by hardship or kinship obligations or influenced by upbringing (e.g., parental aspirations, prestige, gender stereotyping). In these instances, career guidance treads a difficult path.

These first three factors at an individual level focus on the whole person. They might be seen by some as too airy-fairy, idealistic, political or too much imbued with religion. On the other hand they might well be intensely practical. They are fundamental to career guidance because work cannot be artificially separated from the other aspects of one's life. It is too simplistic to assume that in providing a career guidance service to a community (e.g., within a school, university or employment service) that all other things are equal. By definition, the three individual factors also take into account cross-cultural perspectives, such as collectivism and family ties. Moreover, they are relevant to indigenous as well as non-indigenous contexts. Finally, and possibly equally importantly one must take into account the same individual factors in the person providing career guidance as there are in those receiving career guidance. The gist of this is that career guidance is far from a value-free activity.

There are also the three vocational factors in international and social perspective on guidance.

Vocational Rights

The extent to which every person is perceived as having a right to a vocation (as opposed to an occupation or a job) will influence career guidance provision. For example in insurance compensation cases the aim of vocational rehabilitation has been to ensure a speedy return-to-work rather than to prepare someone for the future (Athanasou, 2007). Moreover, communities and individuals will have different perceptions of the value of vocation, career, occupation and job. For some persons it is reasonable that non-occupational sources of fulfilment are appropriate. Accordingly, it is not uncommon to find disparities in the quality and quantity of information available on different occupations. Moreover, those working in career guidance services may have their own educational and occupational schemas that could inhibit specific career options for some persons.

Economic Survival and Sustainability

A second factor is the value attributed to wealth or economic survival in a competitive world. The economic aspects of a career are not trivial – to a large extent career choices in Australia, for instance, are influenced substantially by their likely earnings or career prospects. An obvious example in Australia is the cut-off points for selection into different university courses at universities. Even within this restricted cohort the cut-off points for entry are positively and highly correlated with average weekly earnings for some different professions (e.g., medicine, dentistry, law, veterinary science, physiotherapy, accounting, engineering, computing, teaching, social work, speech pathology and nursing).

Related to economic survival is the sustainability of a vocation. Sustainability is now a popular term in relation to the environment and ecology and there is evidence that some vocations (such as trades, heavy labouring occupations) are not readily sustainable throughout a working life. For example, in Australia only around 17% of tradespersons aged 49 years and over are still in their "home" occupation; on the other hand, occupations such as medicine and pharmacy have high retention rates of around 50% throughout their working life (Department of Employment and Workplace Relations, 2005). In addition to individual sustainability there is also the question of the economic and ecological sustainability of some occupations. Some occupations appear to be wasteful of resources or to consume much more than they produce.

Societal Contribution and Ethics

A third vocational factor is the extent to which a vocation is seen as a way in which each person can contribute to the overall society. In Western societies the value of work to the individual rather than the collective value of work is stressed. An alternative view is that by using their talents, interest and aptitudes each person can contribute to the overall benefit of their fellow citizens. This could be done in any number of ways and through any number of occupations. It is not clear that modern day career guidance services go beyond the technical provision of their service to imbue the individual with this idea. In conjunction with the issue of societal contribution there is also the question of ethics. It is likely that some occupations and careers provide greater scope for ethics and higher standards of moral behaviour than others. This may or may not be of concern to some individuals.

The vocational factors relate to a large extent to the nature of work and its conduct. While some may see this as outside the purview of career guidance, it would be the case that many of these factors are already implicit in the career guidance services that are provided. In one sense again it continues the individual perspective but now applies it to the social object, that is, the occupation, the vocation or the career. Once again it also means that guidance is not a passive activity but one that is actively revolutionary and with the concern for the

rights of individual in the workplace and the broader community. If in the final analysis occupations and careers are related to personal, social and economic survival then it seems appropriate for career guidance not to bury its head in the sand or to say that educational opportunity, industrial relations, occupational health and safety, labour laws, the fragmentation of the labour market, child labour, anti-discrimination, poverty, inequality and societal reform are not relevant concerns. Taking these factors into account means that career guidance may play a substantive role in producing a better world.

Guidance Factors in International and Social Perspectives

The ways in which guidance is perceived will influence the provision of both formal and informal career services. In this perspective three factors can be identified.

Free Career Guidance

The first factor is the extent to which every person has a right to free access to career guidance (as opposed to an employment service). This will influence career guidance provision and reception. This is especially the case with disadvantaged and minority groups.

Mandatory Versus Voluntary

This second factor is the extent to which career guidance is mandatory or voluntary. Hopefully it would always be seen as voluntary because a coerced guidance can lead to resistance from the client and inadequate guidance. In some instances, however, career guidance has been enforced upon individuals in schools or social security settings. For example, in Australia the welfare-to-work reform was introduced from July 2006. Under this program social security recipients with disabilities who are capable of working 15 hours per week, people aged 50 to 64, long-term unemployed job seekers and people granted income support (i.e., principal carers of a child aged between 6–15 years) will have to look for work and will receive a range of career and employment services mainly through private providers.

Sustainable Service Delivery

Sustainability refers to the extent to which our current career guidance processes are able to be maintained or delivered effectively. Reliance on formal career guidance on a one-to-one basis may not be sustainable or equitable. It may be the case that well organised informal systems of career guidance complemented by vali-

dated community programs may provide the only long-term sustainable form of delivery to most people throughout the world.

There are many guidance factors, grouped in this chapter under three headings, that could influence social and international perspectives on career guidance. This same view is echoed in the international agreement on the importance and value of career guidance. In 2004, the International Labour Office adopted Recommendation 195 relating to Career Guidance and Training support Services which stated *inter alia* that Member nations should:

1. Assure and facilitate, throughout an individual's life, participation in, and access to vocational and career information and guidance, job placement services and job search techniques and training support services.
2. Promote and facilitate the use of information and communication technology, as well as traditional best practices in career information and guidance and training support services.
3. Identify, in consultation with the social partners, role and responsibilities of employment services, training providers and other relevant service providers with respect to vocational and career information and guidance. (International Labour Organisation, 2004, Section VIII, clause 15).

Conclusion

The framework that was outlined in this chapter is that of the person in his/her context operating as a function of their past but also with a view to their future. Clearly there are social perspectives that cross national boundaries. Although the focus is on guidance for occupations and career, it is recognised that this is only one aspect of human life. Assisting a person's mode of occupational adaptation and survival in changing circumstances is considered to be the purview of educational and vocational guidance. In fact, career guidance developed from a social welfare perspective – its concern was to enhance occupational choices, adaptation and survival. In this chapter it is argued that the only perspective of career guidance that is valuable is one that influences and improves the working lives of people.

The latter approach was adopted by the International Association for Educational and Vocational Guidance (Van Esbroeck, 2001). It embodies many of the social and international perspectives outlined in this chapter. It is cited as the Paris 2001 IAEVG Declaration on Educational and Vocational Guidance:

> The International Association for Educational and Vocational Guidance declares the following features of guidance and counselling services to be essential in meeting personal, social and economic development needs and to encourage further sustainable development in a knowledge-based society.
>
> - Each person – regardless of gender, education, race, religion, age or occupational status – should have free and easy access to educational and vocational guidance so that their individual capabilities and skills can be identified and developed to enable them to undertake adequate education, vocational training and employment, to adapt to chang-

ing individual and social life situations and to participate fully in the social and economic life of their community.
- Special target groups, e.g. persons with disabilities and social disadvantages, should be provided with career counselling that uses appropriate methods and counselling that take into account their particular needs and communication requirement.
- Educational and vocational guidance providers should meet recognised quality standards of counsellor training and service delivery.
- Educational and vocational guidance services provided must guarantee impartiality and confidentiality and should proceed with the voluntary and active participation of their clients.
- Everyone who needs and wants educational and vocational guidance and counselling should have access to it based on need and from a competent and professionally recognised counsellor, whose profession is founded on the respect for human dignity and for different ways of living within communities.
- All educational and vocational guidance counsellors should have specified competencies and participate in continuing professional development programmes to enhance their skills and keep their professional knowledge up-to-date.
- As the training and performance of counsellors has to be supervised, the effectiveness of guidance services should be monitored through regular evaluation and relevant research studies.
- All counsellors and agencies providing educational and vocational guidance and counselling should be committed to recognised quality standards and endorse and follow a code of ethics in accordance with the 1995 IAEVG Ethical Standards. (International Association for Educational and Vocational Guidance [IAEVG], 2001).

Over a period of some 100 years various career theories have addressed these aims. They have offered explanations about occupational choice, career development, vocational maturity, or occupational adjustment. Each has provided some insight and was helpful in the development of vocational guidance as a discipline. These theories were necessary but not sufficient for career guidance. The field, however, is over-abundant with theories that analyse career development from a particular perspective or generic counselling approaches that are applied to careers. The time has come to offer normative guidelines for guidance that are relevant to an individual in his/her context. Career guidance has avoided the contentious areas of values, ethics, ideals and morals that may be far more important than once realised. These are likely to be features of informal career guidance.

A disquieting feature of modern career counselling practice is that many non-scientific or common-sense approaches have appeared in the guise of therapy or counselling. Most are well outside the mainstream career development theories and many are reminiscent of superstition and myth. Some represent the intellectual dregs of the social sciences.

One aspect that has not achieved much attention relates to the academic home of career guidance. Whereas it was once occupational and differential psychology it has now drifted elsewhere. There is some confusion and the Australian Psychological Society for instance now lists career guidance within three of its major areas: the College of Counselling Psychology, the College of Educational and Developmental Psychology, and the College of Organisational Psychology. As career guidance became an applied field and moved away from vocational psychology it lost much of its intellectual base and rigour. This was diluted further as it

became known more by the American terminology of counselling (the term career guidance is hardly in widespread use). The field of career counselling in Australia, for instance, is now populated by human resource development practitioners, employment counsellors, school career advisers, career counsellors, life coaches, rehabilitation counsellors and other specialised groups. There is nothing wrong with this diversity but one senses that it leads to a dilution of quality. There is a concern about the professionalism of the field, despite the development of national and international standards. The horse has bolted and it may well be too late to shut the gate but it could be appropriate for formal structured career guidance services to operate only under the supervision of qualified and trained vocational psychologists. In reviewing the developments in the field of career guidance, one is struck by the fact that almost no major development in the field has occurred outside of the discipline of psychology and to some extent its sister discipline of sociology.

Harking back to the origins of vocational guidance one notes that it operated unequivocally from a defined moral and social perspective. When it became a welfare service it was contextually-based for the economy and community in which the person resided. What may now be needed is to return to a social and moral model of career guidance that is largely normative in nature. This chapter issues a call for the return to the everyday definition of career guidance and for a field of professional practice with a substantial knowledge base on occupations and work. Its scope and operation would be limited by the cultural context, social mores, individual values and factors (such as health, education). All this would be set against the background of the economics of occupational survival.

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