CHAPTER NINETEEN

Convergence Prompts Theory Renovation, Research Unification, and Practice Coherence

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THE CONVERGENCE PROJECT sought to build connections among the major theories of career choice and development and to consider an agenda for future work on theory convergence. The general outcome of this effort was a communal consideration of the advantages and disadvantages of a convergence agenda for theories of career choice and development. This chapter examines this general outcome by identifying and evaluating the specific outcomes of the project from the perspectives of theory, research, and practice. Three conclusions will be explicated, namely, that convergence can aid theory renovation, advance the empirical process for knowledge making, and enrich practice. The first section deals with *theory renovation,* or what convergence offers career theorists as they elaborate their models of reality. The second section addresses *research unification,* or what convergence offers researchers who want to enhance their methods for knowledge making. The chapter concludes by considering *practice coherence,* or what convergence offers practitioners who use multiple theories to guide their work.

CONVERGENCE CAN CONTRIBUTE TO THEORY RENOVATION

The first inference I drew from the convergence project was that no one seemed interested in converging theories, or, if they were, then they were unwilling to admit it in public. Rather, most participants seemed willing to settle for theory renovation,

to use a term offered by Holland. On reflection, I agree that it would be premature to pursue a theory convergence agenda for its own sake. Nevertheless, I concluded that the convergence project did generate several significant ideas for theory renovation. These ideas for refurbishing theories fall into two groups, namely, issues that we have neglected and principles that we have forgotten. First, let us consider the group of neglected issues that drew the convergence spotlight.

Theories Have Neglected Diversity, Salience, Context, and Ability

One of the most clearly articulated outcomes of the convergence project was not anticipated—that one of the strongest points of convergence among theories of career choice and development rests in the issues that our theories neglect. Fitzgerald and Betz as well as Subich and Taylor decried the fact that the theories converge in neglecting diverse groups. Bordin and Super argued that in their concentration on work, career theories neglect other major life roles. Walsh and Chartrand, along with Vondracek and Fouad, advised us that the theories neglect the reciprocal influence of context on vocational behavior. (See the respective chapters of these authors in this volume.) The following four subsections consider, in turn, our neglect of diversity, salience, context, and ability.

Diverse Populations. Vocational psychologists have been so focused on career development that we have neglected the work behavior of people who do not have subjective careers. Careers can be thought of from two perspectives—from that of the actor and that of the observer (Hughes, 1958). From an observer's view, most people have a career, that is, they occupy a series of work positions during their lives. Thus, *objective career* denotes the work history of the individual, and in this sense most individuals have a career. In contrast, *subjective career* refers to individuals' own viewpoint on their vocational behavior. A subjective career consists of memories of the past, experiences of the present, and dreams of the future. These cognitions function to impose direction on vocational behavior.

Almost everyone has an objective career, but many people do not experience a subjective career. Individuals who lock themselves into the present, or are trapped in the nonce by their culture or by social oppression, do not enjoy the privilege of anticipating and planning for a better tomorrow. Instead of climbing a promotion ladder or moving along a career path, they must concentrate on getting a job—any job—and then keeping it. They have a job without a sense of career. Without a subjective career to envision, direct, and develop, these individuals have no occasion to seek career counseling. In turn, counselors have not been prompted to articulate career theory to address the concerns of people who do not have subjective careers.

Contemporary career theories concentrate on "mature" and "adaptive" behavior as these qualities are defined by the career culture of the American middle class,

excluding the work experience of the diverse groups that populate our country and ignoring the frustrations of individuals with lower socioeconomic status (SES). For example, in talking about career maturity, we have emphasized constructs of independence, decisiveness, and future planning. These are value-laden constructs that not each socioeconomic level and every culture prizes. Holland (1969) once suggested that what Super calls career maturity may merely be the effects of SES, with high vocational maturity being a concomitant of high SES. Several cultural groups in the United States index maturity by past-oriented and interdependent behavior, rather than future-oriented and independent behavior. Renovating career theories must include adding new constructs and broadening the range of convenience of established constructs so that the critical variables in career theory embrace most workers.

Role Salience.   Super (this volume) reminds us that work does not exist in a vacuum. Work is an important life role, yet it is not the only life role. Contemporary life in late modern and early postmodern times requires extensive revision of the "grand narrative" of the twentieth century, which instructed us that society uses its human productive capacities to advance toward the new or the better with a gradual yet steady forward march. We cannot continue to build career theory on this grand narrative or continue to inculcate the Puritan work ethic, which makes career salient and the work role the central life interest. In postindustrial society, the work role may not be the chief tie to reality or the bestower of social identity. No one philosophy of life will be shared by everyone in a multicultural society. Increasingly, career theory will attend to alternative common narratives, rather than a grand narrative, and concentrate on life design and the place of the work role in the constellation of life roles. At this point in our history, counselors must learn to enable clients to invent a workable personal framework for their lives. To assist counselors, career theory must broaden its focus beyond fixation on the work role and look to how different cultures and unique contexts provide different paths of development.

Relative to role salience, Bordin (this volume) urges us to renovate theory by reexamining the work role itself, not just contextualize it into a spectrum of life roles. He gently criticizes the restricted view of work as effort directed toward postponed or future rewards. He asserts that

> the key point of my work-play concept is that from that perspective one finds the press toward fusing work and play. This means that there can be intrinsic, therefore immediate, rewards in work that reside in the activities. To the extent that this is a valid assumption, it has major implications for work and personal adjustment. (Bordin, personal communication, May 20, 1992)

By mining Bordin's profound wisdom, career theory can be renovated to include play and leisure, not as additional roles but as part of the work role.

Context.   The new interest in multiculturalism and multiple life roles underscores the importance of context as a neglected component in contemporary career theory. How participants in the convergence project defined context produced several ideas for theory renovation. Vondracek and Fouad (this volume) offer to theory renovation the framework of *developmental contextualism*. This framework promises to obviate the need for different theories for different groups because, at its core, contextualism incorporates socioeconomic and cultural influences on individual vocational behavior. Moreover, with embeddedness as a key concept, the developmental-contextualism framework comprehends the issue of role salience.

Spokane (this volume), along with Walsh and Chartrand (this volume), offer theory renovation the possible elaboration of the congruence construct using the variable of *affordance* (Gibson, 1979). They define affordances as functional utilities or action possibilities available in the environment. The construct of affordance can be used to more closely fit individual plans to environmental opportunities and to study the shaping conditioned by reciprocal transactions between individual goals and social opportunities.

The constructs of affordance and embeddedness may prove to be key concepts in theory renovation, especially if we take seriously Dawis' (this volume) affirmation of the individual differences tradition in psychology. This tradition views people as individuals, not group members, and assumes that an individual's present status results from opportunity or the absence of opportunity. In addition, affordance and embeddedness may serve to bridge the British (Watts, Super, & Kidd, 1981) view of career development as shaped by the social opportunity structure with North American career theory. Linking individual career development to the opportunities in the physical and social environment may eventually offer practitioners theory-based interventions to deal with real-world problems that are so often neglected by contemporary career theory.

Ability.   The final construct that we may have neglected drew the convergence spotlight thanks to Dawis' (this volume) assertion that ability could be the convergence construct par excellence for career psychology, in part because ability is the integrative construct for much of the rest of psychology. Dawis' suggestion made me think of ability in broad terms, particularly ability as discussed by Phillips.

Phillips (this volume) commented that career choice theories converge on decision-making rationality. She offers the construct of intuition to theory renovation. Intuition, as a decision-making resource, is used by many counselors who urge clients to trust themselves and their own feelings. Practical intelligence offers an intriguing possibility for theory elaboration. The research on tacit knowledge in career development (Wagner & Sternberg, 1985), intuition as a global style of problem solving (Witkin, Oltman, Raskin, & Karp, 1971), and intuition in self-organizing systems (Tiedeman & Miller-Tiedeman, 1985) offers practical models to follow in renovating theories. Following these leads, we can look beyond the

decisional objectivity of logical positivism to see the theoretical possibilities offered by the decisional subjectivity of constructivism.

We Have Forgotten How Practice Constitutes Theory

In addition to the prospects for theory renovation offered by attending to neglected issues, there are also possibilities offered by remembering fundamental principles that we may have forgotten. It seems to me that we have lost track of the intimate relationship between theory and practice, a relationship of mutual shaping. The following three subsections discuss career theory as a constituent of practice.

Theories Are Practice. A pivotal question was raised at the conference: Can practice ever inform theory? The question presupposes a dualism of science versus practice, rather than recognizes that career theory is an applied science, a science of use. The question thus reflects the dichotomy of theory versus practice and the inherent tyranny of dualistic thinking. Maybe in reaction to this tyranny, the question of "practice informing theory" rang out with a hostile edge. A few individuals who advanced the question seemed frustrated by their experience with unidirectional communication from theory to practice. They concluded that practitioners were excluded from the theory-building enterprise. They contended that while career theories were designed and developed to inform practice, they do not address some real-world problems that practitioners encounter. In short, they argued that theory needs to be made more practical. From this view, theorists are adherents, whereas practitioners are pragmatists. As adherents, theorists and their disciples reify theory, thus further separating career theory from the practical problems of counseling practice.

The problem with this specious question is that theorizing itself is a form of practice, albeit practice at a distance. Theorists do their best to comprehend vocational behavior, and a few theorists like Holland even elaborate their theories to help practitioners serve clients and to allow clients to help themselves (e.g., the *Self-Directed Search*, which Holland designed as a counselor-free intervention). As Krumboltz (this volume) and others so clearly explained, the theories themselves map specific terrains. If a map was not designed to portray the concerns of a particular client, then the theory would not be useful to that client's counselor. This does not mean that the map is useless or that theory ignores practice. It only means that the theorist in question was not practicing, at a distance, on that problem (Nespor & Garrison, 1992).

The idea of practice at a distance transforms the dichotomy of theory versus practice into a continuum from close to distant. Such a continuum overcomes the tyranny of either-or. However, the continuum still separates theory and practice. Constructivist philosophy of science reconciles this separation. For example, Nespor and Garrison (1992) argued persuasively that "theories cannot be detached from practice—from their uses or 'consequences' [because] the meanings of theories and concepts are constituted through their uses" (p. 28).

What a powerful idea—the meaning of a theory is constructed through its use! Thus, situated activity, particularly the practice of career intervention, constructs the true meaning of career theories. Theories are conceptual tools or mapped routines that must be used in practice to be meaningful. Moreover, the meaning of a theory changes as it is used. Each time a concept is applied to a new situation, its meaning deepens. As Nespor and Garrison (1992) argue, the problem is not to make theory more practical but to rethink theory as practice at a distance.

Teaching Theory as Practice.   Why have so many of us forgotten that theories are practice? Well, maybe we did not forget; maybe we were taught to consider theory as distinct from practice by the structure of our graduate school curricula. Theories, when first introduced to students, can be presented as abstract, decontextualized principles and categorical definitions. After students pass a theory or "know what" course, students can take a practicum or "know how" course. The artificial breach between theory and practice courses needs to be repaired. "Know what" presented as part of "know how" discussions makes theories more useful and may enable students to encode and remember them better. Perhaps vocational psychologists could increase their use of case studies in teaching. Presenting theories from the vantage point of case studies may contribute to the success of textbooks that emphasize theory applications (Brown & Brooks, 1990; Sharf, 1992) and the "Getting Down to Cases" section in the *Career Development Quarterly.* These materials show how theorists use their theories as a form of practice.

Career Counseling Theories.   One of the outcomes of the convergence project was widespread agreement that we have theories of career development but not theories of career counseling. This could be true, yet I am not sure. Maybe this conclusion exemplifies the tyranny of the dichotomy between theory and practice. Before starting to design new career counseling theories, we need to improve our teaching and repair the gap between theory and practice by doing a better job convincing students that theory is practice and demonstrating how theorists and master practitioners use theory. Clearly, viewing career theories from a convergence perspective reveals numerous important ideas for renovation of the individual theories.

CONVERGENCE CAN SPUR RESEARCH UNIFICATION

This section addresses the issue of research unification, that is, convergence of career theories at the empirical level. I will first describe the concept of research unification, then discuss three potential focal points for research unification.

Research Unification

In vocational psychology, recognition is given to individuals who identify and measure a new construct. Thus, we find researchers expending great conceptual effort explicating a new construct, then operationally defining that construct with

an inventory, and eventually using the inventory to elaborate a nomological network around the construct. When we think of colleagues, we often associate them with a construct or inventory that defines their specialization. Natural scientists gain recognition another way—by solving a problem. These scientists agree on which problems are most important, and then researchers race against each other to solve a problem. Recognition is given to the individual or research team that advances the attack on the problem. Maybe vocational psychology has matured as a discipline to the point where we, too, can coordinate our research efforts to investigate a set of widely agreed on problems. A first step toward research unification is to encourage vocational psychologists who hold different theoretical orientations to identify and prioritize research problems, then agree to pursue these problems using their own theory in tandem with one or more other theories.

Research unification was what we had in mind when we asked prominent researchers, whose chapters appear in part 2 of this book, to discuss how a particular problem or topic in vocational psychology could be elucidated by each of the five foundational theories represented in part 1. The problems that they discussed embody central topics in vocational psychology—the formation of a vocational *identity,* the influence of *self-cognitions* on career behavior, the process of *decision making,* the dynamics of *congruence,* and the *social context* that conditions vocational behavior.

Each theory attends to one or two of these problems in detail and addresses the remaining problems in a more cursory fashion. For example, Super concentrates on decision making, Holland emphasizes congruence, Krumboltz accentuates self-cognitions, Dawis highlights context, and Bordin underscores identity. Accordingly, we learned from the theorists' chapters in this book that their theories are not competing explanations of the same five problems. Instead, the theories are visions of reality that focus on circumscribed parts of the larger whole, that is, a problem or two. Career theories provide lenses through which selected segments of vocational behavior can be viewed. According to Krumboltz (this volume), "each theory is an attempt to depict some part of reality and does so by deliberately ignoring other complexities." The problem scrutinized with a particular lens reflects the interests of the theorist who fashioned the lens.

In their chapters, the theorists acknowledged some of their different interests regarding level of abstraction and audience. For example, according to Dawis (this volume), career theorists differ in the level of abstraction they prefer. Dawis explicates this assertion by contrasting his use of higher-order, disposition-type variables such as abilities to Krumboltz's use of lower-order, ongoing behavior variables such as task approach skills. Holland (this volume) noted that different theorists have disparate audiences and goals. Holland explained that his theory aims primarily to aid practitioners in providing effective career interventions.

To me, the differences in how the theorists view problems are even more fundamental than differences in abstractness and audience. Fundamentally, the theories comprehend vocational behavior by discerning cognitive *structures,* the *development* of these structures across time, and the *learning processes* that foster structural development. Holland and Dawis emphasize structure while downplaying

development and learning; Krumboltz emphasizes learning while deemphasizing development and structure; Super emphasizes development while downplaying process and structure; and Bordin emphasizes structure, views development as change in structure, and deemphasizes process. In short, the theories concentrate on different problems and use the conceptual paradigm most pertinent to that problem.

On occasion, the theories directly address the same problems. When this occurs, the theories already converge. It is difficult to think of an instance when two or more career theories address the same problem with different predictions. Articulating this conclusion was a useful product of the convergence project. However, stating that the theories converge is not to say that they are the same. The theories are never the same, even when they address the same problem, because they use different paradigms, privilege distinct constructs, and employ unique operational definitions in making sense of that problem.

Let us consider one of the problems—person-environment (P-E) fit—from the viewpoint of the two theorists who seem to have the greatest similarity (both emphasize structure and concentrate on P-E fit), namely, Dawis and Holland. Although their two theories are compatible and both highlight P-E fit, the theories were constructed and elaborated to deal with different facets of P-E fit. Accordingly, even the words they use to denote P-E fit within their theories express, with precise connotation, their differing interests. Holland uses *congruence* to spotlight the accord or match between an occupational choice and a personality type, whereas Dawis uses *correspondence* to spotlight the co-responsiveness between the person and the work environment.

Dawis uses the construct of correspondence within a theory of work adjustment elaborated without specific concern for the practice of career counseling. Holland uses the construct of congruence within a theory of educational and vocational choice elaborated specifically to inform the practice of career intervention. Despite their shared interest in P-E fit, Holland writes little about correspondence and work adjustment, while Dawis writes little about facilitating congruent career choices. However, if we ask either theorist to consider the issue they do not emphasize, we get heuristic ideas. For example, when Dawis (this volume) wrote about career counseling, he speculated that there may be two types of career choice clients. In making a career choice, one group of clients may try to maximize satisfaction, whereas a second group of clients may try to maximize satisfactoriness. Hypotheses such as the one offered by Dawis suggest that exploring convergence at the level of research unification may produce innovative directions for inquiry. In fact, this is what we had in mind by research unification—researchers using the lenses of their preferred theories to look at the same problems and then generate testable hypotheses to advance our understanding of the problem.

Focal Points for Research Unification.   In short, one idea for advancing theory building and knowledge is to unify research by (a) identifying problems addressed

by two or more theories, (b) investigating these problems through the core constructs and operational definitions of two or more theories, (c) interpreting the results of the investigations from the perspectives of multiple theories, and (d) advancing our understanding of the problem under investigation by drawing a comprehensive conclusion from the multiple interpretations.

I take as my model for this reasoning early attempts by Holland (1972) to implement a convergence agenda. In a dialogue with Super concerning vocational development theory, Holland (1972) stated that his concept of consistency among occupational preferences was operationally equivalent to Super's construct of vocational maturity:

> I have recently interpreted Don's vocational maturity concept in terms of my own theory and it boils down to something like this. Vocational maturity is having a personality pattern on the *Vocational Preference Inventory* that is consistent, that is, having peaks on two or three things which go together. The sort of thing that counselors have observed for many years. And that immaturity is having peaks on this particular inventory, which don't go together, which by any casual observation are nutty. For example, having artistic and conventional about the same height is a nutty profile. It is also rare, but it is also nutty. These people believe and aspire to have very divergent kinds of competencies.

Ensuing research did not support this convergence hypothesis. Nevertheless, it clarified both theories, suggested that consistency is a late developing trait, showed that the structure of vocational maturity varies across career stages, and contributed to the evolution of the construct of coherence.

I learned from this early attempt at convergence that it may be more productive to compare how two theories view the same problem than it is to translate the core constructs of one theory into the language of another theory. I would like to offer three examples of potential research unification studies that each approach a common problem from the perspectives of two different theories. I selected three important problems that counselors frequently encounter among their career clients: (a) educational and vocational indecision that precludes making an occupational choice, (b) career beliefs that debilitate vocational behavior, and (c) maladaptive attempts to implement an occupational choice and establish a career.

Educational and Vocational Indecision.   The theories of Holland and Super both address the problem of educational and vocational indecision. Taking the risk of oversimplifying the two theories, one might say that Holland views indecision from the standpoint of a trait-and-factor psychologist looking for individual differences in personality and adjustment, whereas Super views indecision from the standpoint of a life span psychologist looking for developmental changes. In making meaning of career indecision, Holland privileges constructs that emphasize differences between individuals, whereas Super privileges constructs that emphasize differences within an individual across time. Let us consider how their views shape the problem of career indecision.

Holland studies indecision from the standpoint of differences among RIASEC types and, more importantly, as differences in the degree of difficulty individuals encounter when they must adjust to an environmental demand to make a career choice. Holland, Gottfredson, and Nafziger (1973) operationally defined this view by constructing the *Vocational Decision-Making Difficulties Scale* (VDMD), while Osipow, Carney, Winer, Yanico, and Koschier (1976) operationally defined it with the *Career Decision Scale* (CDS). Both of these scales index indecision as the number of problems an individual claims to encounter in making educational and vocational choices. Thus, viewing career indecision as rooted in adjustment problems has produced inventories that identify decisional difficulties and interventions aimed at problem solving.

In contrast, Super studies indecision from the standpoint of differences in readiness to cope with an environmental demand to choose, not as differences in personality or adjustment. Until one has mastered the tasks of crystallizing a vocational self-concept and formulating a preference for occupational fields and ability levels, an individual is not ready to specify a career choice. While an adjustment view concentrates on decisional difficulties, a developmental view attends to decisional readiness. Super, Thompson, Lindeman, Jordaan, and Myers (1981) operationally defined the developmental view by constructing the *Career Development Inventory* (CDI), and Crites (1978) operationally defined it by constructing the *Career Maturity Inventory* (CMI). Viewing career indecision as rooted in developmental delay has produced inventories that identify immature attitudes and competencies, and interventions that foster developmental task mastery.

Clearly, differential and developmental theorists view indecision differently, not to mention dynamic theorists such as Bordin. The theorists have not been particularly open to examining the privileged constructs used in another theory. And at the extreme, some theorists have competed to enroll practitioners and researchers into their knowledge-constitutive networks (see Latour, 1987). For all practical purposes, we can conclude that most researchers stand in one camp. Contemporary ideas about philosophy of science, such as standpoint theory (Harding, 1991), suggest that where researchers stand determines what they see. The campsite or standpoint of career researchers determines whether they study indecision as a result of differential difficulties or an incomplete readiness to cope.

However, unification research that compares the views from the two campsites might significantly advance our understanding of indecision and its remediation. In a practical sense, a researcher or, better yet, a team of researchers, representing the camps of Holland and Super could administer the VDMD and the CDI to a common group of undecided college students to determine how decisional difficulties relate to choice attitudes and competencies. It would be a major advance to know if decisional difficulties and developmental resources are different sides of the same coin.

Holland has already merged his difficulties view with a developmental view, although not with a career development theory. Holland merged his work on

difficulties in vocational decision making with Erikson's developmental model of psychosocial identity during adolescence and young adulthood. Early on, Holland and Nichols (1964) referred to indecision as "slow and complex rate of development" (p. 33). As noted herein, Holland eventually produced the VDMD (Holland et al., 1973). Holland's research on this scale caused him to notice that the VDMD consistently exhibited a strong inverse correlation to an Identity Scale that he had developed based on the work of colleagues at The Johns Hopkins University (Greenberger, Campbell, Sorensen, & O'Connor, 1971). Eventually, Holland, Daiger, and Power (1980) constructed the *Vocational Identity Scale* (VIS) by merging items from the 13-item VDMD and the 15-item Identity Scale because they produced a strong inverse correlation. In my view, this correlation suggests that difficulties and resources are flip sides of the same coin.

A research form of the VIS contained 23 questions, including one item from Crites' CMI Attitude Scale. The published version of the VIS has 18 items that to me represent the convergence of the individual differences and developmental traditions in studying indecision. I think the instrument works superbly because it melds the best of two traditions in vocational psychology, the differential and the developmental. Moreover, because of its converging traditions, the VIS can be used comfortably by researchers from both camps. Differentialists can view the VIS as an adjustment measure, while at the same time developmentalists can view the VIS as a readiness measure (although Holland may object to this view).

The VIS is an excellent example of theoretical convergence arising from research unification. Holland did not begin with the intent to converge theories; the linguistic explication and operational definition of the construct *vocational identity* arose rather as a by-product of Holland's creative, persistent, and multiperspective research on the problem of career indecision.

Career Beliefs.   A second example of theory convergence arising from research unification involves social learning theory represented by Krumboltz and developmental theory represented by Crites. Krumboltz (1988) constructed the *Career Beliefs Inventory* (CBI) as a counseling tool to help individuals identify career beliefs that may block their vocational decision making, job search, or career advancement. Krumboltz (1991) described the CBI as a logical outgrowth of prior research (Lewis & Gilhousen, 1981; Thompson, 1976) and as an application of cognitive psychology and cognitive therapy (Beck, 1976).

In constructing the *Career Concepts Test,* the original name for the CMI Attitude Scale, Crites included a cluster of 11 items that dealt with conceptions of the choice process. Conception items measure the extent to which an individual accurately conceptualizes the process of making an occupational choice (Crites, 1965). The 11 items each state misconceptions about career decision making. Two sample items are "There is only one occupation for each person" and "By the time you are 15 you should have your mind pretty well made up about the occupation you intend to enter." Crites (1973) produced programmed instruction materials that counselors

could use to correct these misconceptions. He also described a counseling process for teaching accurate conceptions that uses a three-step cycle of nondirective exploration, directive shaping, and active learning.

Interestingly, both Krumboltz and Crites converge on the social influence model of counseling as the preferred way to disabuse clients of career misconceptions or maladaptive beliefs. Moreover, they both emphasize the counseling use of their inventories over a psychodiagnostic use. Putting together the work of Krumboltz with that of Crites—one from the social learning perspective and one from the developmental perspective—may foster faster advancement of our knowledge.

Work Adjustment. A third area for convergence is adjustment. Dawis (this volume) states that the theory of work adjustment (TWA) focuses on a different level of abstraction than does Super's theory of career development. TWA is at the coarse-grain level, whereas Super's theory is at the fine-grained level. This statement implicitly invites us to consider theory convergence and, more importantly, research unification. Let us inspect the intersection of Super's adjustment stages with TWA's adjustment styles.

Super indicates that the work adjustment segment of the vocational development continuum starts with the establishment stage. The establishment stage initially confronts the worker with the developmental tasks of stabilizing in a position and, later, consolidating that position. Crites (1982) suggests that stabilizing requires that one adapt to the organizational culture and perform the tasks of one's position, whereas consolidating requires effective work habits and attitudes over the long haul and solid co-worker relationships. Reading Dawis' (this volume) description of adjustment styles suggests that individuals will vary in the flexibility, activeness, reactiveness, and perseverance with which they encounter the social demand to stabilize in a position through organizational fusion and position performance and to consolidate by working hard and getting along with co-workers.

This implies numerous hypotheses for a research unification agenda. What range of flexibility facilitates organizational fusion and produces optimal position stability? As a new employee is inducted into an organization's culture and socialized to perform work tasks in a normative manner, what are the roles of activeness and reactiveness? The hypotheses are almost endless when one examines the intersection of TWA with the vocational developmental tasks.

A simple yet important start for research unification on problems such as vocational indecision, career beliefs, and work adjustment might be to heed the wise counsel of Oliver and Spokane (1988, p. 459), who advise researchers on career intervention to agree upon a core set of standard inventories with which to assess outcomes. Such a move would prompt research unification and refocus attention on making new knowledge rather than naming a new construct and designing an inventory to measure it. Presumably, this new knowledge could improve practice.

CONVERGENCE CAN INCREASE
PRACTICE COHERENCE

One question continued to echo in my head long after the convergence project had concluded: What convergence have practitioners already wrought?

This question implies, and rightly so, that practitioners have somehow integrated the career theories and have drawn a practical map of how to use each theory. This thought reframed the issue of convergence for me. Maybe the most productive way to view convergence is from the perspective of practitioners, not the perspective of theorists. So, in an attempt to answer the question of what convergence have practitioners already wrought, I asked myself how counselors link the career theories in the typical practice of career intervention.

Given the issues discussed in the second section of this chapter, we know that each theory addresses distinct problems. Therefore, counselors must, at least implicitly, construct some framework for deciding when to use each of the five career theories (or some smaller set thereof) and with whom they will use them. Using Krumboltz's (this volume) map metaphor, this means that counselors know how to place the distinct maps within an atlas or on a globe.

In thinking about how to arrange the atlas, I gained direction from Dawis (this volume), who urged us to (a) look for convergence, not try to unify the theories and (b) seek convergence by superimposing a larger framework on the linkages among the career theories. In his table that depicts the distinctive role of each major career theory, Osipow (table 2, this volume) suggested a type of overarching framework that might converge the theories—namely, an assembly of motivational constructs. I sought to converge the theories from the perspective of practice by using the theorists' identification of which problems interest them, Dawis' recommendation to apply an overarching framework, and Osipow's example of using motivational concepts as the overarching framework. The first task was to select an overarching motivational framework.

I selected the overarching framework offered by Wagner's (1971) theory of structural analysis (SA) because it spans all three of the motivation paradigms used by the career theorists—structure, process, and development. A second reason for selecting SA is that Wagner assembled the framework from a practice base, not a theory base. This factor makes SA particularly attractive in addressing the question of what convergence have career practitioners wrought. Wagner constructed SA from his experience using projective techniques in the practice of personality assessment. SA functions to systematically organize or converge data from a variety of techniques or perspectives into a comprehensive and coherent structure.

The following section outlines SA, translates SA into the language of vocational behavior, and offers a framework for converging the career theories. I will then address the question of, What convergence have practitioners already wrought?, by using the convergence framework to offer one explanation of how practitioners have

converged and assembled career theories to conceptualize discrete groups of clients and provide these groups of clients with distinct career interventions.

Précis of Structural Analysis

In presenting structural analysis, Wagner (1971) asserted that two structures mediate personality. The *facade self,* the first structure to develop, consists of attitudes and behavioral tendencies. The facade self maintains contact with reality and reacts to environmental stimuli. Later, following the acquisition of language, individuals become aware of their own behavior and formulate a self-concept and identity that lie at the core of the *introspective self.* The introspective self evaluates and corrects the facade self; it provides depth and complexity to the personality by adding an inner life. The facade self initially responds only to environmental programming, so an introspective self introduces two new possibilities: the self-programming of behavior and the interaction between the subjective self and the environment. The diagram in figure 1 shows a portion of Wagner's (1971) schemata for the functioning of a normal personality. Drives funnel through the introspective self and facade self for release; the facade self and the introspective self interact and modify each other through self-cognitions, and the facade self reacts to prompts from the environment.

I realize that Wagner designed and developed SA for the clinical practice of psychodiagnostics, yet I will take a moment to reflect on Wagner's (1971) succinct statement of SA from the perspective of a vocational psychologist:

> The growing child must develop an attitudinal and behavioral facade which organizes external reality so that the organism can react meaningfully to the welter of complex stimuli which are constantly impinging. Later, if all goes well, the individual takes cognizance of his [or her] own functioning, achieves a sense of identity and formulates a subjective set of ideals, goals, and self-appraisals. The [facade self] and the [introspective self] then interact to form a complex, unique personality. (p. 424)

This succinct statement shows that SA offers an overarching framework for converging career theory from the standpoint held by practitioners of career intervention. Wagner used SA to create an overarching framework for popular projective techniques, each of which had been created to assess distinct levels of personality functioning. The authors of the projective techniques were interested in different aspects of personality, much like our career theorists are interested in different aspects of vocational behavior. This coincidence makes it evident that by simply identifying similar constructs, we can translate SA from the language of personality theory and psychopathology into the language of career theory and vocational behavior.

Translating SA Into the Language of Vocational Behavior

The facade self, which coincides with Osipow's "what," denotes "an attitudinal and behavioral facade which organizes external reality so that the organism can react
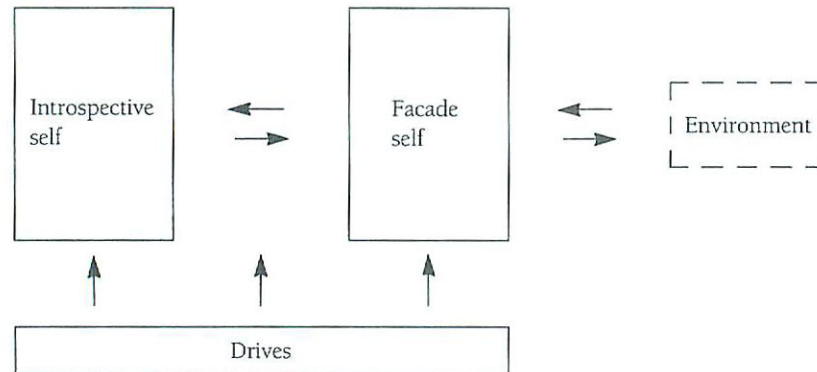
FIGURE 1   Schemata for Wagner's (1971) Theory of Structural Analysis

Adapted from "Structural Analysis: A Theory of Personality Based on Projective Techniques" by E. Wagner, 1971, *Journal of Personality Assessment, 35*, p. 426. Copyright 1971 by Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc. Reprinted by permission.

meaningfully to the welter of complex stimuli which are constantly impinging." The facade self reminds me of Holland's typology. Each RIASEC type represents what Holland called an *adjustive orientation,* constituted by a constellation of attitudes, interests, and behavioral tendencies. Thus, Holland's description of adjustive orientation coincides quite well with Wagner's definition of the facade self. Moreover, like the facade self, RIASEC types emerge as adaptive repertoires early in life. Viewing traits as unitary adaptive mechanisms also places them in the facade self. Thus, stable person characteristics such as occupational interests populate the facade self.

The introspective self, which coincides with Osipow's "how," develops later than the facade self, when "the individual takes cognizance of his [or her] own functioning, achieves a sense of identity and formulates a subjective set of ideals, goals, and self-appraisals." The introspective self reminds me of Hughes' (1958) concept of *subjective career.* The introspective self includes developmental constructs such as Holland's vocational identity (i.e., a clear and stable picture of one's talent, goals, and interests) and the vocational self-concept articulated by Super. The introspective self evaluates and guides the facade self, and it offers the self-selected goals constituting vocational identity to direct the adaptive repertoire of the facade self.

In SA, drives press on the facade and introspective selves. The drives in SA coincide with Bordin's formulation of the psychodynamics of career, the view that emphasizes Osipow's "why." Like SA, vocational psychology has little to say about drives. Vocational psychologists, with the fortunate exception of the few like Bordin, have done little to develop the depth view of why people make the choices they do.

The process dimensions of SA are best understood from the perspective of Krumboltz's social learning theory. In the schemata of SA displayed in figure 1,

arrows represent process. The arrows between the facade self and the environment represent the environment impinging on the individual (<—) and the individual's responses to the environment (—>), respectively. Krumboltz concentrates on this interaction. In addition, Krumboltz attends to the interaction arrows between the facade and introspective selves using constructs such as self-observation generalizations. Krumboltz's (1988) CBI can be conceptualized as assessing the arrows between the facade and the introspective selves. In addition to career beliefs, the arrows between the facade and introspective selves represent career maturity variables such as decision-making attitudes and competencies.

Lofquist and Dawis, in their concentration on the work adjustment process, emphasize core constructs attuned to the interaction between the facade self and the environment (skill, reinforcement value, person-environment correspondence), as well as the outcomes of this interaction (satisfaction and satisfactoriness). From the perspective of TWA, the arrows between the facade self and the environment represent the relation of personality structure (facade self) to behavior and the adjustment outcomes of that behavior. The interaction is conceptualized in terms of personality style and adjustment style variables, along with modes of adjustment behavior. The outcomes are conceptualized using the constructs of satisfaction and satisfactoriness. Because of the focus on the work adjustment process and its outcomes, TWA has been used extensively in work adjustment and vocational rehabilitation counseling but not in career choice counseling.

Having translated each element of SA into a corresponding career theory, we are now ready to integrate the translated elements into a new statement of an overarching framework for converging career theories.

A Framework for Converging Career Theories

Figure 2 displays a schemata applying Wagner's (1971) theory of structural analysis to the vocational realm. This facade self or, for our purposes, adaptive repertoire, could be termed a *vocational self*. (The term vocational was selected to coincide with Crites' [1969] use of "occupational" to denote environmental stimuli and "vocational" to denote behavioral responses.) As infants develop, they are inducted into the culture through social expectations that we call developmental tasks, proffered initially by the family and later by societal institutions such as the church, the arts, and the school. The vocational development tasks and their agents condition the individual to assume that the meaning of life is to cooperate with and contribute to the common good. In Western society, we provide three core role domains through which individuals can cooperate and contribute: work, friendship, and love. Commitment to these roles is the focus of Super's research concerning role salience. The arrows between the vocational self and the environment represent, to accept Crites' persuasive argument regarding precise terminology, *occupational stimuli* (<—) and *vocational responses* (—>).

With self-reflection made available by language, the individual eventually constructs and subsequently develops an introspective self or, for our purpose
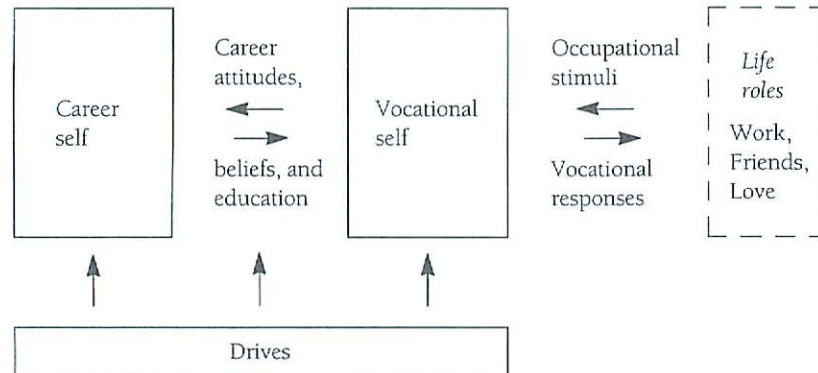
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┌──────────┐       Career           ┌──────────┐    Occupational    ┌ ─ ─ ─ ─ ┐
│          │       attitudes,       │          │    stimuli         │  Life   │
│ Career   │         ◄──            │ Vocational│      ◄──           │  roles  │
│ self     │         ──►            │ self     │      ──►            │ Work,   │
│          │       beliefs, and     │          │    Vocational      │ Friends,│
│          │       education        │          │    responses       │ Love    │
└────▲─────┘         ▲              └────▲─────┘                     └ ─ ─ ─ ─ ┘
     │               │                   │
     │               │                   │
┌────┴───────────────┴───────────────────┴──────────────────┐
│                        Drives                              │
└────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
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FIGURE 2   A Framework for Converging Career Theories

herein, *a career self*. (The term career was selected following theorists who [Hughes, 1958; Tiedeman & Miller-Tiedeman, 1985] explain the subjective sense of career as a self-reflective structure.) The career self adds self-awareness to the environmental awareness of the vocational self. Thought and its product, the career self, permit the individual to make meaning and to use this meaning to direct one's own behavior in a mature manner, not just in response to environmental stimuli. The enlarged worldview of the career self allows the person to develop life themes, abiding values, and long-range goals that are dealt with in vocational psychology using constructs such as subjective career (Hughes, 1958), vocational identity (Holland, Daiger, & Power, 1980), and self-concept (Super, 1963).

The career self is an organized subset of a person's cognitive universe, which enables the individual to identify and discriminate work roles as a focal experience. As such, this structure is an organized perspective for making coherent choices regarding behavioral alternatives. While the purpose of vocational behavior is to respond to vocational tasks and situations, the purpose of career mentation is to enhance the adaptivity of vocational behavior. Career mentation functions to (a) provide awareness of and orientation to vocational movement through time, (b) enhance self-control, (c) impose intention and direction on vocational behavior, and (d) evaluate outcomes relative to purpose.

When confronted by the environment with behavioral choices, people can use the career self to respond with thoughtful decision making. Behavior may occur at the provocation of the environment or be self-initiated. The arrows between the environment (work, friends, and love) and the vocational self denote occupational stimuli, developmental tasks, and vocational responses and connote reciprocal determinism (Bandura, 1978; Kohn & Schooler, 1973). The interactions denoted by these arrows are judged by their level of congruence or correspondence. The arrows between the vocational and career selves denote career beliefs, attitudes, and competencies pertinent to career choice and development and connote recursive thinking. The interactions denoted by these arrows are judged by their level of

maturity or adaptivity. Both sets of arrows indicate the interactive molding that transpires between parts of the schema.

The normal functioning of the vocational and career selves can be thwarted by contextual oppression (Fitzgerald & Betz, this volume) or motivational distortion at the drive level (Bordin, this volume).

The Framework Offers a Convergent Model for Coherent Career Services

Now let us apply the framework to career intervention to see what convergence practitioners have wrought. Practitioners have wrought convergence by systematically applying distinct career services, grounded in discrete career theories, to client groups presenting particular needs. To comprehend the convergence wrought by practitioners, I have placed the distinct career services, along with the corresponding career theory that supports each service, in a separate section of the framework for converging career theories as portrayed in figure 3. The framework reveals the coherence among the services. The services are defined as occupational *placement,* vocational *guidance,* career *counseling* and *education,* personal *therapy,* and position *coaching.* Each of these services draws upon a different career theorist because each service addresses a distinct problem.

Placement. The placement service corresponds to the environment (i.e., roles of work, friendship, and love) section of the model. Occupational placement assists individuals who have chosen an occupational field to secure a position in that occupation. It helps clients to negotiate the social opportunity structure by gathering information, writing resumes, networking, searching for jobs, and preparing for interviews. This service emphasizes social skills training. Counseling psychologists who provide placement services use social learning theory as articulated by Krumboltz and others to reduce job search anxiety, increase assertiveness, counter mistaken beliefs, coax exploratory behavior, increase social skills, and refine self-presentation behavior. Placement works best with clients who are ready to implement a choice, that is, those who have committed themselves to a field and seek a place in it for themselves. However, placement services do not work as well for clients who have no destination in mind. They need a guide to help them specify a choice.

Guidance. The guidance service corresponds to the vocational self. Vocational guidance helps individuals who are undecided to articulate their behavioral repertoire and then translate it into vocational choices. It helps clients to perceive more options and make choices by applying Parson's (1909) venerable triad of clarifying interests and abilities, exploring congruent occupational fields and levels, and specifying suitable vocational choices. This service emphasizes guidance techniques.

Counseling psychologists who provide vocational guidance use the trait-and-factor theory as articulated by Parsons (1909), Williamson and Darley (1937),
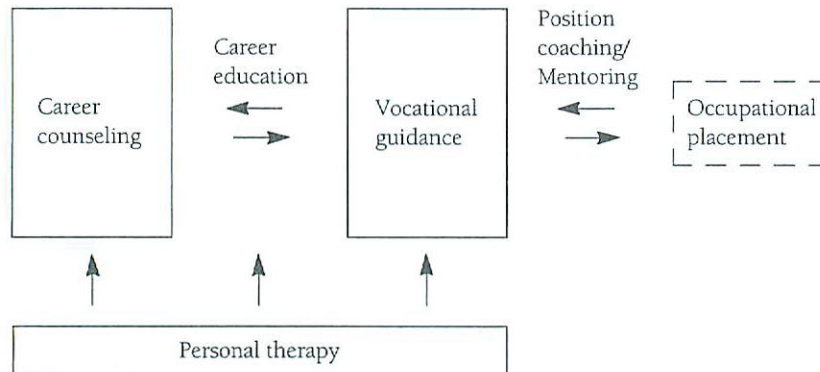
FIGURE 3   A Model for Career Services

Holland (1985), and others to interpret interest inventories and ability tests, provide educational and vocational information, encourage exploration, and suggest matching choices. Guidance, because it essentially translates self-concepts into occupational titles, works best with individuals who possess clear and stable vocational identities. Those people who cannot confidently and coherently answer the questions of, Who am I? and What do I want?, are not ready to make matching choices. They need a counselor to help them crystallize a vocational identity and envision a subjective career.

Counseling.   The counseling service corresponds to the career self. Career counseling facilitates self-reflection and cognitive restructuring in clients who need to mature and deepen their personalities. It helps clients to elaborate their self-concepts by introspection and discussion of their subjective careers (Hughes, 1958). Counseling psychologists who provide the counseling service use self-reflection models developed by ego psychologists, person-centered counselors, cognitive therapists, and others to conceptualize self and clarify choices through meaning-making activities like values clarification, identity articulation exercises, and life script analysis. Counseling works best with clients who want to learn more about their subjective views of life, develop their personal and vocational identities, or crystallize occupational field and ability level preferences. However, counseling does not work as well for clients who need to implement this self-knowledge. They need education.

Education.   The education service corresponds to the arrows between the vocational and career selves in figure 2. Career education assists individuals who encounter difficulties in enacting their subjective career intentions (career self) through their objective vocational behavior (vocational self). It helps these clients to develop self-management attitudes such as foresight and autonomy as well as competencies such as planning and decision making. It develops their readiness to cope with vocational development tasks. Counseling psychologists who provide

career education services use deliberate psychological education (Mosher & Sprinthall, 1971; Tiedeman & Miller-Tiedeman, 1985) and developmental counseling (Blocher, 1974; Ivey, 1986) models to orient individuals to developmental tasks and foster coping attitudes and competencies that address these tasks. Career education works best with clients who want to learn to better manage their motivation and implement their self-concepts. However, education does not work as well for clients who experience motivational problems. They need therapy.

Therapy. The therapy service corresponds to the drives section of the model in figure 2. Personal therapy assists individuals who have trouble developing a clear and stable vocational identity to examine what they need to feel secure (e.g., Phillips & Bruch, 1988). It focuses on the drama of recurring relationships to help clients examine personal motives, identify a central problem, and modify distorted motives. Counseling psychologists who provide brief therapy seek to integrate personal and career counseling models (Blustein, 1987; Subich, 1993) and use the working alliance (Bordin, 1979) to modify personality structure. Therapy works best with clients whose excessive indecisiveness, anxiety, and conflicts thwart their efforts to form a personally meaningful vocational identity. However, brief therapy does not work as well for clients who need extensive treatment to deal with fundamental psychopathology.

Coaching. The coaching service corresponds to the arrows between the vocational self and environmental roles. Position coaching assists individuals who encounter problems adjusting to occupational positions to learn better adaptive mechanisms. It helps clients to cope with organizational culture, requirements of their positions, and co-workers by mentoring, rehearsing, and training. Counseling psychologists who provide career coaching use systems theory and organizational development theory as articulated by Dawis (this volume) and others to mentor individuals. Coaching works best with clients at the extremes of adjustment, such as individuals who need help entering the world of work through life skills training (e.g., Adkins, 1970) or progressing with managing their careers at a faster rate through mentoring (Carden, 1990). It also helps individuals resolve conflicts between work and family (Savickas, 1991). Needless to say, everyone can use a coach now and again.

This section presented a framework for converging career theories and showed the utility of this framework in examining the convergence in career services that practitioners have already wrought. The model assembles the singular perspectives of theorists into a framework to describe the multiple perspectives of practitioners. In so doing, it shows the potential of a convergence agenda for enriching the practice of career intervention by revealing a coherence among distinct career services. Systematic application of the coherent career services framework may advance contemporary efforts to devise better means for matching clients to interventions.

CONCLUSION

This chapter argued that a convergence agenda can aid theory renovation, advance the empirical process for knowledge making, and enrich the practice of career intervention. I have saved for last my favorite conclusion about the convergence project—we unified ourselves! The conference provided a period of self-examination and an opportunity for forging fresh bonds. We used this project to tell a story together. In telling the story, we each adopted multiple perspectives to empathically relate our own work to the work of our colleagues. We have already moved forward to a new position from which to shoulder the responsibility inherent in the challenge proffered by Hackett, Lent, and Greenhaus (1991)—to further unify our efforts to coherently expand the knowledge base of career intervention.

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