# CAREER DEVELOPMENT INTERVENTIONS

SPENCER G. NILES JOANN HARRIS-BOWLSBEY

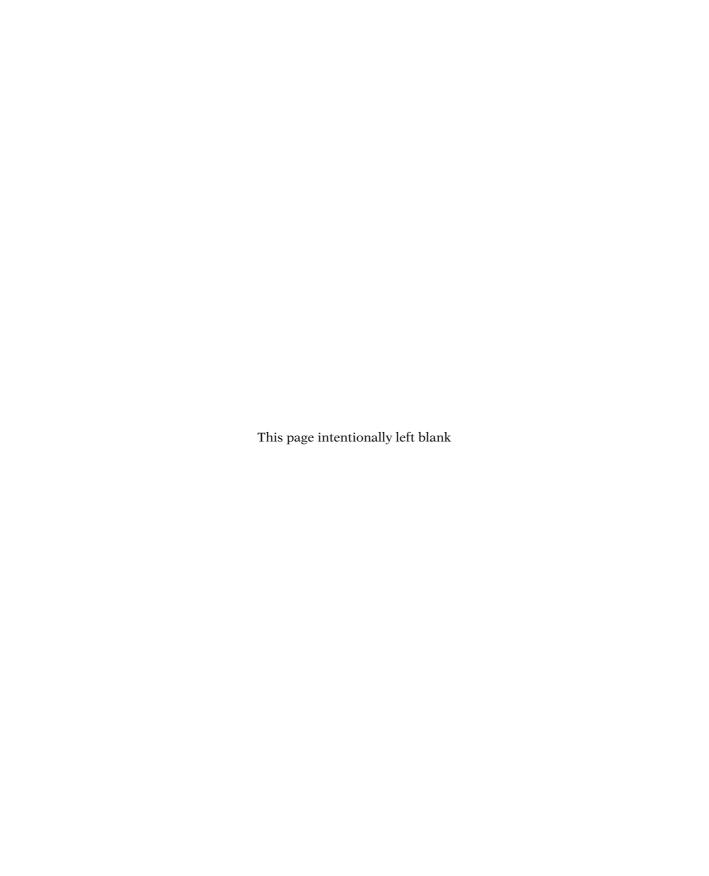


# 2016 CACREP STANDARDS RELATED TO CAREER DEVELOPMENT

**Career Development**—studies that provide an understanding of career development and related life factors, including all of the following:

Book Chapter	CACREP Standard
2, 3	a. theories and models of career development, counseling, and decision making;
1, 2, 3, 8	<ul> <li>approaches for conceptualizing the interrelationships among and between work, mental well-being, relationships, and other life roles and factors;</li> </ul>
6, 7	<ul> <li>processes for identifying and using career, avocational, educational, occupational and labor market information resources, technology, and information systems;</li> </ul>
1, 2, 3, 4	<ul> <li>approaches for assessing the conditions of the work environment on clients' life experiences;</li> </ul>
1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 9	<ul> <li>e. strategies for assessing abilities, interests, values, personality, and other factors that contribute to career development;</li> </ul>
10, 11, 12, 13, 14	<li>f. strategies for career development program planning, organization, implementation, administration, and evaluation;</li>
1, 4	<ul> <li>g. strategies for advocating for diverse clients' career and educational development and employment opportunities in a global economy;</li> </ul>
8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14	<ul> <li>h. strategies for facilitating client skill development for career, educational, and life-work planning and management;</li> </ul>
1, 8	<ul> <li>methods of identifying and using assessment tools and techniques relevant to career planning and decision making;</li> </ul>
4, 15	j. ethical and culturally relevant strategies for addressing career development.

Source: Council for the Accreditation of Counseling and Related Educational Programs. (2015). 2016 CACREP Standards. Alexandria, VA: Author.



# CAREER DEVELOPMENT INTERVENTIONS

### FIFTH EDITION

Spencer G. Niles
The College of William & Mary

JoAnn Harris-Bowlsbey Kuder, Inc., Adel, Iowa



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# **Preface**

We have taught career courses to students in numerous universities in the United States as well as in Canada, Japan, Denmark, Portugal, England, Turkey, Australia, United Arab Emirates, Ireland, Qatar, and Spain, to mention just a few. Wherever students are interested in learning about career development theory and practice, we are eager to go! In each instance, however, not only are we teaching students about career development interventions, but students also teach us. The idea for this book began in response to student requests (pleas) for a career development textbook that was readable, useful, and interesting. These are high but reasonable expectations, which have served as our guiding principles as we composed the chapters of this book.

#### **New to This Edition**

In addition to consistently updating this textbook to reflect the most cutting-edge research, trends, and pedagogy, we have made the following changes to this edition:

- Greater use of case studies representing clients from diverse contexts in all chapters
- Extensive updates of current literature applying to each chapter
- Updated statistics related to demographic trends related to labor market participation and an expanded discussion of the implications of these trends for career development interventions
- Separate chapters addressing career development interventions in elementary school, middle school, and high school
- Expanded discussion of the changing landscape of career development interventions in higher education
- Expansion of the research and work of recent theorists, with an eye toward their applicability for diverse populations
- Incorporation of the 2016 CACREP Standards and the 2015 National Career Development Association Code of Ethics
- Extensive rewriting of the chapter on the use of technology in career guidance (Chapter 7) to discuss the use of social media in the job-seeking process

- New in-text student assignments and activities to encourage application and practice of the theoretical concepts presented in each chapter
- · Continued use of student assignments based upon video content we created for this book

The video feature continues to be unique to this career development text. The videos provide outstanding examples of how leading career development experts conduct career counseling with diverse career counseling clients. The clients are real clients with genuine career concerns. The career counseling sessions were not scripted, rehearsed, or edited in any way. The career counselors had very little information, and in some cases none, about their clients prior to their career counseling sessions. Thus, the videos offer a realistic view of how nationally recognized career counseling experts conduct career counseling. We also provide video interviews with leading career development theorists and/or representatives of the leading theories who were close collaborators with the theorists they represent. These videos are designed to show how theory translates to practice and can be accessed through the Video and Resource Library on the MyCounselingLab® Web site. (See below for more information about MyCounselingLab.)

One important goal of this text is to convey to our readers the deep respect and long-term commitment we have for career development theory and practice. We emphasize this goal in Chapter 1. As we note in the book, few things are more personal than career choice, and we remained cognizant of this fact as we wrote each chapter. Making career decisions involves deciding how we will spend one of the most precious commodities we have—our time on Earth. We realize that these decisions are often difficult and overwhelming. Thus, we draw upon the work of our colleagues in the field to present readers with state-of-the-art career theory and practice. However, the current situation evolved from the past contributions of many leaders in the field. We acknowledge their important foundational contributions in Chapter 1.

Although we cover a wide variety of theoretical perspectives in the book (especially in Chapters 2 and 3), we emphasize that careers develop over time. A decision point in one's career development is just that: a point in time at which one makes decisions based on previous and current career development experiences. Although knowing how to help people at these important points in their career development is crucial, career practitioners can also intervene proactively in the lives of children, adolescents, and adults in ways that facilitate positive career development prior to the occurrence of career crises. Being able to provide assistance in both instances is critical.

We are especially concerned that career development theory and practice be inclusive. Constructing culturally inclusive career development interventions should be standard practice within the field. Unfortunately, this has not traditionally been the case. In part because of their historical context, career theories and practices have focused primarily on the career experiences of European American middle-class males. Although we devote a chapter to providing culturally competent career development interventions (Chapter 4), throughout the book we also address the need for inclusive career interventions. Our case studies highlight the career experiences of clients from diverse backgrounds. We think both approaches (having a single chapter devoted to the topic and infusing diversity throughout the book) are needed to begin to more adequately address the career development needs of all people. We are proud of the career counseling videos we produced for this book as they provide excellent examples of career counseling with diverse clients.

The need to provide clients with culturally sensitive career interventions provides an important foundation for discussing career counseling interventions in Chapter 8 and career assessment

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approaches in Chapter 5. The career counseling process and outcomes information provided here reflect the most recent work within the field. We also provide career information, resources, and Web site references (Chapters 6 and 7) that represent important aspects of the career development process. We highlight the essential considerations in designing and implementing career development programs in Chapter 9. We also emphasize in Chapter 9 the importance of engaging in the ongoing evaluation of career services. This is important for improving service delivery. However, when resources are limited, as they are in many situations, the need for both accountability and the ability to demonstrate effectiveness is great. Finally, we highlight developmental approaches to providing career assistance in the schools (elementary, middle, and high), higher education, and community settings in Chapters 10 through 14.

Of course, the desire to engage in ethical practice is also a standard in the field. However, there are many challenges confronting career practitioners. Web-based services such as career counseling and career assessment, the possibility of dual relationships, and theories with deeply rooted value sets present challenges to practitioners as they engage in ethical practice. Thus, we address many of these current ethical challenges in Chapter 15 using the 2015 National Career Development Association (NCDA) Code of Ethics. This is the first, and still one of the few, career development textbooks with a chapter devoted to ethical practice.

To make the book even more useful to readers, we use a framework developed by the NCDA. Specifically, we use the NCDA's career counseling competencies and the 2016 Council for Accreditation of Counseling and Related Educational Programs (CACREP) Standards to guide us in the identification of chapter topics. These competencies and standards appear in the appendices at the end of the book.

Please note that printed on the inside front cover is a grid identifying the chapters that are most relevant to each competency category and the 2016 CACREP standards. For those focused on career interventions in K–12 settings, we also incorporate the National Career Development Guidelines into Chapters 10 (elementary school), 11 (middle school), and 12 (high school).

We hope that we have accomplished the goals that motivated us to write this book. We also hope that we have fulfilled our students' expectations. In teaching our career courses, we consider it high praise when students tell us that they have a new respect and appreciation for career development interventions as a result of the class experience. This is what we hope occurs with this book. We invite readers to send us their feedback directly (sgniles@wm.edu; bowlsbeyj@kuder.com). We are committed to improving the book in any way that we can. Although collectively we have nearly a century devoted to the study and practice of career development, we have much yet to learn and we are eager to do so. Your comments will guide us in the revisions that we make. We are also happy to speak (either in person or virtually) to classes that are using our text. Simply contact us with such requests, and we will arrange for a time to make this happen. Finally, we wish you the very best as you embark on an exciting adventure with regard to your ongoing professional development.

# Also Available with MyCounselingLab®

This title is also available with MyCounselingLab—an online homework, tutorial, and assessment program designed to work with the text to engage students and improve results. Within its structured environment, students see key concepts demonstrated through video clips, practice

what they learn, test their understanding, and receive feedback to guide their learning and ensure they master key learning outcomes.

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Access to MyCounselingLab can be packaged with this textbook or purchased standalone. To find out how to package student access to this website and gain access as an Instructor, go to www.MyCounselingLab.com, email us at counseling@pearson.com, or contact your Pearson sales representative.

### **Acknowledgments**

I am grateful for and humbled by the support and love I have received from my family members and mentors. My mother, Pauline, taught me at an early age about the importance of Donald Super's life-space theory segment as she balanced work and family demands as a single parent. She was a pioneer who lived with grace and dignity, despite substantial challenges presented both to professional women and single parents.

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My children, Jenny and Jonathan, teach me about love each day and help to make me a better person. I am fortunate to have the opportunity to watch as their careers unfold. I am particularly thrilled that they both work in the field of education, one as an elementary school counselor (Jenny) and one as a trainer in the area of career development (Jonathan). I am profoundly proud of the people they are and the important work that they do.

My professional mentors and cherished friends have guided me through multiple career development tasks. Edwin L. Herr was the first to provide support and guidance, and he has continued to do so for more than 25 years. He embodies the best of what a mentor should represent. I will forever be indebted to Ed for his personal and professional assistance. Mark L. Savickas and Donald E. Super have also provided guidance, and I am honored that, at various times in my career, they have cared. Finally, I have been honored to coauthor this book with JoAnn Harris-Bowlsbey. She is incredibly knowledgeable, wise, gracious, and kind. She too, is a valued mentor and dear friend. I look forward to future editions and opportunities to work together.

Spencer G. Niles

Like Spencer, my life was molded by a mother who was a single parent and who worked incredibly hard to ensure that I had a level of education and access that she never enjoyed. She taught me the principles of faith, responsibility, commitment, and service. I want to acknowledge her role in laying the foundation that made my present life and contributions possible.

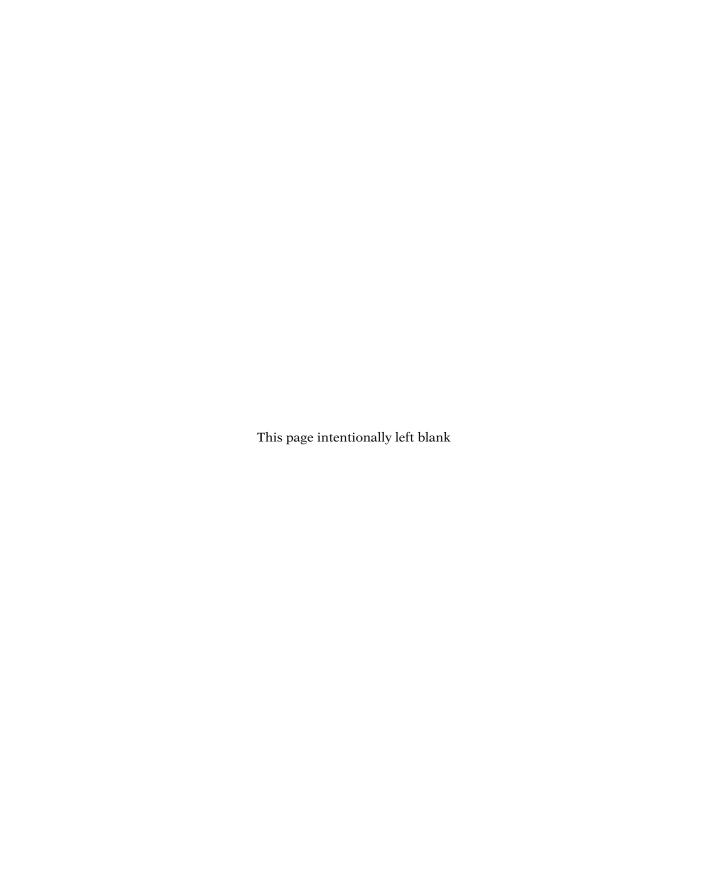
My most valued professional mentor was Donald E. Super, who was kind enough to share his writings and thoughts with me for 30 years. I have personally enjoyed the fullness of his career rainbow in my life. Nancy Schlossberg and David Tiedeman also contributed mightily to my conception of the process of career development and have enriched the well from which the content of this book flows.

My professional contributions would not have been possible without the ongoing support of my late husband, Stan. For the 33 years of our marriage, he placed a very high priority on my career and helped all that he could—editing, proofreading, doing home chores—to nourish it, never pressuring for more of my time. Finally, my ongoing friendship with and respect for Spencer Niles deepens as we experience the authorship of this book and other professional pursuits together.

JoAnn Harris-Bowlsbey

We both appreciate the dedicated assistance and support provided by Kevin Davis and Lauren Carlson at Pearson.

We wish to thank those who reviewed the fourth edition and made suggestions for improvement that we have incorporated into this fifth edition of the book: Stephanie Tursic Burns, Western Michigan University; James M. O'Neil, University of Connecticut; Chester R. Robinson, Texas A&M University—Commerce; and Joan N. Strutton, The University of Texas at Tyler.

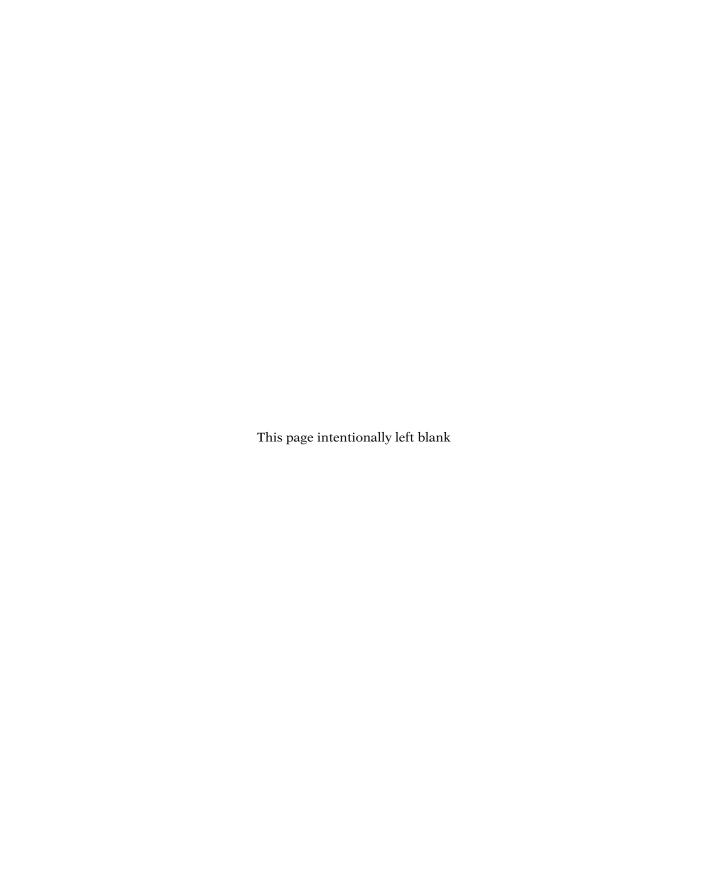


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# Introduction to Career Development Interventions

Like it or not, what we do for money is a big part of our lives. In many ways it defines who we are, and it's how most of us pay for the basic needs of day-to-day living, such as food, shelter, and transportation. In time, if you're lucky, your job can provide more quality leisure time, investments for the education of your children, and a home. Every day we get up and go to work—there's no getting out of it. So it's imperative to choose a field or endeavor that will enrich your life. And whether you're a contractor building a house, a doctor repairing a heart, or a teacher educating students, you need to focus on the finished product and take pride in the process that achieves that finished product. You should never settle for anything less than your best effort, because it matters. It matters to the homeowner, the patient, and the students, and it most certainly should matter to you.

David H., Contractor

Work is something I do because I have to. If I won the lottery, I wouldn't work. As a single parent of two young children, I have to be responsible. I do it for them. Can work be meaningful? I hope to experience that someday. Right now, it's how my family and I get by—that's the most important thing. And most days it's not fun.

Ann D., Food service worker

My work means everything to me—well, almost everything. As an oncologist, I am dedicated to my work and my patients. I feel a tremendous responsibility to be the best physician that I can be. I also feel a responsibility to be the best I can be as a representative of my family and the African American community. I have dedicated much of my life to this activity. It is what gives me meaning and purpose. I feel fortunate to do the work I do.

Camille S., Physician

### MyCounselingLab<sup>®</sup>

Visit the MyCounselingLab<sup>®</sup> site for *Career Development Interventions*, Fifth Edition, to enhance your understanding of chapter concepts. You will have the opportunity to practice applying what you learned in the chapter by completing the video- and case-based exercises in the MyLab. Taking the Licensure Quizzes will help you prepare for your certification exam.

Chandra and her colleagues were discussing their career development course and wondering why, as graduate students in counselor education, they were required to take it. José declared that he had no interest in providing career counseling and was not likely to need to know much about it. Jonathan added that he found the prospect of administering tests just plain boring. Beth was set on establishing a private practice and said

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that she would probably refer clients with career concerns to practitioners specializing in the field.

Chandra had a different take. She had witnessed the powerful impact of work on her family when her father's employer moved overseas and laid him off from his engineering job. While Chandra's father sought new employment, her mother struggled to keep her full-time nursing job while caring for Chandra and her two younger brothers. When her father had to settle for a position that provided less pay, challenge, and satisfaction than had his old one, she watched as he became depressed and tension mounted between her parents. No one was spared: Her brothers were getting into trouble at school, and Chandra, beset by anxiety, developed insomnia. Chandra understood all too well the link between work and well-being and hoped that learning about career development might empower her to help other families avoid what had happened to hers.

avid H., Ann D., and Camille S. communicate some of the diverse values, purposes, and goals that people attach to work. Some view work as a way to express themselves and confer meaning and purpose on life. Others work to provide for their families and, often due to circumstances beyond their control, approach work strictly as a way to bring in money. Some, like Camille S., the physician, see work as a way to fulfill their responsibility to an ethnic or cultural group. Still others struggle simply to find work. The unemployment rate in the United States in December 2014 was 5.6%; in April 2011 it was 9%; and in April 2001 it was 4.4% (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2014). These numbers, however, can be misleading. For example, if you were unemployed and stopped looking for work for a month, you would not have been counted as unemployed—and there are significant numbers of people who have given up trying to find work. Moreover, in April 2013 an estimated 22 million Americans were unemployed or underemployed (underemployed workers include those who are highly skilled and working in low-paying jobs, highly skilled and working in jobs requiring less skill, and those working part-time who want to work full-time). This is a global issue. The International Labour Organization estimates the number of unemployed workers worldwide to be a record 202 million (Moore, 2013).

Chandra's experience is not unusual. We live in uncertain times: Seasoned adults struggle to cope with their careers while recent college graduates have trouble landing their first job. Adolescents feel pressured to succeed but can't see how high school life connects to their future lives as working adults. Children are constantly exposed to occupational stereotypes—police officer, firefighter, doctor—that influence their perceptions of what opportunities await them. So let us be clear: Counselors are expected to, and indeed *must*, provide career assistance in every professional setting. Counselors in grade school, higher education, and community settings will, to varying degrees and at various times, encounter clients confronting career development issues. It is for good reason that the American School Counselor Association (2003) identifies career development as one of three areas essential to the work of school counselors. Survey results examining the concerns of college students consistently identify career planning assistance as their dominant issue. It's no different for working adults who find themselves out of work as their employers downsize.

Despite this, many students in counseling and related programs react with as little enthusiasm as did José, Jonathan, and Beth when required to take a career information course

(Heppner, O'Brien, Hinkelman, & Flores, 1996). Perhaps some think they'll be required to memorize blocks of data or spend hours learning how to administer and interpret occupational questionnaires. Perhaps they view career development interventions as separate from general counseling interventions, with the former involving information dissemination, advising, and test administration, and the latter employing more "sophisticated" therapeutic techniques. Maybe they envision mechanical career development interventions in which the counselor dictates a course of action and takes complete responsibility for the outcome. Or maybe, like Beth, they view career development interventions as irrelevant to their counseling careers.

No matter what their objections are to studying career development, we challenge them.

We believe (and think Chandra would agree) that competent career practitioners must possess expertise in a broad array of counseling-related competencies. The knowledge and skills required for providing effective career assistance encompass and transcend those required for general counseling (Blustein & Spengler, 1995; Gysbers, Heppner, & Johnston, 2009; Herr, Cramer, & Niles, 2004). For example, the competencies identified by the National Career Development Association\* (National Career Development Association, 2009) include knowledge and skills in career development theory; individual and group counseling; individual and group assessment; career information and resources; program promotion, management, and implementation; career coaching and consultation; multicultural counseling; supervision; ethical and legal issues; and using technology effectively in the career intervention process. These competencies extend far beyond those required for career advising and test administration.

Moreover, areas of inquiry related to career development interventions are fascinating, challenging, and connected to recent psychological emphases on optimal human functioning, maximizing happiness, and fulfilling human potential (Hartung, 2002; Niles, Amundson, & Neault, 2011; Savickas, 2009). Career counselors meet their clients at the intersection of what has been and what could be in their lives; interventions help these clients consider how to develop and deploy their talents as their lives progress. Career development practitioners in the 21st century also seek to empower people to derive meaning from their unique life experiences and translate that meaning into rewarding occupational and other choices. Translating life experiences into rewarding choices requires self-awareness. Accordingly, career practitioners provide interventions that help people clarify and articulate how they see themselves. These interventions may include formal, standardized assessments as well as informal, nonstandardized activities that creatively engage clients in the process (Amundson, 2009). Because planning a career and sorting through related concerns are complex processes, competent counselors must be skilled at developing effective working alliances with their clients (Anderson & Niles, 2000; Multon, Heppner, Gysbers, Zook, & Ellis-Kalton, 2001; Perrone, 2005). When career counselors work collaboratively and innovatively with their clients to identify a clear career direction, both client and counselor experience the process as invigorating and fulfilling (Anderson & Niles).

We also realize that practitioners face multiple challenges in the career intervention process. Making career decisions is rarely simple, and good career counseling is never mechanistic or routine. People make decisions about work within the contexts of their other roles and responsibilities, and the complex and stressful nature of such decisions becomes clear (Perrone, Webb, & Blalock, 2005). What might seem to be a straightforward work decision can become frustrating

<sup>\*</sup>Until 1985, the National Career Development Association was known as the National Vocational Guidance Association, or NVGA.

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and overwhelming to someone who feels buffeted by limited work opportunities, family expectations, financial constraints, and multiple life-role commitments. Given the complexity of making career decisions, it isn't surprising that many people who seek career counseling experience substantial levels of psychological distress (Multon et al., 2001). Obviously, counselors must address clients' distress as they help them identify their values, skills, life-role priorities, interests, and motivations. When clients also experience low self-esteem, weak self-efficacy, and little hope that the future can be more satisfying than the past, the counselor's task becomes even more challenging (Lent, Brown, & Hackett, 2002). Such clients require more help resolving their career dilemmas than a test battery can provide. Given this fact, many clients describe a supportive and effective alliance with their career practitioner as one of the most helpful aspects of the counseling experience (Anderson & Niles, 2000; Multon et al., 2001). Obviously, the abilities to establish rapport, listen closely, and express empathic understanding are essential career counseling skills.

Working collaboratively and effectively with clients also requires career practitioners to possess advanced multicultural competencies (Leong, 1995). Clients operating from a collectivistic orientation, for example, engage in the career planning process differently than those coming from an individualistic orientation (Hartung, Speight, & Lewis, 1996). Thus, working within a client's cultural context is essential to providing effective assistance. Kim, Li, and Liang (2002) found that career counselors focusing on the expression of emotion were perceived as having greater cross-cultural competence than counselors focusing on the expression of cognition when working with Asian American college students with high adherence to Asian values. Leong (2002) found acculturation to be positively related to job satisfaction and negatively related to occupational stress and strain. Gomez and colleagues (2001) found that the career decisions of Latina clients were strongly influenced by sociopolitical, cultural, contextual, and personal variables: Socioeconomic status, family obligations, cultural identity, and the existence of a support network were all concerns of the Latinas participating in the Gomez et al. study. Madonna, Miville, Warren, Gainor, and Lewis-Coles (2006) highlight the importance of understanding a client's religious beliefs to effective career counseling. Paul (2008) describes the use of a constructive-developmental approach that incorporates a client's sexual identity into the career counseling process; Pepper and Lorah (2008) discuss the unique concerns of transsexual clients. Powell and Greenhaus (2012) offer a counseling framework that factors family influences into the career decision-making process.

Clearly, a client's constellation of cultural and contextual variables affects the career intervention process. Therefore, as with general counseling interventions, the career development intervention process is a dynamic, complex, and challenging one that requires practitioners to use multicultural counseling skills to help their clients.

#### Tips from the Field

Because there are few decisions more personal than choosing a career, it is important to remember that good career counselors are, first, good counselors.

In addition, indications are that the career development process will soon become more complex. Change, transition, and instability dominate the career development landscape. The Bureau of Labor Statistics (2015) reports that one in four workers has been with his or her

current employer for less than a year. Also, in 2014, the median number of years that workers had been with their current employers was 4.6: 4.7 for men and 4.5 for women. This level of transition involves costs to companies, as they must train new employees, and to society, as transitioning workers claim benefits from government programs such as Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) and unemployment insurance.

In addition to decreased longevity with an employer, today's workers operate in a globalized economy. Thomas Friedman (2005) described this in *The World Is Flat: A Brief History of the 21st Century*, noting that technological advances have created a more level economic playing field, with previously disadvantaged countries now rivaling the knowledge and wealth of the United States and other world powers. Computer and communication technologies, previously a stronghold of developed countries, have been accessed and mastered by China and India, making these nations more competitive economically. This "flattening" of access and opportunity has had a major impact on the nature of work around the world, accelerating the economic interdependence of national economies so that what happens in one country impacts the economies of others. Recent global unemployment rates support this assertion.

Another effect of economic globalization is the outsourcing of jobs from one country to another. On the plus side, this improves the receiving country's economy and standard of living: Its workers have greater employment opportunities, and the country gains access to the latest technology. The outsourcing country benefits from lower labor costs, and consumers benefit as well because globalization increases competition, and companies then lower their prices. Friedman's theory is that these developments will continue until world economies are lateral—that is, they show a flat line. A flat world means we are economically dependent on one another and communicating more with one another.

What are the practical implications of the trends Friedman identifies? To compete effectively in a flat world, Friedman believes that 21st-century workers must focus on and develop some new capacities. First, they must be constantly engaged in learning: Workers must learn new ways of doing old things as well as new ways of doing new things. Second, they must cultivate a passion for, and curiosity about, life. Passion and curiosity are potent forces that infuse the work-place with energy and innovation. Third, they must expand their capacity to work collaboratively. Employees with strong interpersonal skills are valued as team players who cope well with work-place challenges. Finally, they must be able to balance analytical thinking with creative energy, bringing a fuller perspective to solving complex problems. Friedman's list of self-management skills for the 21st century can be expanded to include (a) the capacity to cope with change and tolerate ambiguity, (b) the ability to acquire and use occupational information effectively, (c) the ability to adjust quickly to changing work demands, and (d) a working knowledge of technology. Developing these capacities along with specific job content skills will enable workers to stay current in the expanding global economy.

Before leaving our discussion of globalization, we should note that the phenomenon is not strictly positive. Workers in manufacturing and some white-collar jobs have fewer opportunities in nations where this work has been outsourced: Computer programmers, editors, engineers, and accountants are some examples of the latter. Globalization has also led to the increased exploitation of workers in developing countries. A United Nations (UN) report (2000) asserts that globalization has increased inequality and discrimination, widening the gap between the haves and have-nots. Safety standards are often ignored to produce goods less expensively. Also, many developing countries lack child labor laws, and young workers often toil in inhumane conditions. Companies build factories in countries without environmental regulations and discharge

pollutants into soil and waterways. Also, globalization has sparked increased human trafficking. Finally, the UN report notes that multinational companies have become increasingly influential in local politics, influencing legislation and public policies that are friendly to business but not to the people they employ.

Adding to the new problems are some old ones: discrimination and disparities in opportunities and income between men and women; workers from dominant and minority ethnic groups; heterosexuals and members of sexual minorities; those who are able-bodied and those who are physically challenged; those who have access to quality education and the doors it opens, and those for whom those doors are closed; and so on. Such issues highlight the need for career practitioners to advocate for social justice. In fact, we believe that the ability to advocate effectively for social justice is utterly essential for career practitioners in the 21st century.

Among other things, advocating for social justice requires career development practitioners to learn about legislation and public policies that support workers and provide career development services (the Workforce Investment Act and Americans with Disabilities Act, to name two). Relating to this, Friedman (2005) identifies the need for legislation that makes it easier for people to switch jobs by connecting retirement benefits and health insurance less to their employers and providing insurance that would help cover a possible drop in income. Friedman also believes we should put more energy into inspiring young people to pursue careers in science, technology, engineering, and math (STEM), as fewer of them are entering these fields. This provides implicit support for inserting career development language into the next iteration of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, familiarly known as No Child Left Behind.

It follows that knowing how to shape public policy and legislation is an important skill for career development practitioners: Acquainting legislators with the importance of career services to their constituents, and reminding them of the benefits that accrue to the community, are powerful actions that career practitioners can take. Being multiculturally sensitive and aware is also an essential component of providing effective career interventions. The bottom line is that all people at some point must cope with career development tasks to successfully manage their lives and careers. We believe that all counselors, regardless of their work setting, must understand the career development process and be skilled at providing career interventions.

## THE MEANING OF WORK ACROSS TIME

Understanding the career development process and being able to provide holistic, comprehensive, and systematic career development interventions across a worker's life span require practitioners to appreciate the role that work plays in people's lives. Substantial evidence indicates that the meaning of work for people around the world is changing (e.g., Ardichvili & Kuchinke, 2009; Borchert & Landherr, 2009; Ferrar et al., 2009). Unfortunately, many shifts are not positive for workers. Most workers in industrialized nations now enjoy the benefits of paid vacation time (typically about three weeks per year) and paid parental leave. Currently, 134 countries have laws establishing a maximum length to the work week. The exception is the United States. According to the International Labour Organization, Americans work 137 more hours per year than Japanese workers, 260 more than British workers, and 499 more than French workers. Currently, 85.8% of men and 66.5% of all women in the United States work more than 40 hours per week. So it should come as no surprise that Americans report sharply higher levels of work–family conflict than do citizens of other industrialized nations. Fully

90% of American mothers and 95% of American fathers report work–family conflict (Williams & Boushey, 2010).

The centrality of work to American life may have lessened since the 19th century, when the average citizen worked 70 hours per week, but current data indicate that work continues to dominate the lives of many Americans. This makes sense because the work you choose determines the people with whom you will associate for a major portion of your daily life; it also affects how much time off you will get and when you will get it, the sorts of continuing education and training you will engage in, the type of supervision you will labor under, the degree of autonomy you will experience, and the lifestyle you will enjoy. Thus, one of the first questions we ask a new acquaintance is, "What do you do?" Although people might respond by describing a variety of activities, they seldom do: There is an implicit, if not explicit, understanding that the query relates to what you do for a living. Such interactions reinforce the contention that occupation is one of the principal determinants in industrial society of social status (Super, 1976). They also support Sigmund Freud's statement that "work is the individual's link to reality." For better or worse, our choice of work colors the perceptual lens through which others view us and through which we view ourselves; we make different assumptions about people who say they are neurosurgeons compared to those who say they work at fast-food restaurants. In many countries, an occupational title tends to be used, correctly or incorrectly, to identify a person more than does any other single characteristic. It is important to note, however, that in some contexts and at different periods of history, one's choice of work was not as closely connected to one's identity as it is today; then, your surname or residence provided a primary means for self-identification.

How is it that work has become a core component of our identity? In primitive societies, work was taken for granted. You worked to survive. In classical societies, work was viewed as a curse insofar as it involved manual rather than intellectual labor. (It is interesting to note that the Greek word for *work* has the same root as the word for *sorrow*.) The early Christians viewed work as providing an opportunity to help those less fortunate by sharing the fruits of their labors. The notion that "idleness is akin to sinfulness" also emerged from early Christianity and was maintained throughout the Middle Ages, with the growing idea that work was appropriate for all people as a means of spiritual purification.

The Reformation brought little change to this attitude except for the influence of Martin Luther and John Calvin. Luther viewed work as a way to serve God: All work had equal spiritual value as long as you did it to the best of your ability. The meaning of work shifted dramatically in the theological perspective espoused by John Calvin and his followers. Calvin built on earlier traditions that viewed work as the will of God by adding the idea that the results of work profits, for example—should be used to finance more ventures for more profit and, in turn, for more investment. In addition, Calvin's doctrine of predestination—that your fate after life is predetermined by God, not determined by you during your time on Earth—led his followers to search for visible signs in this life that they were predestined for eternal bliss in the next one. Success in work came to be viewed as a manifestation that one was predestined for eternal life. This evolved into the notion that one was obligated to God to achieve the most exalted and rewarding occupation; hence, striving for upward mobility became morally justified. This coincided with the belief that God rewards those who devote time and effort to work; thus was born the attitude known as the Protestant work ethic. The value attached to hard work, the need for all persons to work, and the justification of profit emerging from Calvinism would eventually form the basis of modern capitalism and industrialism. The values associated with the Protestant work ethic also served as the foundation of the 19th-century view of work labeled by Savickas (1993) as the "vocational ethic." This ethic valued independent effort, self-sufficiency, frugality, self-discipline, and humility, and it was brought across the Atlantic by the Puritans.

The meaning of work continued to evolve as some countries industrialized and increased their reliance on mechanically generated energy to perform it. The determination of a person's status became a question not only of how hard he worked but also a question of the type of work he did. In essence, occupation replaced work as a means of determining a person's status. Savickas (1993) noted that this shift in the nature of work occurred on the brink of the 20th century, when people turned their efforts toward organizing craftspeople into companies and building large cities around industries. The rugged individualism reflected in self-employment on farms and in small, craft-oriented businesses was replaced for many people by the challenge of working for a company and moving up the corporate ladder. Because people working for companies found little reward for independence, self-sufficiency, and self-management, a new work ethic emerged in the 20th century, described by Maccoby and Terzi (1981) as the "career ethic." The career ethic can be described as exhorting workers to "find your fit and don't quit." It defined successful careers as work of extended tenure within the same company, and successful career paths as those that ascended through organizational ranks. Today, this largely male, Caucasian middle- and upper-socioeconomic class model provides, at best, a minimally useful description of the careers most people experience.

Recent developments in the nature of work bring into question the viability of the career ethic (McCortney & Engels, 2003). Organizations served by the career ethic are downsizing in unprecedented numbers, with many workers finding that computers are performing the work they once did. Many employers view workers as expendable commodities. Workers who have lost their jobs to downsizing often feel betrayed and anxious about their prospects. After working long hours, and in some cases relocating to new communities to maintain their employment, many workers are less willing to sacrifice everything for their employers when their employers are so willing to sacrifice them. Survivors of downsizing realize that their situations are anything but secure (McCortney & Engels).

In addition, companies are flattening their organizational structures, leaving fewer career ladders to climb. The elimination of vertical hierarchies challenges the definition of a "successful" career. Hall and associates (1996) argue that changes in the structure of employment opportunities portend a future in which "people's careers will increasingly become a succession of 'ministages' of exploration-trial-mastery-exit, as they move in and out of various product areas, technologies, functions, organizations and other work environments" (p. 33). These shifts have led some people to suggest that "work has ended" and the "career has died" (Bridges, 1994; Rifkin, 1995). The tragic echoes of September 11, 2001, and the recent global economic downturn with resultant high unemployment reverberate widely, influencing politics, economics, international relations, and by logical extension, work. We are still sorting through how these events will shape people's approach to work. McCortney and Engels (2003) note that "it is essential to consider whether the current concept of the work ethic can be accurately, uniformly applied to all individuals in the 'salad bowl' of the United States today" (p. 135). Thanks to globalization, the question applies to nations outside the United States as well.

These changes in the work ethic highlight the fact that career development occurs amid relentless economic, social, cultural, technological, political, global, and historical change. These changes also underscore the fact that career development, like human development, is an evolutionary process. However, unlike biological development—which is ontogenetic and fairly predictable—career development is dynamic, interactive, contextual, relational, and often unpredictable.

### LINKING WORK WITH WORTH

Despite historical changes in the meaning people attach to work and whether it is viewed as a blessing or a curse, work continues to play a central role in our lives (Brief & Nord, 1990; Mannheim, 1993). More recently, Doherty (2009) found that work provided vital social interactions for study participants, fulfilling social and personal needs and providing a sense of personal identity and meaning. Results supporting the primacy of work in the Doherty study were uniform across workplaces and occupations.

This phenomenon is not limited to the United States; results of cross-national studies suggest that many people in other countries view work as being more important than leisure, community, and even religion (Ardichvili & Kuchinke, 2009; Borchert & Landherr, 2009). Harpaz (1999) found that in several multinational studies, work was second in importance only to family activities. Not only do we continue to place an extremely high value on work, but people in the United States also tend to use psychological definitions of work. For example, Super (1976) defined work as:

The systematic pursuit of an objective valued by oneself (even if only for survival) and desired by others; directed and consecutive, it requires expenditure of effort. It may be compensated (paid work) or uncompensated (volunteer work or an avocation). The objective may be intrinsic enjoyment of work itself, the structure given to life by the work role, the economic support which work makes possible, or the type of leisure that it facilitates. (p. 12)

Psychologically oriented definitions of work place the perceptions and motivations relative to work within a person's actions and control. Such definitions reflect a largely American view of work, which emphasizes individual control in career development (motivation, discipline, perseverance, goal-directedness) and deemphasizes the role played by sociological contextual variables (opportunity structure, the economy, socioeconomic status) in shaping one's career. Thus, if a person has a "successful career," we tend to attribute positive qualities to the person, regardless of whether we know him or her. The corresponding assumption is that a person without a successful career is inferior. Our denial of both the sociological factors affecting the trajectory of a person's career and the centrality of work in our culture becomes problematic because we link work with self-worth (Shanahan & Porfeli, 2002; Subich, 2001). Obviously, if our sense of self-worth is dependent on how we feel about our work contributions, our self-esteem can unravel quickly when work situations go awry (Herr, Cramer, & Niles, 2004). If you have ever felt undecided about your career choice, or if you have ever been fired from a job, or worked in a dissatisfying job, or been unable to find a job, or lived with anyone experiencing any of these events, you probably have a good sense of the bad feelings that often surface in negative work-related situations.

Linking work with self-worth also becomes problematic when we develop unrealistic expectations of work. For example, O'Toole (1981) suggests that "when it is said that work should be meaningful, what is meant is that it should contribute to the self-esteem, to the sense of self-fulfillment, through the mastering of one's self and one's environment, and to the sense that one is valued by society" (p. 15). These themes still inform the expectations that many people have for their careers. Although these are clearly desirable experiences, issues such as dehumanizing work conditions, unemployment, prejudicial hiring practices, downsizing, and mismatches between people and their jobs lead to the conclusion that work is anything but meaningful for many people. Denying contextual factors can lead people to blame the victim when work experiences are negative for reasons beyond their control.