Vocational Psychology

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Vocational Psychology

As the field of vocational psychology passes its centennial (with its origin typically denoted by the publication of Frank Parsons'1909 classic entitled *Choosing a Vocation*), attention has been devoted to assessing its current status and future trajectory (e.g., Blustein, 2006; Blustein, McWhirter, & Perry, 2005; Savickas & Baker, 2005). According to some scholars, the rich body of work that has been produced in vocational psychology has made enormous contributions to the welfare of individuals and organizations (see Herr, Cramer, & Niles, 2004; Robitschek & Woodson, 2006). Yet, Savickas and Baker argued that "by most accounts, the field of vocational psychology is at low ebb. Its contributions go unnoticed by most psychologists and few recruits enter the field" (p. 15). In this chapter, we explore the question of the vitality of vocational psychology using a wide-angle lens to examine the current status and future potential of the field. We seek to respond to the thoughtful assessment of Savickas and Baker by reviewing the state of the discipline with the intention of providing a roadmap for the reinvigoration of the field. As we argue throughout this chapter, an essential tool in evaluating the current status and future opportunities for vocational psychology is to expand its purview, encompassing an explicit international focus and embracing everyone who works or wants to work (Athanasou & Van Esbroeck, 2008; Blustein, 2006).

Definitional and Historical Perspectives

Vocational psychology is typically known as the specialty within applied psychology that "conducts research to advance knowledge about vocational behavior, improve career interventions, and inform social policy about work issues" (Savickas & Baker, 2005, p. 15). In contrast to organizational psychology, the emphasis of vocational psychology is on work-related concerns, dilemmas, and adjustment challenges at an individual level (Blustein, 2008). In this chapter, we focus on pre-implementation career development and adjustment to work after the implementation of work-related plans. As we detail in this chapter, our position is that an expansion that embraces the work lives of individuals who have not typically benefited from career counseling/career development in the past (e.g., individuals from poor and working class communities, individuals with disabling conditions, immigrant workers, individuals without much education or training) has the potential to reshape vocational psychology.

Comment [PFC1]: Please also add a contrast between vocational psychology and work psychology as there is another chapter in the handbook on work psychology

Vocational psychology provides the theoretical and empirical support for career counseling, career development education, and public policy initiatives pertaining to education, career development, and labor policy (Savickas & Baker, 2005). Vocational psychology scholars generally have worked on such issues as the construction of vocationally-oriented assessment tools, development of career choice and development theories, exploration of intrapersonal, interpersonal, and more distal barriers and resources that influence career development, facilitation of the career decision-making and exploration processes, exploration of the interaction of work roles with other social roles, and expansion of the impact and efficacy of career interventions (see Brown, 2002; Brown & Lent, 2005; Walsh & Savickas, 2005 for comprehensive overviews of the foci of vocational psychology).

In short, vocational psychology is the specialty within applied psychology that seeks to provide the theoretical and empirical framework for work-related counseling, career development programs in schools and organizations, and public policy interventions. In contrast to vocational psychology, career counseling represents the application of vocational psychology to the design and delivery of services to client populations (Athanasou & Van Esbroeck, 2008). Another term that is used within vocational psychology is career development, in which the focus is on the processes by which individuals crystallize, specify, implement, and adjust to career choices (Super, Savickas, & Super, 1996). In this chapter, we focus on vocational psychology as the "figure" with career counseling and career development representing aspects of the "ground."

Among the professionals working within vocational psychology are academic scholars who teach and conduct research in universities, generally in counseling programs, and to a lesser extent in counseling centers and other service provision agencies. Furthermore, some vocational psychological scholars work for government agencies and test development organizations. Career counseling practitioners in North America generally have a minimum of a master's degree in counseling or a related field and work in schools, government agencies, non-profit organizations, colleges and universities, organizations, and in independent practices. Career practitioners from other regions, such as Europe and Asia, often have a bachelor's degree in career counseling or vocational guidance; these degrees are generally more focused in their training than the broader liberal arts context of North American universities (and often are consistent with master's level practitioners in North America).

In this chapter, we use the term *career* to denote work that reflects a relatively strong degree of individual volition and that represents a hierarchical trajectory of related jobs and training experiences (Super, 1983). Following the life-span view of career, we focus our attention on the pre-implementation process of selecting and making work-based decisions and the post-implementation process of adjusting to work, managing work-based transitions, and balancing overlapping life roles. We also include a focus on working in this chapter, which Blustein (2006) defined as involving "effort, activity, and human energy in given tasks that contribute to the overall social and economic welfare of a given culture. This includes paid employment as well as work that one does in caring for others within one's family and community" (p. 3).

While many scholars (e.g., Hartung & Blustein, 2002; O'Brien, 2001) have marked the creation of the Vocational Guidance Bureau in Boston by Frank Parsons as the seminal event in the creation of vocational psychology, Savickas and Baker (2005) noted that several other related initiatives were in place well before Parsons' contributions. For example, in the United States, a number of Young Men's Christian Associations (YMCA) offered services to help Civil War veterans to secure employment. Similar initiatives emerged in other regions in the world, particularly Europe, wherein various newly developed social service agencies began to offer assistance to individuals in seeking work (Super, 1983). One of the major reasons for the growth in public venues for the exploration and consideration of work was the burgeoning industrial revolution that created an unprecedented expansion in the number of jobs available and in the diverse skill sets needed to adapt to these occupational opportunities. This increase led to far more complexity for many students and aspiring workers in selecting optimal training

options and in deciding upon their career directions. The early history of vocational guidance was characterized by the development of interest inventories and other tools that would provide students and clients with knowledge about themselves with the intention of facilitating their career choice and development. (See Savickas & Baker for an excellent overview of the history of vocational psychology.)

In the section that follows, we summarize major trends in the field and recent developments. A comprehensive review of vocational psychology, naturally, is beyond the scope of this chapter. This discussion will be enhanced by an explicit international focus and an expanded perspective on the full scope of work, including, but not limited to, those who have relative choice in their work lives.

Trends and Key Developments in Vocational Psychology

Vocational psychology is characterized by a rich array of theoretical models that have traditionally focused on explicating the nature of career choice and development processes. As reflected in the contributions of Parsons and other pioneers in this field (e.g., Kitson, 1925), the major questions that have been posed relate to how individuals can maximize their satisfaction and manifest their values, interests, and abilities in the world of work (Holland, 1997; Lent, Brown, & Hackett, 2002; Savickas, 2005). In this section, we review the major theoretical perspectives that have been used to explicate the career choice, development, and adjustment processes.

Holland's Theory of Career Choice

Person-environment fit (P-E-fit) theories, and indeed for many of the major theoretical models within vocational psychology, essentially endorse a view that individuals seek out occupations that provide a good fit between their attributes and the

characteristics of a given work environment. The major assumptions of the P-E fit model are as follows: 1) the individual is capable of making rational decisions; 2) people and work environments differ in reliable, meaningful and consistent ways; 3) the greater the congruence between the individual and the work environment, the greater the likelihood of a successful match (Chartrand, 1991). The P-E relationship is seen as a dynamic process in which the person and environment are mutually influential.

Holland's theory (Holland, 1997; Spokane & Cruza-Guet, 2005) and the theory of work adjustment (TWA;Dawis, 1984; 2005) are considered contemporary hallmarks of P-E fit theory. (To conserve space, we focus on Holland's theory, which has generated the most research and practice applications. We refer readers to Dawis, 2005, for an overview of TWA.) Holland developed a taxonomy that encompasses six different personality and work environment types, organized within a hexagonal framework. Indeed, the use of the same types to denote individuals and their environments, while intuitively appealing, represented a major advancement in vocational psychology, simplifying P-E fit counseling. Each of these six types (realistic, investigative, artistic, social, enterprising and conventional) represents a cluster of interests and reflects relatively coherent personality types, denoting different problem solving approaches, as well as interpersonal orientations. Individuals and environments are characterized by more than one type; a profile consisting of the three most predominant types is generally used to describe the individual and work environment (Spokane & Cruza-Guet).

Holland's theory has yielded several instruments used to assess the person and the environment, including the Self Directed Search (SDS; Holland, Fritzche & Powell, 1994) and the Vocational Preference Inventory (VPI; Holland, 1985). This array of

instruments reflects a strength of Holland's theory in terms of the extensive empirical research that supports the use of the Holland hexagon in categorizing people and environments (Holland, 1997; Spokane & Cruza-Guet, 2005). The empirical research generated from Holland's theory has spanned a wide array of issues, including the study of choice congruence, the development and validation of measures, and the assessment of the effectiveness of P-E fit-based interventions (Holland; Smart & Thompson, 2001; Spokane & Cruza-Guet; Spokane, Luchetta & Richwine, 2002). In addition to these empirical endeavors, attention has been devoted to exploring the development of personality types. Spokane and Cruza-Guet, in their review of the major bodies of empirical research, have concluded that "a surprising amount (though certainly not all) of this research has been supportive of the existence of a limited set of [personalty and occupational] types, the underlying circular (or hexagonal) structure of those types, the validity of the instruments to measure types, and to a lesser extent, the interactive proposition of the theory" (p. 38).

Despite the primarily supportive conclusions reached by Spokane and Cruza-Guet (2005), critiques of Holland's theory have been raised regarding its applicability across genders. In short, women tend to score higher on social and conventional types and these types often lead to lower paying jobs (Fitzgerald, Fassinger, & Betz, 1995). Questions have arisen about the utility of Holland's theory with women, as it has been criticized for supporting the status quo and conforming with traditional gender-based norms of occupational roles. Furthermore, Holland's theory has been critiqued with respect to its cultural relevance. The Spokane and Cruza-Guet review identified considerable research that has replicated the Holland hexagon in different regions of the globe; however, our

Comment [PFC2]: What are your views on the UNIACT which is supposed to be a more gender neutral measure. Even though theoretically, the critique is still relevant, I wonder if studies using the UNIACT, including studies with Asian samples, may address some of the gender biases.

review of this literature reveals that while much consistency exists in the fundamental structure of interests, many of the samples in these studies consisted of college students and workers with a relative degree of choice in their lives. As a result, questions remain regarding the utility of a choice model with individuals who do not have many options in their educational and work-based opportunities.

Developmental Perspectives

Two of the most influential developmental perspectives identified in career theory include Super's (1980; Super et al., 1996) life-span, life-space theory of career development and Savickas' (2002, 2005) career construction theory. When considered collectively, these bodies of work seek to explain the processes by which individuals decide upon and implement their educational and work-based decisions, adjust to their work contexts, manage multiple life roles, and adjust to the rich array of work-related tasks and demands (Herr et al., 2004; Super et al.).

The life-span, life-space theory of career development (Super, 1957; Super et al., 1996) was developed over the course of 60 years through empirical research and critiques from researchers and practitioners who found person-environment fit theories to be insufficient in capturing the complexity of individuals' career development. The developmental position became an alternative to the person-environment fit theories as careers were increasingly being viewed as located within individuals' relational, familial, community, and leisure-based life contexts. Additional influences that were central in the growth of developmental perspectives included post-war affluence that led to more work stability for middle-class individuals in developed countries; the rise of professions such as engineering, business, law and medicine, which reflected a more structured working

life; and advancements in developmental psychology which progressed from a focus on childhood and adolescence to a consideration of the entirety of one's life-span (Super et al.).

Super's theory (Super et al., 1996) addresses two primary dimensions: the first is known as the life-space or latitudinal dimension that refers to the roles or social space that an individual occupies; the second is the longitudinal dimension that depicts life stages. These dimensions comprise what is known as the Life-Career Rainbow where individuals can locate themselves according to their current social role(s) and their developmental status (Super et al.). Super's hallmark contribution of the *self-concept* encompasses a subjective, phenomenological conception of self, which, in ideal circumstances, is expressed in an occupational setting. The occupational setting should optimally align with an individual's personal attributes, values, interests and abilities over the individual's life-span.

Additionally, the life-span, life-space perspective introduced a contextual dimension situating the work role in relation to the other complementary and competing social roles enacted by individuals across the course of their lives, including student, homemaker, and leisurite, among others. Super believed that life structures change over time as individuals adapt to both predictable and unexpected career challenges. Developmental stages (i.e. growth, exploration, establishment, maintenance, and disengagement) are understood to be flexible as individuals recycle through developmental stages and tasks throughout their lives based on their dynamic circumstances and the salience of various roles throughout their lives (Super et al., 1996). Super's work has been critiqued for being "segmented" and non-cohesive in nature

(Brown, 1990). Additionally, Super's theory has been critiqued for not devoting sufficient attention to needs of women, people of color, and to the full scope of cultural and contextual factors that affect career decisions. Furthermore, Super's original propositions and career theory emerged during a time when many men spent their work lives in a single company or organization and many women worked as homemakers or in sexually segregated in occupations. Super (1990; Super et al., 1996) addressed these concerns by applying his theory to women's career development and to the role of gender in the everyday social lives of individuals in his later work. In addition, many of these critiques were incorporated into Super's revisions of his theory as reflected in the name changes his theory has undergone: from career development theory, to developmental self-concept theory, to the life-span, life-space theory (Super et al.).

As a means of moving Super's work into the 21st century, Savickas (2002, 2005) developed career construction theory, which has emerged as one of the most important recent theoretical contributions in vocational psychology. In Savickas' view (2005), career construction theory "asserts that individuals construct their careers by imposing meaning on their vocational behavior and occupational experiences" (p. 43). Career construction theory, similar to Super's life-span, life-space theory, sought to augment P-E fit theories, not to replace them. Additionally, Savickas' career construction theory was intended to make developmental perspectives relevant for a global and multicultural society. Savickas asserted that careers are constructed in the environment and that career development is characterized by *adaptation* to the environment as opposed to individuals' internal maturation processes. In other words, individuals construct their own

Comment [PFC3]: Please elaborate on the relevance for a global and multicultural society so as to bring out the international perspective.

realities and their subsequent careers based upon a particular social context (Savickas, 2005).

One of the important advances within the developmental framework is Savickas' notion of career adaptability, which serves as a modification of career maturity (a construct within Super's original theory that denotes the degree to which individuals are progressing in their resolution of developmental tasks). Savickas described career adaptability as an individual's ability to meet the anticipated challenges of participating in the work role in addition to the less anticipated and unpredictable events that may occur. Additionally, adaptive individuals are characterized along four dimensions of readiness and coping resources according to this perspective, including becoming concerned about their futures as workers, increasing personal control over their vocational futures, displaying curiosity by exploring possible selves and future scenarios, and strengthening the confidence to pursue their aspirations (Savickas, 2005).

Savickas further asserted that coping with change and managing transitions involves re-exploration and re-establishment. Moreover, career construction theory takes into account an individual's subjective experience, past experiences and future aspirations related to work. From an applied perspective, the use of narrative counseling is central in helping clients to identify themes of vocational personality, general life themes, and career adaptability.

In sum, the contributions of both Super and Savickas have been instrumental in underscoring that career choice and development occur in a context that has developmental, social, political, and relational dimensions. The initial contributions by Super furnished a clear trajectory of the ebbs and flows of work across the spectrum of

human development. Savickas' contributions have thoughtfully advanced the constructionist scaffolding of Super's work.

When considered collectively, the developmental perspectives have been central in expanding the vision of vocational psychologists beyond unitary choices about work and circumscribed adjustment challenges at work. One of the most salient growth edges for the developmental perspectives is to integrate recent advances in developmental theory, such as the contributions of Lerner (2002) and other contextual theorists. Another challenge, which is endemic to existing theoretical perspectives in vocational psychology, is to expand theory development to include the work lives of individuals with less choice in their lives.

Social Cognitive Career Theory

Over the past several decades, a major trend in career development theory and research has been an increasing focus on cognitive variables, paralleling the "quiet cognitive revolution" within psychology, writ large. Social cognitive career theory (SCCT; Lent, Brown, & Hackett, 1994; Lent et al., 2002) emerged out of this cognitive revolution as an attempt to unify multiple career theories and to offer a "bi-directional model of causality" in the career decision and adjustment processes. Self-efficacy is one of the central components of SCCT and refers to the dynamic set of self-beliefs that are domain-specific and that interact complexly with other personal, behavioral and environmental factors (Lent et al.). People are thought to develop interests when they view themselves as competent in an activity and anticipate that performing this activity will produce valued outcomes. Conversely, when self-efficacy for a certain activity is

low, people often fail to develop interest in this activity. In sum, SCCT posits that interests are a joint function of self-efficacy beliefs and outcome expectations.

Consistent with Bandura's (1997) theory, SCCT is based on the notion that beliefs are acquired primarily through four types of processes: personal performance accomplishments, vicarious learning, social persuasion, and physiological states and reactions. Bandura's theory emphasizes the complex ways in which people, their behavior, and environments mutually influence one another. Personal performance accomplishments are typically conceived of as the most powerful source of self-efficacy; the experience of success with a given task tends to increase self-efficacy whereas repeated failures decrease it. Vicarious learning experiences result from comparing one's own behavior, skills, and abilities with those of others. Social persuasion refers to verbal persuasion from others regarding the extent and nature of one's capabilities. Lastly, affective states such as anxiety or depression can influence one's feelings of competence and capability as well.

In sum, the SCCT model purports human agency is made possible through the reciprocal interaction of personal factors (i.e. cognition, biology, affect), behavior, and environmental events. As people develop an affinity for an activity at which they feel efficacious and for which they expect positive outcomes, they form goals for sustaining or increasing their involvement in that activity. Performance accomplishments then provide a feedback loop helping to strengthen self-efficacy and increase outcome expectations, resulting in more agentic behavior. While SCCT has been credited with offering a contextually-based career development perspective, it has also been critiqued for not going far enough regarding these factors (Blustein, McWhirter, & Perry, 2005;

Chronister & McWhirter, 2003). More specifically, discrimination and oppression in the workforce are external factors for individuals of color, women, LGBT individuals, and those with disabling conditions, which are not easily overcome by strengthened self-efficacy in a particular domain (Blustein et al., 2005). While self-efficacy is inarguably a powerful factor in many aspects of career development processes, the factors which shape self-efficacy are not universally distributed and vary considerably based on individual differences and societal affordances (Blustein, 2006).

Comment [PFC4]: I wonder if you want to mention here or somewhere else Nancy Betz's work that provides the gender perspective on women's career development.

In addition to SCCT, Peterson, Lumsden, Sampson, Reardon, and Lenz (2002) have developed another important cognitive-based theory, known as Cognitive Information Processing (CIP). This perspective utilizes thought and memory process research in addition to problem-solving research to inform career decision-making processes for individuals. While space limitations prohibit a more detailed examination of CIP, this theoretical contribution holds promise as a potentially rich framework to work with clients who experience some degree of choice in their working lives.

Social Constructionist and Contextual Action Theory

The social constructionist view, from which contextual action theory (Young & Valach, 2004), is based, asserts that knowledge is constructed through social processes and is not universal or inherent (Blustein, 2006). Social constructionist thought draws from a multidisciplinary base including sociology, literary studies, and postmodern approaches to epistemology (Young & Collin, 2004). According to this perspective, knowledge is situated within the context, and therefore is historically and culturally bound. Moreover, language is considered not as a reflection of reality but as "both a precondition for thought and a form of social action" (Young & Collin, p. 377). Social

constructionist perspectives challenge logical positivist assumptions and question the status quo, allowing for voices of those who are often ignored to be included in the psychological discourse and for oppressive practices to be examined and challenged (Young & Collin). Some fundamental strengths of this perspective according to Young and Collin are the opportunities to challenge fundamental assumptions and to examine the person and environment interaction and the role of context and culture in vocational theory and practice.

A number of social constructionist perspectives have been advanced within vocational psychology, which have sought to reduce the reliance on logical positivist methods and assumptions (e.g., Blustein, 2006; Blustein, Schultheiss, & Flum, 2004; Savickas, 2005; Stead, 2004). Richardson's (1993) contribution initially outlined a social constructionist agenda for vocational psychology, observing how the experience of working is co-constructed within relationships and, more broadly, within cultural and social contexts. More recently, Richardson, (2004; Richardson, Constantine, & Washburn, 2005) has adopted a post-modern stance to the study of work. Her perspective of post-modernism encompasses a challenge to the notion that a universal reality exists and a proposal that theory be developed with the goal of being useful. An exemplar of this approach can be found in the Richardson et al. (2005) definition of vocational psychology as a "field [that] is comprised of theory, research, and intervention practices, that is committed to the importance of work and relationships in people's lives, to helping people live healthy and productive lives, to social justice, especially with respect to providing access to opportunity for those marginalized or disadvantaged due to social locations such as gender, race, and class" (p. 59). Following this definition,

Richardson et al. argue that vocational psychological theory needs to explicate how people can live healthy lives professionally and personally, which she believes are two core aspects of the socio-cultural context of most contemporary societies. The recent Richardson et al. (2009) contribution on the role of intention in identity formation and expression holds particular promise in understanding the subtle processes by which individuals construct their beliefs and values about their work lives.

Young and Valach, also relying upon social constructionist assumptions, have advanced a contextual action theory, with a focus on goal-directed action within the individual's context (Valach & Young, 2004; Young & Valach, 2004). Like Richardson's work, Young and Valach have critiqued logical positivism and have highlighted the relativism of work-related phenomena. The contextual position, according to Young and Valach, seeks to explore the meaning that individuals construct in relation to pre-implementation and post-implementation work-related behavior. As Young and Valach have argued, meaning arises amidst joint actions that entail individuals interacting with others in their lives (parents, friends, counselors, etc.).

Another important development in social constructionist thought has been advanced by Guichard (2005; Guichard & Dumora, 2008). Reflecting the rich philosophical tradition that has emerged from French intellectual life, Guichard has sought to explicate how self-construction functions for individuals seeking to find meaning in their work lives. Individuals' identities are described as dynamic psychological structures, in which individuals construct their array of possible selves (Guichard, J., personal communication, 18 February, 2009). Like Young and Valach (2004), Guichard endorses the notion that subjective experience and evolving self-

constructions need to be enacted into action plans. Moreover, Guichard argues cogently that self-construction occurs over the life-span.

Major Research Initiatives in Vocational Psychology: An Illustrative Review

The aforementioned theoretical perspectives provide a useful taxonomy to consider many of the important lines of research in vocational psychology. In the material that follows, we review several issues, which we believe capture the most important lines of inquiry in contemporary vocational psychology. The selection of these topics is based on our objective of defining the parameters of the discipline and of providing a roadmap for the reinvigoration of the field.

Gender and Vocational Psychology

One of the most important advances in the past few decades has been the focus on gender. As an outgrowth of the feminist movement, a number of scholars (e.g., Betz & Hackett, 1981; Harmon, 1973; Richardson, 1974) have identified structural problems in the vocational psychology of the mid 20th century, primarily defined by its focus on men and its portrayal of issues regarding family and work as a "woman's" concern. Currently, the study of gender in relation to work and career is one of the most important issues in the current discourse of vocational psychology, with implications for men, women, children, and families.

For the most part, vocational psychological research has examined the impact of the basic distinction between men and women and how this distinction has been manifested in the world of work. In Fassinger's (2008) summary, numerous disadvantages for women at work were detailed, including less pay for the same work, sexist practices in education, training, and the workplace, and sexual harassment. These

practices, when considered collectively, result in a "chilly" work environment, underscoring sexist practices throughout many social systems around the globe.

In addition, Fassinger (2008) noted that girls and women continue to be underrepresented in the Science, Technology, Engineering, and Math (STEM) career pipeline in the United States and in many other nations. STEM skills have become increasingly important in providing individuals with the capacity to assume high technology positions in the workplace, which help to generate new jobs and improvements in productivity, thereby enhancing the wealth of a nation or community (National Science Foundation, 2004). From a more individual perspective, improvements in the quality and quantity of individuals in the STEM pipeline can be instrumental in furnishing people with access to upward social mobility (National Research Council, 2007; National Science Foundation). As detailed in the educational and work-based literatures (e.g., Fassinger, 2008; Seymour & Hewitt, 1997), various factors function to reduce access to STEM courses, STEM-related career exploration, and STEM-based career plans. These factors include sexist attitudes in STEM courses by teachers and students, lower expectations for girls and women in STEM courses, and structural barriers in STEM careers, such as inadequate opportunities for balancing work and family (Ceci & Williams, 2007; Chapa & De La Rosa, 2006).

Fassinger noted that in the U.S., "although women compose half of the college-degreed labor force, they represent less than one fourth of the STEM workforce, with women of color constituting a mere 4% of the STEM workforce (NSF, 2004)" (2008, p. 254). One of the reasons for this continued disparity may have to do with the complex ways that gender is internalized into the psychological structures of both men and

women. The next step in gender and work research, in our view, is to explore the impact of gender role socialization on various aspects of work-related behavior. According to Mahalik et al. (2005), "gender role norms… provide guidance for women and men about how they are supposed to act, think, and feel, as well as constrain women and men from certain behaviors that are 'off limits'(Gilbert & Scher, 1999)" (p. 417). Mahalik and his colleagues have articulated a multidimensional construct to account for both masculine and feminine gender norms (Mahalik et al., 2003, 2005). Their work to date has been useful in explicating various aspects of psychological functioning that are gendered in complex and nuanced ways. We believe that the integration of new advances in a gendered psychology (Good & Brooks, 2005; Kimmel, 2007) can powerfully advance our understanding of vocational psychology.

Culture, Race, and Vocational Psychology

The multicultural movement has profoundly influenced the direction of contemporary psychology across both applied and basic research domains (Berry, Poortinga, & Pandey, 1997; Ponterotto, Casas, Suzuki, & Alexander, 2001). Similarly, vocational psychology has been transformed as scholars have increasingly sought to understand how culture and race impact various aspects of vocational behavior (Helms & Piper, 1994; Stead, 2004, 2007). Consistent with Helms and Cook (1999), we define race as a phenotypic attribute of individuals that evokes a wide array of responses. Following Stead's (2004) analysis, culture refers to "the historical nature of a group of people, and reflects on their norms, beliefs, symbols, and traditions (Bauman, 1999). Culture is not a static phenomenon but alters and adjusts to increasing contact with people from other cultures" (p. 393).

When considered collectively, race and culture are thought to be social constructs that derive meaning within micro-level interpersonal interactions and within macro-level historical, social, and political contexts. Stead (2004) thoughtfully critiqued the dominant discourse based on logical positivism by observing that many of the major constructs in vocational psychology (self-concept, self-efficacy, interests, etc.) are relevant to circumscribed communities and are not endemic to vocational life around the globe. Stead's point is buttressed by a growing literature that has identified significant cultural differences in the ways in which individuals approach, implement, and adjust to work. For example, a review of the chapters in the Athanasou and Van Esbroeck (2008) collection reveals considerable distinctions in theoretical formulations, assessment, and educational and career guidance practices around the globe.

Comment [PFC5]: Please elaborate on what are some of these distinctions.

Decision-Making, Exploration, and Vocational Psychology

Following the seminal work of Super (1957, 1990), research on career decision making and exploration have been hallmarks of vocational psychology during the later half of the 20th century. In the decision-making realm, the existing research can be best understood by examining how scholars have conceptualized rational and non-rational approaches to making educational and work-based decisions. (Rational approaches, which have emerged from Parsons' notions, are based on the use of a long-term view and systematic analysis of options; non-rational approaches are characterized by the reliance on one's intuition or emotional knowledge and/or the input and support of others in one's relational context.)

The scholarship of Gati has perhaps best exemplified the rational perspective. Using cognitive models and computer-based analogs, Gati and Tal (2008) developed a

prescriptive decisional model, which includes prescreening, in-depth exploration, and choice (PIC). This model uses scholarship from vocational psychology (e.g., Parsons, 1909; Holland, 1997), as well as decisional theory (e.g., Janis & Mann, 1977), in advancing a set of prescriptive recommendations that are thought to enhance one's decisional outcomes. In a review of decision-making empirical research, Phillips and Jome (2005) noted that it is difficult to assess the utility of a prescriptive model such as the Gati and Tal contribution, noting that "not only did the available evidence refute the notion that a classical "rational" model accurately reflects real-life decision-making processes, but also that there was little reason to even consider the classical model adaptive in the context of career decisions (p. 138)." Phillips and Jome then detailed the challenges to rational decision making, including the limitations of human information processing and the reality that a host of other factors likely influence the nature and outcomes of career-related decisions.

A further examination of the Phillips and Jome (2005) critique reveals another line of decision-making theory and research that merits attention in this chapter. Beginning with an empirical exploration of decision-making styles, Phillips and her colleagues concluded that rational decision making may not be as essential in the real-world of career choice and development (e.g., Phillips, 1997). Instead, Phillips has suggested that intuitive and relationally-embedded approaches to decisional tasks may in fact be adaptive as these approaches provide a means for consultation with others as well as the inclusion of emotion and intuition, which are central in psychological functioning. In a similar vein, Krieshok (1998) has advocated an anti-introspective approach that highlights the limitations of internal introspective analyses and instead offers an approach

that entails active engagement with the various factors involved in a given decisional dilemma.

Following Krieshok's (1998) advice about active engagement, some modest attention has been devoted to understanding the nature of the career exploration process. Career exploration entails activities, both internal and external to the person, which are designed to enhance self-knowledge and knowledge of one's educational and occupational contexts (Blustein, 1997). During the past few decades, scholars have identified several factors that promote exploration, including self-efficacy, some degree of immanence, and an internalized motivational orientation (Bartley & Robitschek, 2000; Blustein, 1997). As Bartley and Robitschek noted, analyses using the predictors identified thus far in the empirical literature only accounted for approximately one-third of the variance in exploratory behavior. Given the modest variance that has been identified to date in the empirical research, we believe that further theory development is needed to advance scholarship in career exploration.

In this vein, the Flum and Blustein (2000) contribution used self-determination theory (Ryan & Deci, 2000) as the intellectual foundation for a renewed theoretical framework in career exploration. Flum and Blustein observed that exploration provides a means for individuals to author their own work-based narratives, thereby enhancing their sense of control and autonomy. Using self-determination theory, Flum and Blustein also argued that exploration can facilitate the internalization of externally motivating factors that can ultimately be instrumental in promoting self-determination. Taken together, theory and research on career exploration underscore its importance in the career choice, development, and adjustment processes. However, considerably more research is needed,

optimally based on theoretical formulations that are culturally embedded and expansive with respect to the diversity of people who work and who seek to work.

Work Adjustment in Adulthood: A Selected Review

While vocational psychology has typically focused on pre-implementation issues, a considerable body of research and theory has been devoted to vocational life after one has moved into the working world. One of the most important aspects of work adjustment is balancing the demands of having a family and work responsibilities. Work-family conflict refers to the complications and challenges that can arise when work interferes with one's role in the family. Previous research has indicated that the work environment predicts work-family conflict (e.g., Carlson, 1999; Barnett & Hyde, 2001). More specifically, job satisfaction and low work-family conflict are associated with work environments in which employers are perceived to value their employee's life outside of work (Grandey, Cordeiro, & Michael, 2007; Haddock, Zimmerman, Ziemba, & Lyness, 2006).

Barnett and Hyde (2001) proposed an expansionist theory that argues that multiple roles are advantageous, which is contrary to the more common view of multiple roles as being conflictual and a source of stress. There are four principles of their theory that are based upon and supported by empirical research (Barnett & Hyde). The first principle is that multiple roles are beneficial for both men and women across multiple domains of physical, mental, and relational health and functioning. The second component is that "a number of processes contribute to the beneficial effects of multiple roles, including buffering, added income, social support, opportunities to experience success, expanded frame of reference, increased self-complexity, similarity of

experiences, and gender-role ideology (Barnett & Hyde, p.784)." Third, the advantages of multiple roles depend on the number and demands attached to the roles. Barnett and Hyde indicated that an overload can be harmful, such as having too many roles or having a role that demands an extreme amount of time, such as work. Barnett and Hyde further argued that the possible benefits of multiple roles can depend on the context in that certain environments can lead to frustration, such as working in low wage jobs and experiencing discrimination at work. The fourth component is that (1) gender differences are not large; (2) men and women are more similar than different in regards to behavior, personality, and affect; and (3) gender does not necessarily dictate men and women taking extremely different roles.

Barnett and Hyde (2001) noted that their theory is primarily based on majority culture in the U.S. (i.e. middle class, White, heterosexual) and that "we do not presume to have proposed a timeless, universal theory. We do claim to have proposed a theory that reflects the current situation of women and men in their work and family roles (p.794)." Their perspectives challenge the conventional views that men and women have innate roles, that multiple roles are inherently stressful, and that traditional theories about gender and work do not reflect the current reality for both women and men.

Comment [PFC6]:

When individuals do not have a successful balance between work and family, potentially aversive consequences to overall well-being may emerge. The intersection of work conditions and work-family balance can provide insight into the factors that impact work adjustment. Franche et al. (2006) considered a range of factors including work conditions, work-family balance, and family dynamics as predictors of depressive symptoms, while controlling for socioeconomic variables. Among their hypotheses, they

posited that an imbalance between the rewards from work and the level of effort required to attain a desirable outcome would be associated with depression. Furthermore, they considered a bi-directional nature of spillover in that stress from work can be taken out at home and that family supports systems can affect work. Their results indicated a significant relationship between symptoms of depression and the following outcomes: an imbalance between work effort and reward; high negative spillover from work to the family (work activities have a negative impact on family life); low level of positive family to work spillover (the family activities have little positive impact on worklife); and lower educational attainment. One could argue that workers who have less education will have fewer job options or choice, increasing stress at work and at home.

Unemployment can be one of the most difficult transitions or adjustments in life and serves as a direct threat to the survival of an individual and his/her family. Previous research has shown that unemployment is associated with poor health (McKee-Ryan, Song, Wanberg, & Kinicki, 2005) and negatively impacts well-being, particularly during the first 6 months (Thomas, Benzeval, & Stansfeld, 2005). One of the key roles for vocational psychologists is to conduct research and develop effective practices (both at the individual and systemic levels) to assist individuals struggling with adjustments in employment. Fouad and Bynner (2008) also suggested that psychologists can advocate for supportive policies, such as family leave, flexible employment policies, affordable child care and the promotion of career readiness skills that goes beyond obtaining a job, but also promotes an individual's ability to maintain employment. Fouad and Bynner further highlighted that government resources are important in supporting individuals

through difficult and unpredictable transitions, such as unemployment, especially for individuals living in poverty or struggling with the transition from school-to-work.

Challenges and Opportunities for Vocational Psychology

Our review thus far has highlighted the many ways in which vocational psychology has been able to conceptualize the personal and occupational dimensions of work and career for a wide variety of people. However, as Savickas and Baker (2005) observed, vocational psychology is not effectively expanding or reinforcing its ranks with younger scholars. Our view of this dilemma is based on a critical assessment of the limitations of current discourse in vocational psychology. In short, we believe that traditional theories are constrained in their capacity to include the work needs and experiences of those with little or no volition in their work lives. We have developed an excellent scholarly foundation that can explicate the vocational lives of a small proportion of the globe's population. As an alternative, Blustein (2006) proposed the psychology-of-working perspective, which seeks to draw attention to the importance of work in all of our lives, including careful consideration of the contextual factors that influence one's work experiences.

Psychology of Working: A New Framework for Vocational Psychology

One of the core elements of the psychology of working is the explicit focus on including all working people (and those who are seeking to enter the workforce) under the intellectual "tent" of vocational psychology. In addition, the psychology-of-working perspective seeks to understand the connections among working and other life experiences, including relationships, citizenship, and caregiving roles (Blustein, 2006). A key element of the psychology of working is the identification of three primary potential

functions that working can fulfill in one's life. As Blustein noted, the first function of working is as a source of survival and power; simply put, paid employment furnishes the means by which individuals obtain food and shelter, as well as power and social status. However, it is crucial to note that access to work is far from equal, contributing to pervasive inequalities in access to not just status and power, but the basic necessities of life. Many people without the luxury of choosing a volitional and self-determined career path work primarily to provide for their families, with little to no status or power ever resulting from their employment.

The second function of working is as a means of social connection (Blustein, 2006). Optimally, working provides people with access to others, typically in a consistent and predictable fashion that can nurture our natural strivings for relational connections (Flum, 2001; Josselson, 1992). In addition, working furnishes people with a means of contributing to the overall public welfare, which can enhance the connection that people experience to society in general. In effect, the psychology-of-working perspective seeks to expand Super's (1980) view that the work role shares life space with other important roles, including relational roles.

The third function that working can fulfill is self-determination, which is derived from Deci and Ryan's (1985; Ryan & Deci, 2000) self-determination theory. Self-determination refers to the experience of pursuing activities because they are intrinsically interesting and/or fulfill objectives that are valued (Deci & Ryan). This role focuses on the connection between work and motivation, highlighting three contextual factors that can make work more relevant and meaningful in one's life: autonomy, relatedness, and

competence. If these three conditions are present, even difficult and seemingly unrewarding work can become an important source of self-worth and value in one's life.

Implicit in the above concepts, but warranting additional attention in the analysis of working, is the issue of social barriers and working. Vast and troubling inequalities in access to the world of work continue to plague most societies around the globe, with racism, classism, sexism, ableism, and heterosexism playing a pervasive role in access to work, compensation, and in the dignity afforded to people (Blustein, 2006, 2008; Helms & Cook, 1999; Richardson, 2000). For example, people of color in the U.S. (and in many other nations around the world) are often denied access to adequate educational affordances and to well-paying, flexible jobs. Moreover, those who do obtain work often experience discrimination in the workplace, including differential access to promotions (Fiske & Lee, 2008; Helms & Cook, 1999). Work clearly plays a very different role in one's life when it is unfair, unreliable, and low-paying as opposed to when it is fair, steady, and financially rewarding. With a few exceptions (e.g., Harmon & Farmer, 1983; Smith, 1983; Richardson, 1993), most of the discourse in vocational psychology has focused on middle-class, relatively privileged populations who have a modicum of volition in their education, training, and work-related decisions. We believe that an expanded agenda for vocational psychology can provide a powerful antidote to the malaise in the field that was described by Savickas and Baker (2005).

Globalization: A Challenge and an Opportunity

Globalization, characterized by important technological advances, open markets, and the subsequent greater levels interdependence and connection at the individual and national level, has had a tremendous impact on the world of work (Blustein, 2006;

Coutinho, Dam & Blustein, 2008; Debell, 2006; Friedman, 2006; Paredes et al., 2008). There is a lack of consensus on the definition of globalization, and often discussions of this topic seem to favor definitions that emphasize the economic conceptualization of globalization (Paredes et al.). In most analyses of globalization, an emphasis has been placed on the openness of economic markets, the interdependence of the world economy, and advances in transportation and communication technologies which allow for rapid and efficient exchange of goods and services across the world (Friedman, 2006; Paredes et al.). In addition, with the greater accessibility of mobile telephones, televisions, and computers, a transformation is taking place in the ease and manner in which individuals communicate ideas, and the way cultural values, and traditions coexist throughout the world (Friedman, 2006).

The changes wrought by globalization have serious implications in the world of work. Increased industry mobility, fostered by open markets, ease of transportation and communication have shifted the manner in which companies address growth opportunities and challenges and have had significant effects on the social contract between the worker and the employer (Friedman, 2006; Hall, 2004). A growing sense of job insecurity across work sectors is evident in that many workers are faced with often considerable changes in positions across their working lives, as well as greater competition for work and often less beneficial working conditions and pay (Coutinho et al., 2008; Debell, 2006; Paredes et al., 2008). In addition, the work structure has changed dramatically, with many people working flexible work schedules, including part -time, temporary and freelance positions as well as working from home and other remote locations (Debell).

Vocational psychologists are faced with the challenge of staying abreast of these changes so that our research and practices are consistent with the intense and shifting needs that clients face in managing their work lives. Workers without the guarantee of long-term employment are compelled to be flexible and to be able to identify skills sets that are marketable and employable (Paredes et al., 2008). Increasingly blurring boundaries between work and personal lives require that psychologists are prepared to intervene and develop plans that address issues in a broad array of life arenas (work, relationships, coping skills, etc). (See Arthur & Rousseau, 2001, for a thoughtful overview of the boundaryless career.) In addition, due to the increased mobility of the world population, vocational psychologists need to be ready to work with an increasingly diverse population in terms of race, culture, gender, sexual orientation, and religious affiliation (Blustein, 2006; Debell, 2006; Paredes et al.,). Indeed, globalization provides a powerful impetus for vocational psychology to infuse an explicit cultural framework into future theoretical formulations, research, and vocational psychological practice.

Comment [PFC7]: Please elaborate on the current status of research in cross-cultural aspects of vocational psychology, such as cross-cultural adjustment in international posting.

Global Poverty

An issue that has been on the periphery of most of vocational psychological discourse is that of global poverty. We believe that one of the means of reinvigorating our specialty is to tackle some of the thorny work-based problems that have long plagued working people (and people who want to work). Recent analyses reveal that there are approximately 2.5 billion people (40% of the population) living in poverty throughout the world; more specifically, 93% of extreme poverty is in East Asia, South Asia, and sub-Saharan Africa (Sachs, 2005). According to Sachs, there are a wide range of social, political, and environmental factors that have contributed to economic growth and global

standing, such as geographic location/natural resources, government policies and stability, economic growth or stagnation, and science and technology. Economic growth and the implementation of effective and focused social programs are both critical to end poverty (Sachs). Although sustained economic growth is associated with the reduction of poverty rates, some countries with growth also have experienced difficulties in reducing poverty.

The crisis of global poverty, at first glance, might seem too pervasive and pernicious for vocational psychologists to have any meaningful impact. However one of the key ameliorative conditions to a strong economy is an educated population. As at the outset of vocational guidance, an increasingly educated population is thought to have stimulated the development of vocational psychological interventions and scholarship. In our view, the relationship between the expansion of the world of work and vocational guidance activities is recursive. Most scholars have viewed the industrial revolution as the major impetus to the development of career guidance (O'Brien, 2001; Savickas & Baker, 2005). However, we also believe that focused and effective work-based scholarship and practice can enhance the quality of a citizenry to assume increasingly diverse and productive work roles, thereby facilitating greater occupational attainment, and ideally greater wealth production for a given nation or community.

While the solutions are complex and will necessarily be multi-faceted, we believe that vocational psychologists can play a significant role in the public policy teams that are seeking to ameliorate global poverty. One contribution that can be immediately helpful is an expansion of research on the connection between school engagement and career development education. By ensuring that academic development is linked to the labor

market needs and growth potential of a given region, vocational psychologists may be able to help a community focus limited resources on maximizing student performance and developing the most competitive workers possible at a given point in time. From a more macro-level perspective, we believe that vocational psychology scholarship can document the importance of work in people's lives. Some of this has been detailed in recent vocational psychology (e.g., Blustein, 2006; Richardson, 1993; 2000) and in other social scientific literatures (e.g., Lamont, 2000; Wilson, 1996). However, research that is conducted with individuals living in global poverty can provide powerful testimony to the experiences of unemployment and underemployment.

Another potential tool is the enhancement of career development interventions for individuals with less than adequate choices in education and work. Blustein, Kenna, Gill, and DeVoy (2008) articulated interventions that might be particularly useful in working with clients without much education and training. The recommendations included an explicit focus on skill building, empowerment, enhancing critical consciousness, and scaffolding toward greater volition (via social and political advocacy on the part of counselors and psychologists).

The Aging Population

Future Developments in the Field

We believe that vocational psychology is currently at a critical crossroads, with considerable challenges, yet important opportunities for substantial growth and broadened impact. Consistent with Savickas and Baker (2005), one can argue that vocational psychology, when examined via the lens of 20th century theories and problems, is stagnating. However, as we push the boundaries of vocational psychology to

Comment [PFC8]: In many anti-poverty programs, there have been attempts to get people on welfare to become gainfully employed. Are there any relevant theories or interventions that addresses these attempts?

Comment [PFC9]: Given your broad social perspective, I wonder if you may want to comment on the issues of the aging population - retirement age is still mandatory in many countries. What is the implication of longevity and the aging population on vocational psychology?

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embrace all workers and potential workers around the globe and to affirm diverse global perspectives, the challenges and the framework for intellectual rejuvenation are also evident. In this section, we identify several important new trajectories for vocational psychology that can help to create the framework for a more inclusive discipline that can respond to a broader and more challenging array of problems.

Localized Knowledge and Global Knowledge

One of the key points of the social constructionist critique of traditional social scientific discourse is that knowledge is rarely universal (Blustein et al., 2004); we believe that this is particularly pertinent in vocational psychology where cultural beliefs, economic factors, historical trends, and political realities have such a profound effect on the nature of education and work (Blustein, 2006; Stead, 2004). For the most part, the vocational psychology of the 20th century has sought to achieve a universal appeal, with broad, sweeping statements about the utility of P-E fit, the importance of autonomy in career decision making, and the valuing of individualistic achievement. We believe that a major growth edge exists in the development of localized theories, often derived from indigenous psychologies.

Using the South African context, Stead and Watson (2006) described the importance of indigenous psychologies by noting the limitations in importing psychological knowledge and practices from the US and other Western nations to countries that do not share many common cultural attributes with European-American cultures. The essence of indigenous psychologies is the valuing of aspects of knowledge and culture that are unique to a given setting. Just as many of the concepts in North America and Europe reflect inherent values of these cultures, vocational psychology

emerging from other regions of the world should strive to integrate cultural artifacts and realities that are unique to a given community. As Stead and Watson point out, "local cultural traditions or frames of reference should be used in defining career psychology concepts. Indigenous psychology prevents researchers and counselors from losing sight of differences in the meanings people from different cultural contexts attribute to the career choice process" (2006, p. 182).

By affirming indigenous psychology, we are also providing a means for the creation of localized knowledge that can help to advance the work lives of individuals around the globe. Consistent with the position of Stead and Watson (2006), we advocate that localized theories and research, based on an explicit incorporation of cultural values, are necessary to advance the work lives of individuals across diverse communities. Yet the basic enterprise of vocational psychology (and of much of the social sciences) is the creation of knowledge that will be broader in scope, optimally generalizing across diverse contexts. Building on the Stead and Watson framework, we believe that a reciprocal relationship exists between localized knowledge and universal knowledge. In this vein, localized knowledge may suggest some broader themes and issues among populations living in different cultural contexts; clearly, these observations and findings would need to be evaluated in different communities and regions of the world. At the same time, tenets that form the essence of traditional vocational psychology theory should be evaluated for their efficacy in a given cultural context before being adopted for use in counseling practice and public policy. For example, the Western value of individuals selecting work plans based on their own values, interests, and dreams may not be viable in communities where collectivist values reign and the needs of the community are

viewed as more important than individual needs for self-determination. We believe that vocational psychologists need to be aware of their values and how their values may influence their scholarship and practice. (See Prilleltensky, 1997, for an excellent discussion of the roles of values in psychological discourse.)

The methodologies employed for localized research may vary, ranging from traditional positivistic theory-testing studies to exploratory narrative investigations (Stead & Watson, 2006). The important factor in developing localized theories is to derive meaningful constructs from the lived experience of individuals in a given culture. Given the need to develop theories from the ground up, it is likely that qualitative and narrative tools will be most useful. We also believe that localized theories will be particularly useful in developing the sort of vocational psychological practices and public policy input that can support movements to reduce and eradicate global poverty.

Vocational Psychology and Public Policy

Another promising future direction for vocational psychology can be built upon recent efforts by scholars around the globe (e.g., Blustein, 2006; Santos & Ferreira, 1998; Herr, 2003; Watts, Law, Killeen, Kidd, & Hawthorn 1996) to generate public policy recommendations from vocational psychology research. One particularly compelling exemplar of this movement is found in the recommendations by the National Career Development Association of the U.S., which has recently advanced a legislative agenda to guide government policy. These recommendations (detailed in the following website: http://associationdatabase.com/aws/NCDA/pt/sd/news_article/5502/_self/layout_details/false) include proposals about worker training, the importance of creating individualized career plans in high school, and practitioner training.

One area that we believe is particularly ripe for public policy input is in creating and revising educational policy on the linkage between education and work (Blustein, 2006; Solberg, Howard, Close, & Blustein, 2002). Considerable public debate has taken place about the significant challenges that many nations face in preparing students for the workforce of the 21st century (Reich, 2000; Wilson, 1996). While many of these challenges are systemic in the inequitable distribution of resources to schools and students, other challenges are linked to the issues of relevance and rigor within educational systems. Various initiatives around the globe (e.g., Heinz, 2002; Kenny et al., 2007; Solberg et al., 2002) have provided strong rationales and programs that enhance the linkage between school and future work options. The basic assumption of these efforts is that students from less privileged backgrounds do not typically understand or internalize the fact that academic skills can translate into a volitional and satisfying work life. Given the evidence that this sort of internalization is indeed adaptive for students (Kenny et al.; Solberg et al.), we believe that scholarship devoted to enhancing our understanding of the school-work linkage is essential. Moreover, the findings from these studies have the potential to shape school reform efforts around the globe.

Internalizing the Context

As we noted earlier in the discussion about gender and race, recent developments in these areas have focused less on biological distinctions and more on the social constructions of these human attributes. This literature has identified important insights about the way in which race (Helms & Cook, 1999), gender (Mahalik et al., 2005), and ethnicity (Phinney & Ong; 2007) are internalized into psychological structures and belief systems. Indeed, some of the most important research in psychology in recent years has

been devoted to the complex ways in which individuals internalize their demographic attributes (Helms & Cook), their gender roles (Mahalik et al.), their motivational orientations (Ryan & Deci, 2000), and their cultural contexts (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder 2006). While we believe that vocational psychologists need to create scholarship that will compel more equitable policies, we are aware that a focus on individual psychology is both our heritage and our area of specialty. Moreover, by examining how social barriers are internalized, we can further document the pernicious impact of racism, sexism, heterosexism, and the like.

Two particularly compelling constructs that may be fruitful in subsequent vocational psychological scholarship are racial identity status and gender role conformity. Helms and Piper (1994) outlined the many ways the internalization of the social construction of race can affect individuals of color as well as majority populations in multiracial contexts. Research by Perry (2008), Lease (2006), and Carter and Constantine (2000), has highlighted the important contributions that can be made in this line of work. In relation to gender, the contributions of Mahalik and his colleagues have identified the multifaceted ways that conformity to gender role norms affects many aspects of psychological functioning such as health behaviors (Mahalik, Burns, & Syzdek, 2007), attitudes toward gay and lesbian sexual orientations (Mahalik et al., 2003), and vocational personality types (Mahalik, Perry, Coonerty-Femiano, Catraio, & Land, 2006). We believe that further research on these constructs and other forms of internalization may be informative in the development of the next generation of theories and practices on working.

An Expanded View of an Adaptive Work Life

One of the major limitations of the 20th century approach to vocational psychology has been the rather circumscribed focus on career choice satisfaction, job tenure, and congruence as viable work-related outcomes (Holland, 1997; Super et al., 1996). As we seek to expand the purview of vocational psychology beyond the realm of the privileged, we are faced with the need to enhance our understanding of how an adaptive work life might take shape. While we certainly advocate for the creation of social and economic structures to support increased opportunities so that more and more people can experience congruence and satisfaction, we do not believe that vocational psychologists should continue to ignore the vast majority of workers who do not have much access to the resources needed to create a volitional work life.

In this context, we recommend that vocational psychologists consider three interrelated dimensions of working as part of the array of adaptive outcomes for working people. One dimension is devoted to a dignified working life. Dignity at work is characterized by safe and healthy working conditions, work-based relationships that honor diversity, respect for human rights, occupational safety considerations, respectful supervisors, and access to humane policies on work-family conflicts (Lamont, 2000). Two other relevant dimensions are Savickas' (2005) notions of meaning and mattering. Savickas noted that "rather than choose among attractive options, some individuals may have to take the only job that is available to them, often a job that grinds on the human spirit because its tasks are difficult, tedious, and exhausting. Nevertheless, the work that they do can be meaningful to them and matter to their community" (p. 44).

Exploring these three dimensions, naturally, engenders some complications. First, they are very difficult to define operationally. Second, these attributes may

inadvertently serve to reduce the focus on the injustices that exist that create privileged and less privileged working lives. (Privileged working lives generally reflect the manifestation of internal values, interests, and inner dreams. Less privileged working lives are characterized by the attainment of jobs primarily as a means of survival.) However, the advantage of exploring dignity encourages vocational psychologists to confront inequities at work that may result in abusive or discriminatory contexts. The focus on meaning and mattering may function to give voice to the full range of working people who have been essentially neglected in vocational psychology. By encouraging all working people to share their experiences of meaning and mattering, we have an opportunity to gain expanded insight into the nature of working in the 21st century. The methods that may best facilitate scholarship on dignity, meaning, and mattering are likely to encompass narrative and qualitative approaches (Blustein, 2006; Lee, Mitchell, & Sablynski, 1999).

Multicultural Practice and Vocational Psychology

The field of vocational psychology has increasingly focused on cross-cultural and international perspectives of research and practice related to the field (Athanasou & Van Esbroeck, 2008; Blustein, 2006). Reviews of the vocational psychology literature in recent years (i.e., Flores et al., 2003; Guichard & Lenz, 2005) have identified the enduring challenge of balancing the discovery of more universal themes in vocational psychology with more culturally-sensitive and specific models of theory, research, and practice. Vocational psychology is different in many substantive ways depending on the country and community in which individuals reside; in cases where public resources may

be limited in nature, career guidance and development may seem superfluous for a society primarily concerned with survival (Blustein, 2006; Richard, 2005).

In the realm of multicultural theory and research, the career counseling practice community, for the most part, has been at the forefront of exploring how culture, race, social class, and other forms of social oppression can be understood within the working context (Arthur & McMahon, 2005; Flores, Lin, & Huang, 2005; Hargrove, Creagh, & Kelly, 2003). Additionally, the importance of values in counseling culturally diverse clients has been noted along with the importance of recognizing how values differ within and across cultural groups (Flores et al., 2003; Guichard, 2005).

In Flores and colleagues' (2003) annual review of practice and research in career counseling and development, a number of themes related to trends in career development research and practice were identified. Some of the recommendations to emerge in the research pertaining to multicultural career counseling include developing a strong working alliance, assessing racial saliency, determining the locus of clients' worldview, level of acculturation, racial identity status, and the exploration of how racism, sexism, and poverty have influenced clients' self-efficacy beliefs. As reflected in the advances in career counseling practice, the infusion of a multicultural orientation in vocational psychology scholarship can help to expand the scope and impact of our work.

International and Interdisciplinary Collaboration

Given the challenges noted in this chapter, we believe that a core future direction that will enhance scholarship and practice is international and interdisciplinary collaboration. As globalization continues to diversify the workforce and create international organizations and scholarly communities, we must make a collaborative

effort to understand the work lives of citizens of all countries and communities. One of the manifestations of globalization is the increasing linkage of intellectual ideas across national and geographic boundaries. While there are some exceptions (Fouad & Bynner, 2008; McMahon & Watson, 2007; Reitzele & Vondracek, 2000), much of the knowledge in vocational psychology has not benefited from cross-national fertilization.

In addition, we believe that vocational psychologists need to develop interdisciplinary research teams to tackle the full scope of problems that working presents in the 21st century. A review of related fields such as occupational sociology (Vallas, Finlay, & Wharton, 2009; Wilson, 1996), labor economics (Reich, 2000); management (Arthur, 1998; Hall, 1996), industrial/organizational psychology (Spector, 2006), and public policy (Friedman, 2006) reveals a wealth of knowledge about the massive shifts in the workplace, globalization, the impact of lack of work in the lives of people and communities, and a host of other pressing challenges.

Conclusion

While many of the overt indices of the health of a given discipline no doubt support many of the Savickas and Baker (2005) observations noted at the outset of this chapter, we believe that the seeds of rejuvenation are clearly evident. The sources of an expanded and intellectually compelling vocational psychology for the 21st century, in our view, lie in the adoption of a wide angle lens that also can view the depth and nuance of vocational behavior around the globe. Consistent with the burgeoning psychology-of-working movement (Blustein, 2006; Richardson, 1993), we envision that vocational psychology will be transformed as it embraces the full gamut of workers and individuals who want to work. In addition, we anticipate that the massive shifts in the economy will

force a parallel reappraisal of vocational psychology as the reality of working becomes increasingly unstable even for the relatively privileged workers who have been the focus of traditional vocational psychology research and practice. In effect, the eloquent line from Bob Dylan's (1965) song "It's Alright Ma, I'm Only Bleeding" can become a clarion call for our field: "He who is not busy being born is busy dying". We hope that our contribution will facilitate the emergence of a vocational psychology that will help current and future generations of students and workers create work lives that continue to energize the lifelong process of being born.

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