6

CAREER COUNSELING

JENNIFER M. KIDD

As other chapters in this volume show, the study of careers draws on a range of diverse areas of literature. This is also the case with career counseling. One main influence is vocational psychology, which is largely concerned with theory and research relating to occupational choice and early career decision making. Another is therapeutic counseling theory, ideas from which are increasingly informing career-counseling practice. A third area of literature focuses on organizational careers, and this in turn has been influenced by organizational psychology, sociology, and management studies. Unfortunately, there has been little interaction between researchers and writers in these areas, and one purpose of this chapter is to show how theories and concepts from each can inform career-counseling practice.

The first career-counseling services appeared at the turn of the 20th century. Parsons (1909) is generally acknowledged to have been the originator of career counseling (Moore, Gunz, and Hall, Chapter 2), a process that was then called "vocational guidance." His work focused on the early career decision-making process, with the central proposition that individuals should engage in a process of "true reasoning" to achieve a good match between their own characteristics and the demands of a job. The aim of vocational guidance was to encourage this. Current "person-environment-fit" approaches to career counseling (e.g., Holland, 1997) evolved directly from Parsons' work, and it is remarkable how they have endured over time.

However, in the context of more flexible and diverse career patterns, the view of career counseling as a process of helping people make wise career decisions that set them on a particular career pathway for life is increasingly inappropriate. Career counselors work with clients of any age and at any stage in their careers, helping individuals with a wide range of career-related concerns. Although work and educational choices are likely to be important issues, many clients will also need help in dealing with broader concerns, such as coping with the frustrations of redundancy and unemployment, deciding whether to return to study or work, and finding ways to balance different life roles. In addition, the problems clients voice in the early stages of career counseling may mask deeper emotional issues that will not become apparent until later in the counseling process. Career counseling can therefore be seen as a process that helps individuals not only make career-related decisions but also effectively manage

their careers over the life course and develop the emotional resilience to cope with the challenges that arise as their working lives progress. More specifically, the definition of career counseling offered here is as follows:

> A one-to-one interaction between practitioner and client, usually ongoing, involving the application of psychological theory and a recognised set of communication skills. The primary focus is on helping the client make career-related decisions and deal with career-related issues. (Kidd, 2006, p. 1)

A wide range of theoretical perspectives can be drawn on to achieve the aims of career counseling. First, it is useful to distinguish between career theories and career-counseling theories. The former are concerned with how people experience their careers, how they make career decisions, and the environments in which careers are made, while the latter focus on how best to intervene to assist people in their career development. Both are covered in this chapter, but in discussing career theories the emphasis will be on the implications of these for the practice of career counseling. As suggested earlier, a further relevant body of theory is that of therapeutic counseling. Since career and personal concerns are often closely intertwined, it is unhelpful to see career and therapeutic counseling as discrete processes. This chapter will also, therefore, examine briefly some of the major perspectives on therapeutic counseling that have implications for the field of career counseling. This is followed by some observations on eclecticism and integration and on epistemological issues. Later in the chapter, a stage model of the career-counseling process is outlined, followed by discussions of assessment tools and techniques, the provision of career information, and the use of information and communications technology. Last, research on the effectiveness of career counseling is examined.

CAREER AND CAREER-COUNSELING THEORIES

In this section, the career theories and career-counseling theories that have been most influential on practice over the course of the 20th century are discussed. We begin by considering person-environment-fit theories, which were the backbone of career counseling for many years. Developmental and cognitive-behavioral approaches are then discussed. This is followed by a brief review of some of the emerging theories of career development, focusing particularly on postmodern perspectives, embodied by narrative models and action theory. Last, some of the challenges highlighted by these approaches for theory, research, and practice are identified.

Person-Environment-Fit Theories

Person-environment-fit approaches to career counseling emphasize diagnosis and assessment, and a common outcome is a recommendation to the client on an appropriate course of action. The practitioner is likely to use questionnaires and inventories completed before the interview (or a series of interviews) as aids to assessment. Holland's (1997) work has provided one theoretical rationale for this diagnostic approach to career counseling, and this is discussed in detail in Chapter 5 by Savickas in this volume. He proposed that people seek occupations that are congruent with their occupational interests (defined as preferences for particular work activities). His theory states that people and occupational environments can be categorized into six interest types: realistic, investigative, artistic, social, enterprising, and conventional; occupational choice is the result of attempts to achieve congruence between interests and environments; and congruence results in job satisfaction and career stability.

Holland's main proposition, that individuals choose occupations that are congruent with their interests, has generally been supported by research (see, e.g., Spokane, 1985). Holland's assertion that congruence results in satisfaction and stability has found less support, however (Tinsley, 2000; Tranberg, Slane, & Ekeberg, 1993). (For example, the relationship between congruence and job satisfaction is weak, around .20.) This may be because people now tend to think more specifically about the *job* they want rather than what broader *occupation* suits them. Also, occupational titles are inadequate descriptors of work environments (Arnold, 2004).

Furthermore, some writers have questioned the validity of the six-dimensional model of interests. Prediger (2000), for example, has argued that two dimensions of "people" versus "things" and "data" versus "ideas" should be incorporated into the model.

Nevertheless, Holland's model has provided an important theoretical rationale for a person-environment-fit, diagnostic approach to career counseling. According to the theory, the career counselor's primary activity is the assessment of occupational interests and the identification of occupations that match the client's interest profile. A range of instruments is available for assessing interests, including the Strong Interests Inventory (Harmon, Hansen, Borgen, & Hammer, 1994) and the Self-Directed Search (Holland, 1985; available at www.self-directed-search.com).

Until recently, person-environment-fit approaches have given little attention to the role of attributes other than interests in the assessment of fit. Further development of fit models should take account of the links between interests, personality and values (Tinsley, 2000), and abilities. Ackerman and Heggestad (1997), for example, in a review of studies that assessed the relationships between abilities, interests, and personality, found four clusters of traits across these three domains: social, clerical/conventional, science/maths, and intellectual/cultural. Apart from the social cluster, all the clusters included traits across the three domains. Ackerman and Heggestad argue that "abilities, interests and personality develop in tandem, such that ability levels and personal dispositions determine the probability of success in a particular task domain and interests determine the motivation to attempt the task" (p. 239). This suggests that career counselors should use frameworks of fit that integrate various attributes, including abilities, interests, and personality.

The person-environment-fit approach to career counseling has often been characterized as assuming that the career counselor's role is simply to offer "expert" advice based on knowledge of the client and of work opportunities. It has also been criticized for ignoring the processes leading up to a career decision and later career development and focusing too much on initial occupational choices. But person-environment fit is now viewed as more of an ongoing process, where individuals and work environments are in constant reciprocal interaction, and contemporary versions see the client as an active participant in the career-counseling process (Swanson, 1996).

Developmental Theories

Developmental orientations to careers and career counseling have two basic features in common. First, they take the view that choosing a career and managing one's career development involve a continuous process that carries on through life. Second, they use concepts from developmental psychology, such as developmental stages and tasks and career maturity, to describe and explain the process of career development.

The writer most commonly associated with the developmental approach is Donald Super. He proposed that career development proceeds through stages as the individual seeks to "implement a self-concept" in an occupation. Super's original stage theory (1957) portrayed career development as involving five stages: growth, exploration, establishment, maintenance, and decline. In a later formulation (Super, Thompson, Lindeman, Myers, & Jordaan, 1988), four stages were incorporated, and within each, three substages:

1. *Exploration.* Crystallization, specification, implementation

2. *Establishment.* Stabilizing, consolidating, advancing

3. *Maintenance.* Holding, updating, innovating

4. *Disengagement.* Deceleration, retirement planning, retirement living

These stages, as well as research on Super's theory, are discussed in detail in Chapter 15 by Sullivan and Crocitto. It is worth noting here though that in this model, individuals are acknowledged to "recycle": People experiencing mid-career transitions, for example, may need to engage in some of the tasks of early working life.

Career counselors who take a developmental approach attempt to form a comprehensive picture of their clients' career development, encouraging them to move toward a greater awareness of themselves and their situations and

to develop decision-making skills. Developmental theorists argue that career-counseling interventions need to be related to the client's developmental stage. For example, during the exploratory stage of career development (around ages 15–24), the focus will be on educational and occupational decision making and the transition to work, while later stages will have a broader emphasis, taking account of other issues, such as work-life balance.

At the time of their introduction, in the 1950s, these ideas signified a sea change in career-counseling practice, based as it was then on a person-environment-fit approach. The view that career development involves developing and implementing a self-concept led career counselors to focus on individuals' views of themselves and their perceptions of opportunities rather than static descriptions of attributes (often derived from testing) and objective descriptions of occupations.

Super's work stimulated a vast amount of research on the exploration stage of development but much less on later stages. One reason for this may be that the processes within later stages are described in only a general way. Because there is little attempt to explain the processes, it is difficult to formulate testable hypotheses, apart from very general ones.

One key concept in developmental models is "career maturity." Career maturity has been defined as an individual's readiness for coping with the tasks of career development as compared with others handling the same tasks. Work has been carried out to assess desirable career attitudes and competencies, and measures of career maturity—for example, The Career Development Inventory (Super, Thompson, Lindeman, Jordaan, & Myers, 1981)—are commonly used to evaluate the effectiveness of career-counseling and other career interventions. Some of these measures are strongly value laden, however, assuming that it is somehow more "mature" to seek intrinsic rather than extrinsic satisfaction from work. Despite calls for alternative constructs to describe the attitudes and skills needed for effective career management in adulthood—for example, "career adaptability" (e.g., Savickas, 2005; Super & Knasel, 1981)—measures of career maturity are still widely used in career counseling.

Cognitive-Behavioral Theories

Cognitive-behavioral career theories arose out of behavioral psychology. As applied to career counseling, they emphasize a change-focused problem-solving approach and the cognitive processes through which people monitor their behavior. Krumboltz's (1983) theory was developed from social learning theory (Bandura, 1977). Krumboltz (1983) argues that people develop beliefs about themselves and work through two kinds of learning experiences: instrumental and associative. Instrumental learning occurs when individuals develop preferences for particular activities when their achievements are rewarded. Associative learning occurs as individuals observe the behavior of significant others and the ways they are rewarded and punished. Individuals form "self-observation generalizations" (beliefs about one's own abilities, interests, values, etc.) as a result of these experiences, and they learn "task-approach skills" (e.g., decision-making skills and orientations toward work). Sequences of these kinds of learning experiences form the basis for career development.

The main task for career counselors using this approach is to assess the "accuracy, completeness and coherence" of clients' beliefs about themselves and the external world (Krumboltz, 1983). Inaccurate beliefs may be linked to various processes, including using a single experience to make inaccurate generalizations about work, comparing oneself with an idealized role model, and emotionally overreacting to negative events. In addition, the career counselor needs to reinforce rational behavior and challenge dysfunctional beliefs by, for example, identifying inconsistencies and confronting illogical systems of beliefs (Mitchell & Krumboltz, 1990).

Emerging Theories of Career Development

More recently developed career theories with clear implications for career counseling include social cognitive career theory—a development of Krumboltz's work (Lent, Brown, & Hackett, 1996); cognitive information processing theory (Peterson, Sampson, Reardon, & Lenz, 1996); Brown's (1996) value-based model of career choice; and Hansen's (1997) integrative life-planning

model. Space does not permit coverage of these in this chapter, but good overviews are given in Brown and Associates (2002) and Niles and Harris-Bowlsbey (2002).

It is worth giving more attention to theories that depart from the positivist tradition that has dominated career research, however. The term *postmodern* has been used to describe these approaches, and they emphasize subjective experience and personal agency in career development.

Narrative Approaches

Narrative approaches to career counseling are in line with the postmodern shift away from broad systems of thought, such as Marxism or psychoanalysis, to more "local" truths and knowledge systems. Writers and practitioners taking a narrative approach encourage clients to tell stories about their lives and help them make sense of these and identify key themes within them. Establishing whether the experiences and events described by clients actually occurred is seen as irrelevant; rather, the aim is to help clients understand and explain their experiences in a coherent way and retell or "re-author" their story or stories in a more satisfactory and "agentic" manner. The approach is not entirely new, however. Many commonly accepted counseling techniques and skills are consistent with a narrative approach. For example, empathic reflection of the content and feeling of clients' statements can help them elucidate their stories, and challenging skills can be used to help identify inconsistencies in their narratives.

Cochran (1997) argues that career counseling can be distinguished from other forms of counseling by focusing particularly on narratives that deal with future career development. Cochran also emphasizes the value of helping clients "actualize an ideal narrative," achieving what they would ideally like to do. This involves "wholeness" (constructing a coherent story), "harmony" among values and activities, a "sense of agency" (being proactive and responsible for one's actions), and "fruitfulness" (progress in managing one's career).

Action Theory

Young, Valach, and Collin's (1996) postmodern approach views career development as an "action system" that derives meaning through the social interaction between individuals and others in their social environment. Individuals make sense of their lives and construct their careers through action. Of particular importance are the goal-directed actions that individuals take in career development. These actions are viewed from three perspectives: manifest behavior, conscious cognitions (including thoughts and feelings), and social meaning (the meaning of the action to the self and to others). Career counseling is seen as a project where counselor and client are involved in "joint action." Social meaning is particularly important in career counseling, where language and narrative help people make sense of life events. It is also important to bring contextual information into the career-counseling process—for example, by providing career counseling in settings where "career action" occurs (e.g., the workplace) and by involving significant others in the process.

As some of the emerging theories imply, so as to better inform career-counseling practice over the life span, career theory needs to be more interactive, taking account of relationships between the individual, social environments, and economic institutions. It also needs to be dynamic, attending to how individuals make sense of their unfolding careers over time. Furthermore, career theory needs to encompass not only how decisions are made and how they might be better made but also how people manage progression in their work and in their learning in the context of more diverse and unpredictable career patterns. Coping with this unpredictability requires a degree of emotional resilience. Individuals who cope well are likely to view the future optimistically and welcome frequent changes of job and employer (Watts & Kidd, 2000).

Kidd's (2006) threefold framework of career development incorporates these aspects: career decision making, career management, and career resilience. Stronger theory is needed in all three to provide a sounder theoretical base for career counseling. With regard to *decision making,* we need to know more about how career decisions are typically made, perhaps moving away from the assumption that these decisions are always, or indeed best, made in planful, goal-directed ways. Asking people how they made decisions is fraught with difficulties,

and accounts of planful decision making may merely reflect cultural expectations of rational discourse (Moir, 1993). Research that takes account of language and discourse is needed to inform the help that career counselors can provide with career decision making.

We may also need to reconsider the constructs and frameworks of work available to career counselors. Hirsh, Kidd, and Watts (1998) argue that some existing ways of grouping occupations and work roles may be out of date and that skills frameworks rather than occupational classifications may be more robust ways of distinguishing different types of work.

In relation to individual *career management,* theory needs to take account of people's attempts to meet their changing needs within more boundaryless careers. It also needs to take more account of the social context of careers. As Flum (2001) has pointed out, "When boundaries become less visible, interdependence becomes gradually more apparent" (p. 266). There is a growing interest in relational approaches to careers; for example, the work of Higgins and Kram (2001) and Seibert, Kraimer, and Liden (2001) suggests the importance of social relationships in career progression. Furthermore, Kidd, Jackson, and Hirsh (2003) have shown how a diverse range of individuals, using basic helping skills, provide career support to employees.

Career counseling also needs a firmer knowledge base about *career resilience*—how individuals cope with challenges and setbacks in their careers. The role of emotion in career development has received little attention until recently. Feelings like anger, worry, and enthusiasm have rarely been discussed (Kidd, 1998), yet career counselors commonly have clients who are incapable of moving on in their careers because of emotional difficulties. In these situations, the broader theoretical perspectives provided by therapeutic counseling theories have much to offer practitioners.

These observations suggest several challenges for career-counseling theory, research, and practice. First, theories and counseling methods need to take account of the ways careers are constructed, individually and socially. Second, we may need to review the classification systems and descriptors used in career counseling, to reflect changes in the world of work. Third, we need to recognize that career development is a social process. Career theory should acknowledge the help and support individuals receive from a range of other people. Also, there may be a role for career practitioners in providing training to givers of support. Last, recognizing the emotional aspects of career management acknowledges the important contribution of therapeutic counseling theories.

THERAPEUTIC COUNSELING THEORIES

Several perspectives on therapeutic counseling have been applied to career counseling, the most important of which are the person-centered and psychodynamic approaches. These are discussed in turn.

Person-Centered Theories

The person-centered approach to therapeutic counseling was introduced by Carl Rogers, and it is one of the most commonly practiced. It was originally described by Rogers (1942) as "client-centered," a term that implies that the focus of the counseling session is determined by the client. According to person-centered practitioners, the most important factor affecting the progress made in the counseling session is the relationship between the counselor and the client. Rather than specific interview techniques, it is the attitudes and qualities of the counselor that are the key to success.

These attitudes and qualities are as follows:

- Congruence (or genuineness), which involves being integrated and real in the relationship
- Unconditional positive regard, which requires the counselor to respect the client in a nonjudgmental way
- Empathic understanding, by which the counselor attempts to understand the client from his or her own internal frame of reference and tries to communicate this to the client

Building on Patterson's (1964) work, which was an early attempt to explore how person-centered principles could be applied in career counseling, Bozarth and Fisher (1990) have set out the main characteristics of a person-centered

approach to career counseling. They describe them as follows:

> Person-centered career counseling is a relation-ship between a counselor and a client, arising from the client's concerns, which creates a psy-chological climate in which the client can evolve a personal identity, decide the vocational goal that is fulfilment of that identity, determine a planned route to that goal, and implement the plan. The person-centered career counselor relates with genuineness, unconditional positive regard, and empathy; the locus of control for decisions remains with the client out of the counselor's trust in the self-actualizing tendency of the individual. The focus in person-centered career counseling is that of attitudes and beliefs that foster the natural actu-alizing process rather than on techniques and goals. (p. 54)

It is surprising that ideas from personal con-struct psychology (PCP) (Kelly, 1955) have not had more of an influence on person-centered counseling. PCP, a theory of personality that emphasizes the unique ways in which people experience and make sense of the world, con-tributes to our understanding of individuals' unique experiences of choices and transitions, and one would expect that person-centered career counselors would have incorporated more ideas from this theory.

According to PCP, individuals use bipolar constructs to understand the world. For example, a construct that an individual could use to describe jobs might be "creative/noncreative." Individuals are seen as constantly testing out and elaborating their systems of constructs. The PCP approach to career counseling views the career counselor as attempting to understand how the client construes the world. Techniques include the following:

- Eliciting constructs by asking clients to describe ways in which certain "elements" (which might be jobs) are similar or different
- "Laddering" up the hierarchy of constructs from subordinate constructs (which may be quite concrete) to superordinate constructs, which have a wider application (e.g., by prob-ing *why* certain things are important to the client)
- Moving down the hierarchy of constructs from superordinate ones to subordinate ones (e.g., by asking *how* things differ)
- Asking clients to complete a "grid" comparing elements (e.g., jobs) along certain constructs

As applied to career counseling, PCP could be criticized for its lack of attention to objective reality. For example, it is unclear how concrete data about work are incorporated into the process.

Psychodynamic Theories

Two main assumptions of the psychody-namic approach to psychotherapy and counsel-ing are, first, that individuals' difficulties have their origins in early experiences and, second, that individuals may not be consciously aware of their motives.

Several concepts derived from psychodynamic theories can be helpful in understanding career development. These include defense mechanisms, such as denial (e.g., where a person is unwilling to accept that he or she has been made redundant) and repression (where a threatening memory of an event becomes unavailable to the conscious mind). Psychodynamic approaches also recog-nize various processes that occur in the inter-action between the counselor and the client. Transference is the best-known example, where the client relates to the counselor as if the coun-selor was an important person in the client's development, such as the client's mother.

Watkins and Savickas (1990), discussing the relevance of psychodynamic theory to career counseling, have outlined some tech-niques derived from this approach. They argue that career counselors using psychodynamic approaches need to develop skills in assessing life themes and sensing patterns in the life course. A key activity will be "making intelligi-ble interconnections among the episodes of the client's life" (p. 108). Structured interviews, projective techniques, autobiographies, and card sorts are examples of some of the tools that can be used.

Watkins and Savickas (1990) have also identified several types of clients who seem to benefit particularly from a psychody-namic approach. These include those who are

indecisive and those who have misconceptions about themselves.

ECLECTIC AND INTEGRATIVE APPROACHES

The orientations described above may give the reader the impression that career counseling operates from a range of clear theoretical principles. However, the flow of knowledge between theory and practice appears to be limited. The career-counseling literature is more prescriptive than analytic (Watts & Kidd, 2000), and career-counseling practice is "often based on a loosely defined set of common practices. . . . without a theoretical foundation" (Whiston, 2003, p. 37). Furthermore, unlike therapeutic counselors, career practitioners rarely adhere to one coherent theoretical orientation, using particular methods and techniques that suit their personal beliefs, their clients, and the issues they bring to the session (Kidd, Killeen, Jarvis, & Offer, 1997; Watson, 1994). Many describe themselves as eclectic, but this seems often to happen by default rather than being a deliberate way of working. One reason for the limited relationship between theory and practice is that the positivist assumptions of much career research conflict with career counselors' concern with encouraging their clients to understand the subjective meanings of their career experiences through the therapeutic relationship (Collin & Young, 1992).

In contrast, the relative merits of approaches that draw on a range of models and techniques versus those that rely on theoretical purity are vigorously debated in the fields of therapeutic counseling and psychotherapy. In particular, there has been much discussion of "technical eclecticism" and "theoretical integration" (Norcross & Grencavage, 1989). Technical eclecticism uses methods and techniques drawn from different sources without necessarily adhering to their parent theories, while theoretical integration involves attempts to synthesize conceptually diverse frameworks. Within therapeutic counseling practice, eclecticism and integrationism are seen as theoretical orientations in their own right, although eclecticism seems to have dropped out of favor recently (McLeod, 2003).

There seems to be a range of options open to career counselors, therefore, who are not satisfied with working within a single theoretical model. First, taking what has been called a "common factors" approach, they might identify the common features from various models that appear to produce gains for the client. Second, they might choose to be eclectic, teasing out specific methods and techniques from the models that appear to be helpful. Third, they might try to develop their own, unique, integrative model.

EPISTEMOLOGICAL ISSUES

Traditional approaches to career counseling—for example, person-environment-fit approaches and developmental approaches—view career planning and career management as ideally rational processes. They are rooted in a positive epistemology, which assumes that objective reality exists and can be assessed through objective observation and measurement. Positivist theories can be criticized for oversimplifying relationships between phenomena, failing to acknowledge the influence of social structure and culture on people's experiences, and assuming that the structure of opportunities is set (Watts & Kidd, 2000).

In contrast, some of the newer orientations to career counseling—for example, narrative approaches—take the view that there are multiple realities, that individuals construct their own reality, and that therefore there are many versions of people's career experiences. Within this perspective, it is possible to distinguish between "constructivist" and "constructionist" paradigms (although the two terms are often used interchangeably). Practitioners and researchers working within a constructivist paradigm emphasize the accounts and descriptions individuals use to construct their worlds, while constructionists are more concerned with the ways these descriptions and accounts are themselves socially constructed (Kidd, 2004; Potter, 1996). As Savickas (1997) argues, the constructivist paradigm, being more concerned with individual psychology, explores the nature of "self-conceiving, self-organizing processes." He suggests that applications of constructivism to career counseling include PCP and narrative approaches. As we have seen, person-centered counseling (Rogers, 1942) is also rooted in constructivism, since it emphasizes

the importance of the client's internal frame of reference in the counseling process.

The constructionist paradigm, on the other hand, focuses on how accounts of social phenomena are socially produced (by the culture and by the parties involved in social interactions) and the use of language in this process. Significantly, constructionism shows how the constructs describing individual differences in the careers literature (e.g., work values and occupational interests) are cultural constructions and not necessarily universal (Stead, 2004). An example of a career theory within this perspective is the action theory of Young et al. (1996) (discussed earlier), which proposes that careers are socially constructed through joint action or interactions with significant others.

The important point here is that both approaches assume that in any social interaction, participants "co-create" understandings (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). Therefore, there are constraints on how far clients' accounts concerning their careers can be seen as reflecting their inner realities and therefore their agency. Edwards and Potter (1992), for example, see conversation as constructed to perform interactional, communicative work, to support or undermine versions of events. If this is so, there are implications for career counseling. Various elements of the career-counseling context could be explored to gain a better understanding of the client-counselor interaction and clients' accounts of their experiences. These include the framing of the situation by both parties, clients' motives and means of impression management, perceptions of power relationships within the interaction, and the use of language and cultural scripts.

Exploring career-counseling interventions in these ways opens up possibilities for multiple interpretations of the career-counseling process and of clients' accounts of their career development. They do not replace understandings based on underlying cognitions and individual agency; rather, they offer additional lenses through which to view the process.

The Career-Counseling Process

We discussed earlier some of the basic components of the career-counseling interaction. Many career-counseling texts, irrespective of theoretical orientation, organize their discussion of career-counseling practice within a stage model of career counseling. For example, Kidd's (2003; 2006) model of career-counseling stages and tasks views the career-counseling process as comprising four stages, with associated tasks. These stages are discussed in this section.

In the first stage, building the relationship, the main task is to establish the working alliance. In the second stage, enabling clients' self-understanding, helping clients assess their attributes and their situation is the key task. The third stage, exploring new perspectives, involves challenging and information giving. In the last stage, forming strategies and plans, reviewing progress and goal setting are the main activities. Although the model is oversimplified (usually, sessions move back and forth between stages), it serves to illustrate the key activities.

Stage 1: Building the Relationship

The image of the career counselor as an "expert," offering advice and recommendations on suitable jobs, is an enduring one. Many clients expect career counseling to consist mainly of information about occupations and may be disappointed when they do not receive this. Writers on career-counseling practice tend to take the view, therefore, that it is important to help the client understand that career counseling is a collaborative venture and that they themselves need to be active participants throughout the process. Agreeing on a client-counselor "contract" at an early stage is seen as crucial, and this is asserted in a considerable body of literature. The contract may cover issues of confidentiality; the number, length, and frequency of meetings; and, more generally, the nature of the career-counseling process itself, and it may need to be renegotiated at intervals.

Bordin (1979) used the term *working alliance* to describe the quality of the relationship established early on between the counselor and the client. From a psychoanalytic perspective, he saw the working alliance as arising out of the transference relationship that the client develops with the counselor. Although agreeing and renegotiating a contract may seem fairly straightforward, research with practitioners in the United

Kingdom suggests that there is some confusion about what the contract should consist of and concern that it could come to dominate the career-counseling session (Kidd et al., 1997).

Stage 2: Enabling Clients' Understanding

In the second stage, the main task is seen as helping clients gain a deeper understanding of their situation and the issues that are concerning them. Many clients gain important insights through the counseling process itself, but more structured assessment techniques and tools are often used at this stage.

Assessment Techniques

One of the advantages of using assessment techniques is that they help clients become familiar with conceptual frameworks in order to organize their knowledge of themselves and their situation (Holland, Magoon, & Spokane, 1981). From this point of view, simple self-assessment tools, as well as the knowledge gained through the career-counseling process itself, often produce insights that appear to be as useful as those gained from administering psychometric tests and inventories.

Changes in career-counseling practice have led to a substantial expansion in the purposes and use of assessment techniques. Person-environment-fit approaches to career counseling necessitated robust means of assessing individuals' psychological attributes to recommend career options. While this "test and tell" approach is still prevalent, it is less appropriate where the practitioner works within an orientation in which the client is an equal participant in the career-counseling process. Practitioners using person-centered or narrative approaches, for example, are likely to involve the client in deciding whether assessment tools are needed and, if so, which ones. They are also more likely to use assessment for client self-understanding and exploration rather than make predictions or recommendations. In addition, the information produced from assessment is seen as something to be shared, and clients may be encouraged to express their feelings about its accuracy and usefulness.

Assessment tools used in career counseling may be grouped into two broad categories: informal and formal. Informal tools and techniques include graphic or written portrayals, such as "life lines," or written answers to questions such as "What do you seem to seek out, or avoid, in your life?" and checklists, card sorts, and rating scales relating to work tasks, settings, values, or skills. One problem with the latter is that they may have unknown psychometric properties, and the onus is, therefore, on the practitioner to help the client interpret the results with caution. Structured interviews may also be used involving "systematic reflection on experience" (Kidd, 1988), where clients are encouraged to analyze their past experiences to discover what can be learned from them. Some tools are designed to be used as part of an in-depth process of self-exploration. One example is the Intelligent Career Card Sort (Arthur, Amundson, & Parker, 2002), based on intelligent career theory (Khapova, Arthur, and Wilderom, Chapter 7), which encourages people to consider their values, skills, and relationships and reflect on the implications of these for career development and decision making. Formal tools include psychometric tests and inventories that assess occupational interests, work values, aptitudes, and personality—for example, the Strong Interest Inventory (Harmon et al., 1994) and the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator (Myers & Briggs, 1993), a measure of personality. This category also includes instruments assessing career choice processes, such as decision-making styles and skills, and career maturity (or the psychological readiness for career development tasks). Examples of these types of instruments are the Career Beliefs Inventory (Krumboltz, 1991) and the Career Decision Scale (Osipow, Carney, Winer, Yanico, & Koschier, 1987).

Stage 3: Exploring New Perspectives

Challenging

Mitchell and Krumboltz (1990) see challenging clients' irrational thinking and inaccurate beliefs as key tasks in career counseling. They suggest several guidelines for identifying "problematic" beliefs—for example, "examine the

assumptions and presuppositions of the expressed belief" and "confront attempts to build an illogical consistency."

Information Giving

The increasing diversity of careers and the vast amount of information now available on careers means that it is almost impossible for career counselors to keep up-to-date with information about opportunities, even in a limited number of occupational areas. Accordingly, and as Nathan and Hill (2006) suggest, it is more appropriate and realistic for career counselors to view themselves as "general practitioners" with respect to knowledge of occupational and educational opportunities. This stance is more in line with their facilitative role, too.

Different client groups will need different types of labor market information, depending on their age, life stage, and level of qualifications. For example, young people making initial career decisions may value broad frameworks that show how occupations cluster and how they differ, while adults in mid-career may need much more specific information about occupations, employers, and specific jobs. As Hirsh et al. (1998) argue, within the career-counseling literature, the constructs and frameworks used to describe work mainly reflect concern with early choice of occupation and how individuals' interests and values affect that choice. Less attention has been given to other types of decision, for example, choice of type of organization or employer, and decisions about whether to work full- or part-time. Although descriptions and classifications of organizational career systems exist, as do checklists for analyzing other features of organizations, these normally require "insider" knowledge and may be more useful in organizational career interventions.

Another problem with many frameworks is that they are predominantly static, in that they fail to take account of work histories and how careers develop over time. Workers increasingly experience more diverse and flexible career patterns, with certain skills seen as generic (e.g., basic IT skills) and other skills giving them greater ability to move between occupations that were previously viewed as quite different (e.g.,

project management skills). Descriptions of careers need to be updated regularly to accommodate these changes, and new constructs and frameworks of work may be needed.

Niles and Harris-Bowlsbey (2002) set out three responsibilities of counselors in relation to career information. First, they should use only high-quality printed materials, computer-based systems, and Web sites. A comprehensive set of guidelines for selecting sources of information is provided by the American National Career Development Association. These are available at www.ncda.org. Second, they should make these resources known to clients and make them as user-friendly as possible.

Third, it is the counselor's responsibility to help clients process the information. They suggest that the counselor should consider whether the client is ready to receive the information, what are the barriers to the client's use of the information, what kinds of information will be most helpful, what methods of receiving the information will be most effective, and what kind of decision style the client uses.

Stage 4: Forming Strategies and Plans

Most writers see reviewing progress to be an integral part of the career-counseling process at various stages and suggest that it may be necessary to revisit and review the counseling "contract" at certain points. Setting time aside for a review is also seen as useful in assessing the progress made.

Goal Setting

Goal setting theory (e.g., Locke & Latham, 1984) has been applied to the action-planning stage of career counseling, and Miller, Crute, and Hargie (1992) have described what this theory suggests as the main features of effective goals, which are as follows: clear and behaviorally specific, measurable, achievable, owned by the goal setter, congruent with the client's values, and appropriately timescaled (Miller et al., 1992). As we have seen, however, some approaches see the whole intervention largely in terms of goal setting. Mitchell and Krumboltz's (1990) social learning approach and Egan's (2004) model of helping are examples.

THE USE OF INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATIONS TECHNOLOGY

Computers are potentially a powerful resource in career counseling. They can administer, score, and interpret tests; search databases; teach career-planning concepts; and facilitate interactive dialogue with users. In this section, we discuss some of the issues arising from the introduction of information and communications technology in career counseling.

As Watts (1996) points out, computers offer both opportunities and threats to career counselors. They provide opportunities in that they can improve the career support offered and its accessibility. The main threat, though, is that they can be used to mechanize the human interaction that is at the heart of career counseling. Watts sees the challenge for career services as finding ways to use computer technology in ways that "supplement and extend human potential rather than acting to restrict or replace it" (p. 269).

Computers first began to be used in career education and counseling in the 1960s, with the introduction of computer-aided career guidance systems (CAGS). Three theorists played a key role in their development—Katz, Super, and Tiedeman all designed CAGS—and they saw the computer as a tool through which to teach their theories to users (Niles & Harris-Bowlsbey, 2002). Apart from this objective, CAGS have various specific functions in career counseling. Offer has classified the systems into eight categories:

1. *Self Assessment.* Programs that help individuals assess themselves and which provide a profile in terms that also describe work or educational opportunities. These are commonly based on occupational interests.

2. *Matching Systems.* Programs that match individuals to occupations or courses. These are the most commonly-used applications of computers in career counseling.

3. *Information Retrieval.* Databases of education and training opportunities, or of employers.

4. *Games and Simulations.* Business, training or other career education materials. These enable users to explore occupations in an experiential way.

5. *Decision Aids.* Programs that help individuals analyse the factors they use in decision making, and apply these to a typical decision.

6. *Dedicated Word Processors.* Programs that provide support for CV writing or completing application forms.

7. *Computer-Based Training.* Programs that teach job-seeking skills, for example, handling interviews and making job applications.

8. *Psychometric Tests.* Programs that administer psychological tests and inventories. These are mainly on-line adaptations of pencil-and-paper tests, measuring abilities, aptitudes, personality, etc. (Offer, 1997, cited in Kidd, 2006, p. 122)

Some systems, sometimes described as "mini systems," incorporate only one or two of these functions. Others, often called "maxi systems," include most of the functions and integrate them so that users can move flexibly between tasks. Maxi systems are more useful in modeling the career decision-making process so that individuals can learn decision-making skills.

CAGS vary in their theoretical rationale. For example, some take a person-environment-fit approach, suggesting opportunities that match individual objectively assessed attributes. Others work in a more idiographic way, using the individual's own decision-making constructs.

Although CAGS have transformed career counseling in many ways, they have limitations. For example, it could be argued that they reduce experience, knowledge, and wisdom to data; that they simply manipulate these data according to strict logic; and that this logic is subordinated to set purposes (Watts, 1996). This means that the more emotional and uniquely personal aspects of career development decision making cannot be adequately addressed by a computer. Even the best systems can only *mimic* the core conditions of the counseling relationship. Although CAGS are frequently used on a stand-alone basis, a combination of the computer and face-to-face interaction with a counselor is likely to be more effective than either intervention on its own. In this way, both counselor and computer can be used to play to their distinctive strengths.

There are now a large number of Web sites that offer help with career decision making, and many

individuals find using the Internet, either as a stand-alone tool or with the support of a career counselor, helpful in career planning. Many CAGS now offer a parallel version on the Internet. There are hundreds, if not thousands, of other Internet tools that are potentially helpful in career decision making and career management. These differ considerably in their aims, however, as CAGS do. Some focus on assessment, others focus on providing career information (there is now a huge online labor market, for example, as discussed in Chapter 17 by Cappelli and Hamori), and still others concentrate on career planning. With regard to assessing the quality of a site, Offer (2000) suggests a range of questions, as follows:

- Who produced this? What's in it for them? Could there be a conflict of interest? If so, is that openly acknowledged and declared?
- Can I trust them? What are their credentials? Are they relevant to the matter in hand? How else can I contact them if I need to? (or, Why have they not allowed me to do so?)
- Is it up to date? (And how do I tell?) When was it created, and when was it last amended? What does it tell me? (What did I want to know that isn't here? What could they have told me that isn't here? Why didn't they?)
- Is it credible? (If not entirely, why should I believe this over another source that says something different?) Does it fit with what I already know about this subject?
- Can it be corroborated? (Where else can I get information about this? How valid and reliable would that be—more than this?) Does the site itself offer relevant sources and indications as to where its statements can be checked?
- What signs are there, if any, of a lack of quality control on this site? (Any signs of sloppy thinking or practice, even simple misspellings?)
- Who is this aimed at/intended for? Is the agenda persuasion, or a balanced summary of the arguments or available facts? Does it acknowledge any alternative views?
- What other sites does it link to, or what other sources does it suggest—and does that indicate anything about the standpoint of this one?
- What other sources of this information, advice or guidance are there and how might they help me? Would they be better for my purposes than what is offered here? (p. 40)

With access to the Internet, the user may come to career counseling with considerable information about opportunities, just as doctors have "expert patients." Many career counselors will welcome this, because they can spend more time on in-depth issues that require face-to-face discussion, not simply on giving information. However, the lack of control over information on the Internet means that users may be obtaining out-of-date or inaccurate information. Ideally, therefore, users need to be educated through the career-counseling process to be more critical and demanding of Web sites. More general ethical guidelines for "cybercounseling" have been developed by several professional bodies. These are summarized in Niles and Harris-Bowlsbey (2002, pp. 222–223).

THE EVALUATION OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF CAREER COUNSELING

We turn now to consider how career counseling has been evaluated. First, we discuss the kinds of outcomes that have been assessed in evaluation studies of career counseling, and then we consider the evidence for its effectiveness.

As was shown earlier, the theoretical base for career counseling during the early part of the 20th century was person-environment-fit theory. Career practitioners viewed their main task as assessing individual differences and the characteristics of occupations to make appropriate recommendations about jobs. Accordingly, the earliest studies evaluating career counseling were concerned primarily with establishing how far individuals who entered jobs that were in accord with the recommendations were satisfied and successful in their work (e.g., Hunt & Smith, 1944). However, these studies were essentially assessing the predictive validity of the careers adviser's judgment; they did not directly evaluate the impact of the career advice received. This means that it was impossible to assess whether clients would have been any less likely to enter suitable occupations had they not received career advice (Watts & Kidd, 1978).

These initial studies of effectiveness were not at all concerned with *how* career decisions were made; indeed, clients' job destinations were essentially decided for them by career advisers.

Furthermore, the outcome criteria used were subsequent career states. In contrast, more recent studies have virtually ignored these kinds of "ultimate" outcome criteria, preferring instead to assess what have been called the "learning outcomes" of career interventions. Learning outcomes have been defined by Kidd and Killeen (1992) as "the skills, knowledge and attitudes which facilitate rational occupational and educational decision making and the effective implementation of occupational and educational decisions" (p. 221). Examples of learning outcomes are accuracy of self-knowledge, decision-making skills, career information seeking, and career decidedness.

These kinds of outcome have come to be used in evaluation studies as a result of the shift toward a more developmental orientation to career counseling. Qualitative reviews of studies evaluating the effectiveness of career counseling have generally suggested that career interventions are effective in these terms (e.g., Holland et al., 1981; Swanson, 1995). However, meta-analytic studies of career interventions vary in their conclusions about effectiveness. For example, Oliver and Spokane (1988), in a meta-analysis that analyzed studies published between 1950 and 1982, found an overall average effect size of .82. Whiston, Sexton, and Lasoff (1998), using studies published between 1983 and 1995 and calculating effect size using a weighting procedure to take account of variance, showed a considerably lower average effect size of .30, with individual career counseling producing the greatest effect (.75). The effect size in a third meta-analysis, carried out by Brown and Ryan Krane (2000), was similar (.34). As Whiston, Brecheisen, and Stephens (2003) argue, these varying effect sizes suggest that the career interventions evaluated are, in fact, "a diverse set of interventions with diverse outcomes" (p. 391), since the range of effect sizes may reflect variation in effectiveness, with some interventions being highly effective and others ineffective.

Many of the studies examined in these meta-analyses are investigations into the effectiveness of career interventions in general, not individual career counseling. There have been few investigations into the effectiveness of individual career counseling as compared with other treatment modalities. In an attempt to compare the various treatment modalities used in career interventions, Whiston et al. (2003) carried out a meta-analysis of 57 studies published between 1975 and 2000 and involving 4,732 participants. The most common outcome measures used in the studies were information seeking and career maturity. The results showed that counselor-free interventions (e.g., the use of "stand-alone" CAGS) were less effective than other treatments. The authors concluded that effective career interventions need to include a counseling component.

Evidence exists, therefore, for the effectiveness of career counseling, but our state of knowledge in this area is substantially less than that within psychotherapy outcome research, where there has been a considerable amount of work examining the processes that occur in psychotherapy sessions and assessing the comparative efficacy of different theoretical approaches (Barkham, 2003). This most likely reflects the traditional view of career counseling as a rational approach with an emphasis on testing and information giving, and also the predominantly eclectic methods used by career counselors.

It is worth noting that much research on the effectiveness of career counseling uses students and the unemployed and, to a lesser extent, managers. The reason for this focus is likely to be that students and the unemployed are more accessible than other adults. However, the career-counseling needs of students may differ from those of the general adult population, and samples may be overrepresentative of higher socioeconomic groups.

Conclusion

Many of the challenges that career counseling faces in the 21st century are related to meeting the needs of individuals following more diverse and flexible career patterns. It seems that careers are becoming different from the past, but we should not exaggerate the changes that are taking place. Over the last few decades, job tenure in the United Kingdom has been fairly stable. For example, statistics from the Quarterly Labour Force Surveys demonstrate that the number of people who had worked for the same employer for 10 years was very similar in 1986 and in 2004, at around 29% of the

workforce. In the United States, there has been only a modest decline in tenure, with a slight increase for those employed in long-term positions in the service industries (Jacoby, 1999).

This chapter has attempted to provide a broad overview of the field of career counseling. Many of the traditional theories, concepts, and techniques reviewed here are still relevant, and the newer perspectives are best seen as adding to the considerable body of knowledge in the field rather than replacing it.

REFERENCES

Ackerman, P. L., & Heggestad, E. D. (1997). Intelligence, personality and interests: Evidence for overlapping traits. *Psychological Bulletin, 121,* 219–245.

Arnold, J. (2004). The congruence problem in John Holland's theory of vocational decisions. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology, 77,* 95–113.

Arthur, M. B., Amundson, N., & Parker, P. (2002). The development and application of the intelligent career card sort. In *The compass of career.* Copenhagen, Denmark: Civilokonomerne (The Danish Organization for Management and Business Economics). (English translation available at http://www.intelligentcareer.com).

Bandura, A. (1977). *Principles of behavior modification.* New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Barkham, M. (2003). Quantitative research on psychotherapeutic interventions: Methods and findings across four research generations. In R. Woolfe, W. Dryden, & S. Strawbridge (Eds.), *Handbook of counseling psychology* (pp. 25–73). London: Sage.

Bordin, E. (1979). The generalizability of the psychoanalytic concept of the working alliance. *Psychotherapy: Theory, Research and Practice, 16,* 252–260.

Bozarth, J. D., & Fisher, R. (1990). Person-centered career counseling. In W. B. Walsh & S. H. Osipow (Eds.), *Handbook of vocational psychology* (pp. 45–77). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Brown, D. (1996). Brown's value-based, holistic model of career and life-role choices and satisfaction. In D. Brown, L. Brooks, & Associates (Eds.), *Career choice and development* (3rd ed., pp. 337–372). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Brown, D., & Associates (2002). *Career choice and development.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Brown, S. D., & Ryan Krane, N. E. (2000). Four (or five) sessions and a cloud of dust: Old assumptions and new observations about career counseling. In S. D. Brown & R. W. Lent (Eds.), *Handbook of counseling psychology* (3rd ed., pp. 740–766). New York: Wiley.

Cochran, L. (1997). *Career counseling: A narrative approach.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Collin, A., & Young, R. A. (1992). Constructing career through narrative and context: An interpretive perspective. In A. Collin and R. A. Young (Eds.), *Interpreting career: Hermeneutical studies of lives in context* (pp. 1–12). Westport, CT: Praeger.

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2000). The discipline and practice of qualitative research. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed., pp. 1–28). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Edwards, D., & Potter, J. (1992). *Discursive psychology.* London: Sage.

Egan, G. (2004). *The skilled helper: A problem management and opportunities development approach to helping.* Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole.

Flum, H. (2001). Dialogues and challenges: The interface between work and relationships in transition. *The Counseling Psychologist, 29,* 261–270.

Hansen, L. S. (1997). *Integrative life planning: Critical tasks for career development and changing life patterns.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Harmon, L. W., Hansen, J. I. C., Borgen, F. H., & Hammer, A. L. (1994). *Strong interest inventory: Applications and technical guide.* Palo Alto, CA: Consulting Psychologists Press.

Higgins, M. C., & Kram, K. E. (2001). Reconceptualizing mentoring at work: A developmental network perspective. *Academy of Management Review, 26,* 264–288.

Hirsh, W., Kidd, J. M., & Watts, A. G. (1998). *Constructs of work used in career guidance.* Cambridge, UK: CRAC/NICEC.

Holland, J. L. (1985). *The self-directed search: Professional manual.* Odessa, FL: Psychological Assessment Resources.

Holland, J. L. (1997). *Making vocational choices* (3rd ed.). Odessa, FL: Psychological Assessment Resources.

Holland, J. L., Magoon, T. M., & Spokane, A. R. (1981). Counseling psychology: Career interventions, research, and theory. *Annual Review of Psychology, 32,* 279–305.

Hunt, E. P., & Smith, P. (1944). *Scientific vocational guidance and its value to the choice of employment work of a local education authority.* Birmingham: City of Birmingham Education Committee.

Jacoby, S. M. (1999). Are career jobs headed for extinction? *California Management Review, 42,* 123–145.

Kelly, G. A. (1955). *The psychology of personal constructs.* New York: Norton.

Kidd, J. M. (1988). *Assessment in action.* Leicester: NIACE.

Kidd, J. M. (1998). Emotion: An absent presence in career theory. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 52,* 275–288.

Kidd, J. M. (2003). Career development work with individuals. In R. Woolfe & W. Dryden (Eds.), *Handbook of counseling psychology* (pp. 461–480). London: Sage.

Kidd, J. M. (2004). Emotion in career contexts: Challenges for theory and research. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 64*(3), 441–454.

Kidd, J. M. (2006). *Understanding career counselling: Theory, research and practice.* London: Sage.

Kidd, J. M., Jackson, C., & Hirsh, W. (2003). The outcomes of effective career discussion at work. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 62,* 119–133.

Kidd, J. M., & Killeen, J. (1992). Are the effects of careers guidance worth having? Changes in practice and outcomes. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology, 65,* 219–234.

Kidd, J. M., Killeen, J., Jarvis, J., & Offer, M. (1997). Competing schools or stylistic variation in careers guidance interviewing. *British Journal of Guidance and Counseling, 25,* 47–65.

Krumboltz, J. D. (1983). *Private rules in career decision making.* Columbus: Ohio State University, National Centre for Research in Vocational Education.

Krumboltz, J. D. (1991). *Career beliefs inventory.* Palo Alto, CA: Consulting Psychologists Press.

Lent, R. W., Brown, S. D., & Hackett, G. (1996). Career development from a social cognitive perspective. In D. Brown, L. Brooks, & Associates (Eds.), *Career choice and development* (3rd ed., pp. 373–416). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Locke, E. A., & Latham, G. P. (1984). *Goal setting: A motivational technique that works!* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

McLeod, J. (2003). *An introduction to counseling.* Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

Miller, R., Crute, V., & Hargie, O. (1992). *Professional interviewing.* London: Routledge.

Mitchell, L. K., & Krumboltz, J. D. (1990). Social learning approach to career decision making: Krumboltz's theory. In D. Brown & L. Brooks (Eds.), *Career choice and development: Applying contemporary theories to practice* (pp. 145–196). San Francisco: Jossey Bass.

Moir, J. (1993). Occupational career choice: Accounts and contradictions. In E. Burman & I. Parker (Eds.), *Discourse analytic research* (pp. 17–34). London: Routledge.

Myers, I., & Briggs, K. (1993). *The Myers-Briggs type indicator.* Palo Alto, CA: Consulting Psychologists Press.

Nathan, R., & Hill, L. (2006). *Career counseling* (2nd ed.). London: Sage.

Niles, S. G., & Harris-Bowlsbey, J. (2002). *Career development interventions in the 21st century.* Columbus, OH: Merrill Prentice Hall.

Norcross, J. C., & Grencavage, L. M. (1989). Eclecticism and integration in counseling and psychotherapy: Major themes and obstacles. *British Journal of Guidance and Counseling, 17,* 215–247.

Offer, M. (2000). *Careers professionals' guide to the Internet.* Richmond: Trotman.

Oliver, L. W., & Spokane, A. R. (1988). Career intervention outcome: What contributes to client gain? *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 35,* 447–462.

Osipow, S. H., Carney, C. G., Winer, J. L., Yanico, B., & Koschier, M. (1987). *The career decision scale.* Columbus, OH: Marathon Consulting Press.

Parsons, F. (1909). *Choosing a vocation.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Patterson, P. (1964). Counseling: Self-clarification and the helping relationship. In H. Borow (Ed.), *Man in a world of work* (pp. 434–459). Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Peterson, G. W., Sampson, J. P., Reardon, R. C., & Lenz, J. G. (1996). A cognitive information processing approach. In D. Brown, L. Brooks, & Associates (Eds.), *Career choice and development* (3rd ed., pp. 423–476). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Potter, J. (1996). *Representing reality: Discourse, rhetoric and social construction.* London: Sage.

Prediger, D. J. (2000). Holland's hexagon is alive and well—though somewhat out of shape: Response to Tinsley. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 56,* 197–204.

Rogers, C. R. (1942). *Counseling and psychotherapy.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Savickas, M. (1997). Constructivist career counseling: Models and methods. *Advances in Personal Construct Psychology, 4,* 149–182.

Savickas, M. (2005). The theory and practice of career construction. In S. D. Brown & R. W. Lent (Eds.), *Career development and counseling: Putting research and theory to work* (pp. 42–70). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.

Seibert, S. E., Kraimer, M. L., & Liden, R. C. (2001). A social capital theory of career success. *Academy of Management Journal, 44,* 219–237.

Spokane, A. R. (1985). A review of research on person-environment congruence in Holland's theory of careers. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 31,* 37–44.

Stead, G. B. (2004). Culture and career psychology: A social constructionist perspective. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 64,* 389–406.

Super, D. E. (1957). *The psychology of careers.* New York: Harper & Row.

Super, D. E., & Knasel, E. (1981). Career development in adulthood: Some theoretical problems and a possible solution. *British Journal of Guidance and Counseling, 9,* 194–201.

Super, D. E., Thompson, A. S., Lindeman, R. H., Jordaan, J. P., & Myers, R. A. (1981). *Career development inventory.* Palo Alto, CA: Consulting Psychologists Press.

Super, D. E., Thompson, A. S., Lindeman, R. H., Myers, R. A., & Jordaan, J. P. (1988). *Adult career concerns inventory.* Palo Alto, CA: Consulting Psychologists Press.

Swanson, J. L. (1995). The process and outcome of career counseling. In W. B. Walsh & S. H. Osipow (Eds.), *Handbook of vocational psychology* (pp. 217–259). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Swanson, J. L. (1996). The theory *is* the practice: Trait-and-factor/person-environment fit counseling. In M. L. Savickas & W. B. Walsh (Eds.), *Handbook of career counseling theory and practice* (pp. 93–108). Palo Alto, CA: Davies-Black.

Tinsley, H. E. A. (2000). The congruence myth: An analysis of the efficacy of the person-environment fit model. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 56,* 147–179.

Tranberg, M., Slane, S., & Ekeberg, S. E. (1993). The relationship between interest congruence and satisfaction: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 42,* 253–264.

Watkins, C. E., & Savickas, M. L. (1990). Psychodynamic career counseling. In W. B. Walsh & S. H. Osipow (Eds.), *Career counseling: Contemporary topics in vocational psychology* (pp. 79–116). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Watson, C. (1994). Improving the quality of careers guidance: Towards an understanding of the development of personal models. *British Journal of Guidance and Counseling, 22,* 357–372.

Watts, A. G. (1996). Computers in guidance. In A. G. Watts, B. Law, J. Killeen, J. M. Kidd, & R. Hawthorn (Eds.), *Rethinking careers education and guidance: Theory, policy and practice* (pp. 269–283). London: Routledge.

Watts, A. G., & Kidd, J. M. (1978). Evaluating the effectiveness of careers guidance: A review of the British research. *Journal of Occupational Psychology, 51,* 235–248.

Watts, A. G., & Kidd, J. M. (2000). Guidance in the United Kingdom: Past, present and future. *British Journal of Guidance and Counseling, 28,* 485–502.

Whiston, S. C. (2003). Career counseling: 90 years old yet still healthy and vital. *Career Development Quarterly, 52,* 35–42.

Whiston, S. C., Brecheisen, B. K., & Stephens, J. (2003). Does treatment modality affect career counseling effectiveness? *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 62,* 390–410.

Whiston, S. C., Sexton, T. L., & Lasoff, D. L. (1998). Career-intervention outcome: A replication and extension of Oliver and Spokane (1988). *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 45,* 150–165.

Young, R. A., Valach, L., & Collin, A. (1996). A contextual approach to career. In D. Brown, L. Brooks, & Associates (Eds.), *Career choice and development* (3rd ed., pp. 477–512). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.