CHAPTER 1
Adult Career Concerns in Contemporary Society

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Career concerns evolve as the nature of work changes. Harsh evidence exists to indicate that the nature of work is changing substantially. To call our attention to these changes, authors use such dramatic phrases as "the career has died" and "work has ended" (Bridges, 1994; Rifkin, 1995). Although such declarations are not to be taken literally, they are to be taken seriously. The "career is dead" authors alert us to the fact that understanding changes occurring in the nature of work is essential for responding effectively to the career concerns confronting adults in contemporary society.

Indicators revealing ways in which work is changing include statistics about high levels of global unemployment, corporate downsizing, and a jobless economic recovery. Reports of these events appear daily in various news media. Technological advances change how business is conducted as small companies compete globally via the information highway and computers perform tasks once assigned to workers, thereby creating near workerless factories. Underlying these changes is the clear message that the social contract between employers and employees is being redefined (Rifkin, 1995; Savickas, 1993). New challenges and career tasks emerge from these substantial changes in the nature of work.

Contemporary workers struggle to balance their various life role commitments as predictions concerning ways in which technology would create a leisure society long ago gave way to reality. Rather than creating more leisure time, advances in technology have made it easier (and often necessary) to work more hours. Americans now take fewer vacation days per year than workers in any other industrialized country (Reich, 2001). Unfortunately, technology can change work, but it can not change the fact that days still occur in 24-hour cycles and more of those hours are being filled by work activity.

Other evidence that the nature of work is changing is found in media reports describing increases in the number of (a) companies offering day-care and parental leave, (b) families with dual earners, and (c) people working from home. Work concerns do not occur in separation from life concerns. These reports highlight the increased intertwining of work and family roles and have important implications for the career concerns confronting workers.

Career Concerns Evolve Over Time

Savickas (1993) reminds us that such shifts are not to be unexpected because they occur with each transition to a new century. Specifically, Savickas (1993) eloquently delineates the transitory nature of work ethics and evolving career concerns throughout the course of American history. Each ethic presents particular career development tasks to workers. For example, a vocational ethic valuing independent effort, self-sufficiency, frugality, self-discipline, and humility predominated in the 19th century (Maccoby & Terzi, 1981; Savickas, 1993). Most workers during this era engaged in physical labor for their work. Farming, managing a household, or developing a craft were the primary career options available. During the 20th century, or modern era, a "career ethic" predominated (Savickas). This ethic emphasized working for corporations and climbing the corporate ladder. Workers migrated from rural to urban areas and turned their attention to finding their place within organizational structures. Workers were required to fit into, and commit to, organizational hierarchies. This ethic created a shift in attributes prized within the workplace. Rather than prizing attributes such as self-sufficiency, independence, and humility, attributes such as loyalty, commitment, and dedication to the organization were valued. In return for demonstrating these latter attributes, there was the implicit assumption that employers would demonstrate loyalty to their employees. This "assumption of reciprocity" regarding loyalty was often powerful enough to cause workers to subjugate feelings of career dissatisfaction. Job security, especially for post-depression era workers, was a precious commodity.

Clearly, the "rules of the game" are changing. Large scales layoffs have led many workers to realize that blind loyalty to corporate employers is unwise. Long-term employees are being replaced by "on demand workers" (Rifkin, 1995). These new contingent workers are hired to complete a particular project and once the project is completed, so is their employment. Adults are forced to acknowledge that although they have a job today, they may be unemployed tomorrow- regardless of how competent they are or how hard they work. Corporate downsizing results in flattened organizational structures and fewer career ladders to climb. Those workers who continue to adhere to the twentieth century career ethic are left feeling confused and bewildered as they continue to display attributes and attempt to fulfill goals that are, for the most part, no longer relevant.

As adults attempt to smooth their career turbulence they realize that old solutions for increasing job security (e.g., being competent and working harder) often have little impact on new situations. Workers who have lost their jobs via corporate downsizing are now less willing to sacrifice everything for their careers when the organizations they work for are so willing to sacrifice them. Those who have been "sacrificed" are often left feeling betrayed, anxious about competing, and insecure about the future (Savickas, 1993).

Given these shifts, it is not surprising that many adult career counseling clients express concerns related to low career self-efficacy, anxiety due to ambiguous career paths and a lack of job security, confusion over how to obtain training to update their skills, and frustration related to conflicting life role demands (Anderson & Niles, 1995). Super, Savickas, and Super (1996) also note that many adult career counseling clients present with concerns related to life structure issues rather than more isolated work concerns.

> The life structure is comprised of the social elements that constitute a life, which are arranged in a pattern of core and peripheral roles. This arrangement, or life structure, forms the basic configuration of a person's life; a design that organizes and channels the person's engagement in society, including occupational choice. Usually two or three core roles hold a central place and other roles are peripheral or absent (Super, et al., 1996, p. 128).

Super and his colleagues (1996) note that life structure concerns reflect the fact that work occurs within a holistic life context. The demise of the assumption of reciprocity regarding loyalty in the workplace confronts workers with the need (and the opportunity) to be more responsive to questions concerning work and life satisfaction. It is not surprising, therefore, that adults in career counseling seek solutions for coping more effectively with their multiple life role commitments and often discuss non-work related concerns (e.g., relationship issues, ego dystonic emotional concerns, etc.) with their career counselors (Anderson & Niles, 1995). Apparently, the emerging work ethic is leading many contemporary workers to view their lives more holistically than workers in previous historical periods. This shift clearly illustrates the fact that few things are more personal than a career choice (Niles & Pate, 1989). Career concerns are personal and workers today evaluate career decisions within the context of the life roles they play.

Such statements suggest contemporary workers cope with a different set of career development tasks than did their earlier counterparts. For example, Maccoby and Terzi (1981) predicted that adults in contemporary society would focus more on achieving personal and professional growth than being solely focused on work success. Maccoby and Terzi described this emerging approach to work as a "self-fulfillment ethic." Those adhering to the "self-fulfillment ethic" seek work that is not so consuming that it denies opportunities for involvement in family, community, leisure, and other life roles. Rather than "living to work," many adults are more interested in "working to live." And, workers now must assume the primary responsibility for creating the lives they live- especially as those creative activities relate to work.

"Old" Ethics Continue as "New" Ethics Emerge

Although many workers seem to be turning away from the career ethic and turning toward the self-fulfillment ethic described by Maccoby and Terzi (1981), work continues to play a central role in the life experience of most people in the United States. Support for this statement is found in our everyday experience by considering the ways in which individuals typically introduce themselves to each other. Experience tells us that the most common question people ask when they meet for the first time is: "What do you do?" Seldom do people respond to this question by noting their community service initiatives, parenting activities, or leisure pursuits. Responses to this seemingly innocuous question typically focus on what one does to earn a living. Such interactions reinforce the contention that in a fluid industrial society occupation is the principal determinant of social status (Super, 1976). For better or worse, our choice of work tends to color the perceptual lens through which others view us. For many people, work identifies a person more clearly than any other single characteristic.

Many people also continue to take a view toward work that is steeped in values emanating from the historical context dating to the founding of the United States (in essence, this represents the perpetuation of the vocational ethic into contemporary society). For example, those operating from an individualistic perspective emphasize individual control in career development (e.g., self-sufficiency, discipline, perseverance, goal-directedness) and de-emphasize the role that contextual variables (e.g., the opportunity structure, the economy, the family, socioeconomic status, racism, sexism) play in shaping one's career. Thus, if a person has a "successful career," many people associate very positive attributes to the person who is a "success." The corresponding assumption is that the "unsuccessful" person is inferior. The application of attributes associated with the vocational ethic, the denial of contextual factors influencing the pattern of one's career development, and the dominant status of work in identity development, become problematic because they each create an inextricable link between work and self-worth. The centrality of work in identity formation also clearly diminishes the important ways in which non-work life roles contribute to self-worth and self-efficacy. As workers in contemporary society experience periods of unemployment, they are confronted directly with the problematic nature of linking work with self-worth.

Obviously, these changes in the nature of work are not benign. They have important implications for work and workers. For example, when work situations go awry, other life domains also suffer. Many jobless workers must cope with economic and family responsibilities without adequate financial resources. Increases in unemployment correlate significantly with increases in substance abuse, referrals to mental health centers, physical ailments (e.g., coronary heart disease), child abuse, and spouse abuse (Herr, 1989). Thus, the ripple effects and the costs of unemployment are substantial to the individual, the family, and society. The move away from the career ethic to the emerging ethic focused on nurturing life structure involvements suggests that adults in contemporary society will search more intentionally to identify effective strategies for managing the fluid demands of multiple life role activities.

The "self-fulfillment ethic" described by Maccoby and Terzi (1981) suggests that sociological conceptualizations of work will become more prominent and work will become more contextualized. Another implication of the self-fulfillment ethic is that people will search for life satisfaction and self-expression in multiple life roles. As more workers focus on working to live rather than living to work, the question becomes what is one working to live for? That is, what other life role commitments influence the goals that one hopes to accomplish through work activity? The importance of clarifying the values one hopes to express in the life roles comprising one's life structure also becomes a prominent career counseling concern. These questions have implications for the sort of assistance adults will require when attempting to clarify, articulate, and implement their life-role self-concepts (Super et al., 1996).

These shifts in the nature of work make it impossible to deny that career development is an evolutionary process. This evolutionary process occurs against a backdrop of constant economic, social, cultural, technological, and historical change. Careers develop within a process that is dynamic, interactive, contextual, and relational. For example, most workers today need at least basic competence in using computer technology, must engage in lifelong learning, and must be able to interact

with diverse co-workers. Obviously, these requirements differ significantly from those experienced by workers just several decades ago. Thus, static descriptions of career development are not useful and static career interventions are, in the long run, inadequate. Just as the evolutionary shifts occurring in work require people to re-think work, career practitioners must re-think how they can be most useful in helping their clients cope with their career concerns in contemporary society.

In conceptualizing their interventions for the current context, career practitioners must be guided by an understanding of how technological and cultural factors influence what is required for people to move forward in their careers. Savickas (1993) predicted that in the 21st century career counselors would move from supporting the 20th century notion of careerism to fostering self-affirmation in their clients. To achieve this goal, counselors must respond creatively to help their clients manage their careers effectively. Moreover, career practitioners must understand the emerging trends that are shaping the nature of work in contemporary society.

Heterogeneity in the Workplace and Emerging Career Concerns

The “typical” American worker is no longer an employed father married to a full-time homemaker and mother. More typical is the family in which both partners are employed, or in which a single parent is employed. Media stories depicting the experiences of increasing numbers of dual-career parents and single parent households are common today, Dual-career parents, once the anomaly, are now the norm. The term, “single-parent household” describes many households today. Dual-career parents and single parents struggle to balance work and family responsibilities. Children from all ethnic and economic backgrounds lament the lack of parental attention and guidance they receive today (Reich, 2001). Often, the demands required to cope successfully with multiple life roles create stress levels that are overwhelming for adults who are parents.

To make matters worse, results of most studies indicate that although men and women share the workplace, they often do not share the household responsibilities (Niles & Goodnough, 1996). In most instances, women carry major responsibilities for household and parenting tasks—even when they are also working outside the home. The stress experienced by dual-career parents often manifests itself in increasing tension between couples, children feeling isolated from parents, and parents feeling as though they are living fragmented lives. Single parents in the workforce tend to fare no better when confronted with the task of managing work and family responsibilities—which in all likelihood the must do with fewer financial resources than dual-career parents.

Once reserved primarily for White men, the workplace is now increasingly heterogeneous. In the 21st century, people of color will continue to experience significant growth in numbers while the White population will decline significantly (Lee & Richardson, 1991). The influx of new immigrants into the United States will also continue in large numbers (Spencer, 1989). From 1980 to 1990, while the White population grew about 5 percent, the African American population increased by approximately 10 percent, Hispanics by almost 55 percent, Asian Americans by

almost 110 percent, and Native Americans by about 38 percent. Hispanics are expected to surpass African Americans to become the largest minority group in the United States sometime within the next two decades (Herr and Cramer, 1996, p. 273).

Despite the fact that the workforce is increasingly heterogeneous, Niles and Harris-Bowlsbey (in press) note that there is ample evidence to suggest that women, people of color, persons with disabilities, gay men, and lesbian women encounter tremendous obstacles in their career development. For example, over 50 percent of young urban African American men were unemployed, worked part-time jobs involuntarily, or earned poverty-level wages in the 1980s (Lichter, 1988). The unemployment rate for African Americans has been above 11 percent each year since 1978 and was about 2.5 times the rate for Whites in the last decades of the 20th century (Swinton, 1992). Swinton also noted that only 36.9 percent of African American men are employed as executives, administrators, salespersons, and managers as compared to 61.8 percent of White men.

Hispanic Americans are also concentrated in lower-paid, lesser-skilled occupations. For example, "more than half of the employed Hispanic women are either clerical workers or nontransport operatives (dress-makers, assemblers, machine operators, and so on) (Herr & Cramer, 1996, p. 277). Herr and Cramer also noted that "no other minority group in the United States has experienced deeper prejudice or is in a less-advantaged posture than Native Americans" (p. 281). The poverty rate of Native Americans families is twice the rate (23.7 percent) of the general population in the United States (U.S. Bureau of Census, 1992). The 1980 U.S. Census report indicated that only 56 percent of Native Americans over the age of 25 had completed four or more years of high school (as compared to 66.5 percent of the general U.S. population). The unemployment rate for Native Americans living on reservations is 45 percent and 14 percent of those living on reservations have incomes of less than $2,500 per year (Johnson, Swartz, & Martin, 1995).

Despite legislation aimed at protecting their rights (e.g., Public Law 93-112, the Rehabilitation Act of 1973; Public Law 94-142, the Education for All Handicapped Children Act of 1975; Public Law 95-602, the Rehabilitation, Comprehensive Services, and Developmental Disabilities Amendment of 1978; Public Law 101-476, the Education of the Handicapped Amendments of 1990; Public Law 101-336, the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990) Americans with disabilities have fared no better. "Of the 13 million people considered to have a work disability, 33.6 percent are in the labor force and 15.6 percent are unemployed; thus nearly half of those with a work disability are outside the work structure" (Isaacson & Brown, 1997, p. 313).

Gay, lesbian, and bisexual individuals also experience discriminatory treatment in the labor force. Goleman (1990) suggested that the negative bias toward this group is often more intense than that directed toward any other group. Herr and Cramer (1996, p. 292) noted that gay, lesbian, and bisexual persons are essentially barred from certain occupations and find vertical mobility blocked simply because of their sexual orientation.

These statistics reveal that many women, people of color, persons with disabilities and gay/lesbian/bisexual individuals regularly experience discriminatory practices in hiring and promoting, insufficient financial resources, and a lack of role models and mentors. Thus, traditional career interventions may

not be appropriate for assisting members of diverse groups in their career development. Career development interventions in contemporary society must be reconceptualized to more adequately meet the career development needs of the members of an increasingly pluralistic society and heterogeneous workplace.

Regardless of one's demographic variables, all workers must cope effectively with emerging trends in work if they are to be successful. Thus, career practitioners must also understand, and be able to communicate to others, the emerging work trends that will influence their clients' career development.

Ten Factors Drive the Emerging Trends in Work

The rapidity of change in the nature of work, the language of work, and the content of work in the United States are proceeding more comprehensively and quickly than it is possible to comprehend fully. The underlying factors driving the emerging trends in work are profound and diverse. They include at least the following:

1. ***The pervasive effects of advanced technology in workplaces of all kinds and in virtually all occupations.*** It is difficult to overstate the degree to which advanced forms of technology have altered and are continuing to modify the content and the processes of work. The application of computer technology, telecommunications, and the Internet has allowed work to be done throughout the world without regard to space, time, or political boundaries. But, perhaps more pragmatically, advanced technology in its multiple forms has changed the nature of jobs in many occupational sectors; reduced the number of workers required to maintain and operate "high tech" factories and other workplaces; given rise to the need for "knowledge workers," persons who not only know how to do particular work, but why it is being done; elevated the general level of education required for work; made workplaces more information-rich, dependent on information to control and operate machines (robots, lathes, aircraft, etc.), for quality control, and for decision-making about such areas as inventory management, tracking the distribution of products shipped, and understanding the nature of one's consumers of products or services.

   Embedded within the meaning of the term "advanced technology" are many resources. Certainly central to this arena are computers, their software systems, and their increasing sophistication. The omnipresence of computers in homes and workplaces, in transportation and financial services, in international trade, in entertainment and in other spheres of life, rely on the rapidity and accuracy with which computers process, analyze, and transmit information. But, in these senses, computers are only tools, enablers if you will, by which other forms of advanced technology can flourish. The Internet, for example, is an international linkage of computers, telecommunications, graphics and knowledge bases from sites around the world, making comprehensive information accessible to persons in any setting or geographic location as long as they have computer access to an Internet portal. But, the ability of computers to analyze and model information, to calculate its

characteristics and to transmit such analyses is the support system for the advances in the understanding and treatment of diseases that have a genetic base; in pharmaceuticals, particularly medicines; in the development of multi-fuel vehicles; in developing composite and smart materials, with built in sensors to monitor stress and fatigue in materials used for construction of bridges and buildings, for aircraft, automobiles, space stations, propulsion systems; in biotechnology, altering foods to make them more abundant and disease free, custom tailored to environmental conditions in which they need to thrive; in neurosciences; in global positioning and tracking of satellites and vehicles; in the transfer of currencies among nations electronically, and in many other applications of science and technology. In large measure, the global economy as it is emerging would be impossible to achieve without the availability of computers, sophisticated software, telecommunications and related processes.

2. ***A changing social psychology of work.*** In large part due to the effects of advanced technology in the workplace (as well as changing management styles that encourage workers to participate more fully in decision-making, problem-solving, and related issues of flextime and the scheduling of work) the social psychology of work is changing. The relationships between managers and employees, co-workers, workers and customers tend to be more fluid as the use of technologies frees persons from some aspects of their work and requires more interaction among them. More work is being done by teams. Employers at more levels of the workplace have access to information and the opportunity to make work decisions that was previously reserved for mangers only. For some workers, computers have provided them more autonomy in their work. For other workers, however, the needs for continuous data entry to computers and monitoring them to interact with customer orders, etc., has imposed a new form of "assembly line" mentality and new ways to implement surveillance of worker productivity. Depending upon particular workplace cultures, the introduction of advanced technology in the workplace can reduce personal privacy and autonomy, change the flow of information among workers and managers, and enhance or demean workers' feelings and self-perceptions related to their interactions with computers or other forms of advanced technology.

3. ***Participation in international economic competition***, as reflected in the growing global economy as well as in regional competitive structures such as the North American Free Trade Agreement, the European Union, the Association of South East Asian Nations. As a result, workers who are bilingual and understand the economic and political systems of nations with which trade is being conducted will have skills that are increasingly prized. More workers are likely to spend some part of their career working abroad, or in communication with persons in other nations with whom they conduct export-import, financial, industrial or business transactions.

4. ***Changing employment opportunities as corporations and other organizations of work reduce in number their permanent workforces***, and increase the number of workers who are part-time or temporary employees and outsource, or subcontract, particular functions to other work organizations. In such contexts, many former full-time or new workers are now working several part-time jobs to earn adequate

income, in some cases without the likelihood of permanent institutional identity or adequate benefits (e.g., health care).

5. ***New concepts of careers are emerging.*** A new language of career is emerging, which suggests that because workplaces are changing rapidly, frequently downsizing the number and characteristics of their permanent workforces, more and more workers are becoming responsible for their own career management. During the earlier era of long-term worker employment in one firm, the career development of a worker tended to be primarily the role of the workplace and its managers. As the workplace found it necessary to do so, workers were retrained and reassigned to new jobs within the firm, and there was a frequently implicit "social contract" between employer and employee, which emphasized worker loyalty to the firm that was rewarded by retention and loyalty to the worker by the employer. Increasingly, that historical social contract is being set aside, requiring that individual workers be able to keep their occupational skills and competencies at a high level, constantly engaged in learning to sustain their marketability, and to be able to "sell" their competencies to employers. Part of the uncertainty of sustained employment for individual workers in such scenarios is reflected in the propensity of many workers to work harder and harder, having less and less time for other aspects of their life, including marriage and children. Americans, as a group, now work harder and longer than almost any other people on earth (Reich, 2001). An interesting corollary to the changes in work is that as workplaces and the occupational structures undergo dramatic change, there are both employment uncertainties for many workers and, at the same time, serious skill shortages. In instances, where such skill shortages exist, many workers that are employed in such contexts are under significant pressure to make up for the shortage of needed workers by "slaving away" and intensifying the hours they work. Thus, there are multiple patterns of uncertainty and over-commitment reflected throughout the occupational structure. And, there are analyses that strongly urge persons to prepare themselves to engage in Protean Careers (Hall, 1996), careers in which they are prepared to change with change, to be personally flexible, and able to anticipate emerging trends and to transform their skills and attitudes to accommodate such changes.

6. ***As a function of the increases in the use of advanced technology throughout the occupational structure and the transfer of selected industries to other nations, there has been an increase in the average educational requirements necessary for employment in many occupations.*** In some industries, advanced technology has eliminated the need for some unskilled and semi-skilled jobs and, in other instances, middle management jobs, which tended to be the positions which collected and analyzed data for decision-making, have been eliminated because information is now likely to be shared throughout the entire job spectrum as a function the utilization of computers to monitor and control specific tasks of fabrication, painting, assembly line operations, maintaining inventory and distribution of raw materials, financial transactions, quality control, etc. Thus, the interaction of person and machines has grown in symbiotic terms, modifying what persons do in manufacturing and other industries. For example, in the automobile industry, more and more of the work of building a car is performed by robots which are in turn controlled by

computers which are in turn the subject of programming, trouble-shooting, and operating by human beings. Such a scenario is replayed in different ways throughout the occupational structure. The results include "high tech" factories that need far fewer persons involved in manufacturing or in other industries even though the productivity of such factories continues to increase. The corollaries include the expectation that the human being operating the advanced technology in virtually any context, will be required to take on more responsibility and know more than was true when most industrial or business operations were done manually, not technologically. Few emerging occupations exist for people who cannot read, write, and do basic mathematics. Thus, people who have weak educational backgrounds are likely to be increasingly vulnerable to unemployment and to job opportunities that are uncertain.

7. ***Because of the growing educational requirements of jobs***, the importance of science and technology to product development and marketing, and the need to find the competitive edge in new processes, many workplaces are essentially "learning organizations" populated by various kinds of "knowledge workers." The dictum that "knowledge is power" can be revised to focus on the fact that in today's job marker "knowledge of science and technology is power."

8. ***An increased proportion of workers will not remain in a specific job in the same company for an extended period of time.*** Because of the dynamic quality of work and work organizations, persons will likely engage in seven or more jobs in their work life, frequently engaging in retraining within a context of lifelong learning in order to manage their own career development. Many workers in the near future will essentially be "world workers," moving among nations in pursuit of suitable work. Currently, there is a global labor surplus that is continuing to spur widespread immigration to nations, like the U.S. where the unemployment rate is low and job creation is high. In such circumstances, persons compete for work wherever they can be found, competing for jobs with domestic workers, sometimes filling skill shortages in particular nations where they exist. But, such transnational mobility may cause "rootlessness and culture shock" for many workers. In such cases, nations will need to alter their education and support systems to accommodate the growing numbers of guest workers, immigrants, and temporary residents moving across national boundaries.

9. ***Another trend has to do with the changing demographics of the workforce.*** In particular, in an increasing number of nations, women are entering the paid workforce in large numbers and remaining in the workforce after marriage and childbearing. Many of these women are single parents, many are one part of a dual career couple, and most of them have children. Such circumstances change patterns of childrearing as well as the nature of the workplace. For example, many workers expect their employers to offer daycare for workers' children, flexible work schedules for parents to have more ability to attend to their children's needs as well as their work responsibility, and more opportunities, for certain categories of workers, to engage in telecommuting from home.

10. ***A final trend relates to the shift away from developing career "maturity" and toward career "adaptability".*** Savickas (1997)

noted that adaptability refers to "the quality of being able to change, without great difficulty, to fit new or changed circumstances" (p. 254). Given the rate of change occurring in the world-of-work and the various demands workers experience, moving to conceptualizing career development from an adaptability perspective seems reasonable. The adaptability construct represents the interplay between person and environment within the career development process. Coping effectively with the contemporary career context requires workers to develop career adaptability.

Understanding the Emerging (and Expanding) Context of the Worker

As suggested by the ten factors identified above, the changes in the workplace and the various types of pressure workers experience are reflected in the home and within families. In families in which both parents work, parents frequently come to their childrearing or other marital roles in a state of fatigue. The strain of their work carries into the home. In selected occupations, where parents are subjected to pressures to work significant amounts of overtime, because of skill shortages in their workplace, time for balancing non-work and other life roles becomes limited and problematic. In other circumstances, where one or both parents are under continuous pressure to keep their competencies sharp and new, they may find that much of their discretionary time composed of taking courses and learning new skills to be able to successfully compete for work. The pressures for persons in dual-career or dual-income families to work harder, to push themselves to remain at a high level of skill competence is also often indirectly changing the nature of childrearing in the United States. Just as corporations outsource tasks that they previously did within the corporation to organizations outside the corporation that have specific specialties in security, food services, custodial work, advertising, marketing, accounting, transportation, or many other possibilities, many families are doing the same with regard to maintaining their home and children. They are outsourcing day care and birthday parties, they are "eating out" or "ordering food to be delivered," they are ordering groceries online rather than going to the store and selecting them; they are using cleaning services, lawn and snow removal services, and other mechanisms to try to balance work and non-work roles. The term "virtual parenting" has come into the language to describe parents whose work requires them to work late or travel a lot. Their solution is to try to use e-mail, fax, audiotapes, family conference calls, and voice mail to stay in touch with their children (Schellenbarger, 1999).

But, many of these sorts of strains on families and the responses cited are really for the affluent parts of society, not persons of low economic wealth or the single parents. Single parents who work two jobs or more to maintain financial viability may also have to use day care, but, where possible, they are likely to use a relative or a friend to do so, rather than an expensive pre-school or day care. Frequently, the impoverished of the nation, whose institutional work is uncertain, who are frequently "laid off" or terminated, as unskilled jobs are replaced by outsourcing or other mechanisms, may spend much of their discretionary time seeking work and/or engaging in several part-time jobs. Many of these persons are on the edge of financial insolvency all of the time, trying to engage in multiple ways to obtain funds

while taking on all of the tasks required by their children and their homes. They are persons for whom "life structure issues" triangulate around financial strain and creating some sense of hope for a better future. Such divides between the affluent and those of low economic wealth continue to fragment this nation and its people. The economically poor are not just rich people without money. Their culture, their worldviews, their expectations, and their realities about the roles they do and can play are quite at odds with other segments of the population. In a stunning statistic that affirms such disparities in how different the roles of persons are. Reich has written that "Bill Gates' [the founder/owner/CEO of Microsoft] net worth alone is equal to the total net worth of the bottom 50 percent of American families." Thus, to be useful in today's context, career development theories and career practitioners must be responsive to the myriad contextual factors driving intraindividual and extraindividual factors that foster career development. The growing socioeconomic divide can not be ignored. Theories must be applicable and career services available, to persons from all socioeconomic strata.

Career Development Expands to Human Development

Prompted by social and political action focused on diversity issues, shifting demographics in many parts of the world, fluctuating economic conditions, increasingly sophisticated technology and information systems, and the changing nature of work, scholars endeavor to reevaluate past and present understandings of the very notion of careers. Examining the future of career as a construct leads to the obvious conclusion that cultural issues figure prominently in efforts to help individuals move forward in their career development (Leong & Hartung, 2000).

Increased attention to social issues has surfaced in discussions about de-emphasizing careers and instead theorizing about and helping people to develop the role of work in their lives relative to roles in non-work domains (Herr & Niles, 1998; Richardson, 1993, 1994, 1996). This perspective calls for a shift from talking about career development, with its socioeconomic status, educational, and privilege implications, to considering human development through work and non-work roles; a perspective that may be more relevant to people of diverse social statuses and cultural backgrounds. As Richardson (1993) commented, this perspective shift emphasizes work as "a central human activity that is not tied to or solely located in the occupational structure...[and] a basic human function among populations for whom work has a multiplicity of meanings, including but not restricted to a career meaning" (p. 427). So conceived, work represents a culture-general human life role, whereas career represents a more culture-specific form of occupational life.

Adapting an epistemology that interprets *career* choice and development to mean *human* development through a constellation of work and non-work life roles holds great promise for contemporary career counseling practice and for society (Cook, 1994; Richardson, 1993; Savickas, 2000; Super & Sverko, 1995). Some career theories currently converge on this theme. For example, the sociological perspective on work and career development articulated by Hotchkiss and Borow (1996) recognizes that as members of social institutions people play a variety of social roles. Similarly, Gottfredson's (1996) theory of circumscription and compromise attends to issues of social identity, orientation to sex roles, and social valuation. The Theory of

Work Adjustment (Dawis, 1996) describes career development as "the *unfolding* of capabilities and requirements in the course of a person's interaction with environments of various kinds (home, school, play, work) across the life span" (p. 94). Perhaps the most obvious example is Super's life span, life space theory (Super et al., 1996) which emphasizes the multiple roles that form the basis of the human life space. Clearly, the theories advanced in subsequent chapters of this book address *career* development from a comprehensive perspective that conceptualizes career from a human development framework.

The movement to human development and away from more narrowly defined notions of career development is also reflected in more recent approaches to career counseling. For example, Peavy (1992) and Cochran (1997) present constructivist approaches to career intervention that highlight the client's narrative life story in constructing career plans. These career interventions approaches rely on card sorts, autobiographies, and other techniques that emphasize the individual's life-span development rather than relying upon the use of standardized tests that locate person's interests, aptitudes, and values on a normal curve. The latter approach (i.e., the use of standardized tests) emphasizes career development in a comparative sense. The former acknowledges the individual's unique life history in composing a life that includes multiple life-role development. Amundson (1998) focuses on actively engaging clients in the process of developing as humans who sort through career questions within a greater life context. These models are excellent examples of intervention strategies grounded in more expansive views of career development that incorporate the individual's subjective experience into the career counseling process.

As noted earlier, cross-cultural psychology also takes that perspective that life roles are fundamental elements of subjective culture — defined as the human-made part of people's environments (Triandis, 1994). Roles are etic constructs in that all cultures transmit expectations about social role behavior. Individual behavior in social roles differs as a function of the range of behavioral role options a culture makes available to its members. For example, the roles of father, spouse, and worker for a fifth-generation European-American man likely mean something very different than what these roles mean for a first-generation Japanese-American man. In addition, the changing nature of work, the growing diversity of society, the global economy and marketplace, and occupational and other barriers limit and influence the viability of different roles for people. Career practitioners, therefore, must remain cognizant of two facts as they help adults cope with career concerns in contemporary society. First, people differ in terms of which life roles are most viable and salient for them. Second, personal, structural, and cultural factors such as gender expectations, social class, discrimination, personal choice, and family expectations influence individuals' levels of commitment to and participation in work (Fitzgerald & Betz, 1994; Fouad & Arbona, 1994; Niles & Goodnough, 1996). These two facts influence the self-concepts, goals, and concerns adults clients present to career counselors. They also indicate that career interventions must be oriented to the client's context. A "one size fits all" "shotgun" orientation will "miss" clients concerns more than it will address them.

Career Counseling for Social Action

The need to reconceptualize career interventions for the current context led Herr and Niles (1998) to suggest that incorporating social action strategies in the career intervention process is one way career practitioners can respond more effectively to the career concerns confronting many adults in contemporary society. Lee agrees with Herr and Niles stating that career counselors must act as “career development advocates for disenfranchised clients by actively challenging long-standing traditions that stand in the way of equity in the workplace (Lee, 1989, p. 219).

Career counseling for social action requires counselors to provide multifaceted career interventions and to expand their roles beyond traditional individual career counseling practice. For example, although advocacy is also required in the career counseling process to instill hope in clients and empower them to manage their careers, career counseling for social action also requires counselors to integrate the roles of facilitator and community counselor into the career counseling process.

Career counseling for social action begins with career counselors possessing the multicultural competencies (i.e., knowledge, skills, and attitudes) necessary for understanding how the environments their clients occupy interact to influence the interpretations and meanings clients attach to work and occupational opportunities. Blustein and Noumair (1996) noted the importance of understanding how contextual factors (e.g., history, family, economics, culture) interact with clients’ intrapersonal experiences to shape their life-role identities. Acquiring this understanding requires the use of career counseling interventions that are sensitive to the life structure needs of clients (Bowman, 1993; Leong, 1996; Super et al., 1996) and serves as the foundation for identifying social action strategies aimed at facilitating career development.

Career practitioners engaged in social action use interventions that address career concerns systemically. In part, this occurs when career counselors use community resources to provide clients access to information and opportunities (e.g., employment offices, “on-stop career shops,” support groups). Learning about career resources available in the community facilitates appropriate referrals and increases the probability that clients will receive the services they need. Therefore, career counselors engaging in social action also play the role of facilitator and providing information, referrals, and encouragement to clients (Enright, Conyers, & Szymanski, 1996). Playing this role effectively requires career counselors to maintain files of useful resources, including names of potential mentors representing a diversity of backgrounds (e.g., African American, Asian American, individuals with disabilities, gay and lesbian men and women), information on accommodations for disabled individuals with different functional limitations, names of employers willing to provide opportunities for job shadowing and internship experiences, and names of individuals willing to participate in informational interviewing experiences (Enright et al., p. 111).

Having a thorough knowledge of career resources available in the community also allows counselors to identify areas where services are lacking. In these instances, counselors once again take on a strong advocacy role and seek to rectify service deficiencies in their communities (Lee, 1989).

Advocacy is also important when clients’ career concerns are the result of external factors such as large-scale downsizing. In these instances, counselors

concerned with social action address not only the career concerns of individual clients, but also the career concerns of the community at-large (Cahill & Martland, 1996). This is accomplished by integrating individual career counseling skills with community counseling skills. Integrating career counseling and community counseling strategies is especially critical in rural communities where economic restructuring can threaten the very existence of the community. Cahill and Martland argue that community career counseling builds on the strength of individual career counseling and offers assistance to people in their struggle to maintain their communities as they create opportunities for career development. Thus, in addition to individual career counseling skills, counselors need skills in facilitating group problem-solving, consensus building, and an understanding of the social and economic development process to help clients advance their careers in contemporary society.

Essentially, career counselors who instill hope in their clients and empower them to manage their careers are multiculturally competent, act as facilitators of information and referrals, advocate for their clients when employment practices and community traditions stand in the way of equity in the workplace, and integrate individual career counseling skills with community counseling skills to assist people in their struggle to maintain their communities and create opportunities for career development.

Because work concerns occur within a life context, contemporary career counselors also use family interventions strategies to help family members work together to cope with work-related concerns and to make career-related decisions that are sensitive to the family context. This combination of skills expands traditional approaches to career counseling and equips counselors for effective social action aimed at facilitating career development in clients.

Summary

Clearly, career interventions must evolve to respond effectively to the emerging career concerns of adult workers. In this respect, career practitioners are not excluded in the call for all workers to be more adaptable and flexible in their work situations. The theories and interventions presented in this book represent an effort to help career practitioners increase their range of knowledge pertaining to the variety of career concerns clients present and the numerous career interventions than can be used to help adult clients resolve their career concerns in contemporary society.

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