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Psychodynamic Career Counseling

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The term *psychodynamic* refers to psychological systems that use motives, drives, and related covert variables to explain behavior (English & English, 1958). *Psychodynamic career counseling* refers to counseling approaches that are guided by attempts to understand, make meaning of, and utilize individual motives, purposes, and drives to facilitate career exploration. Psychodynamic theories include both Freudian and neo-Freudian theories (e.g., approaches developed by Adler and Sullivan). In various forms, Freudian and neo-Freudian thought have been applied to career development theory, research, and practice.

In this chapter, we examine some of the different psychodynamic theories that have applications for career counseling. The first portion of the chapter considers three psychodynamic theories and the career theory and research derived from these theories. The second portion focuses specifically on the practical application of certain psychodynamic techniques or concepts to career counseling. The three theories we examine include psychoanalytic, Eriksonian, and Adlerian. Although other attempts have been made to apply different psychodynamic theories to vocational behavior (McSherry, 1963), the three we focus on have been of historical importance or, in our opinion, have the most to offer from a theoretical/practical perspective.

PSYCHOANALYTIC, ERIKSONIAN, AND ADLERIAN THEORIES AS THEY RELATE TO CAREER COUNSELING

Psychoanalytic Theory

Early Theorizing About Work, Career, and Vocational Behavior. Freud, the creator of psychoanalysis, is said to have regarded the ability

to love and work as being critical to psychological health and well-being. Interestingly, however, if Freud's works are reviewed, he gave minimal attention to work and its importance to humankind. The early analytic theorists who did make major statements about work included the following: Brill (1949), Hendrick (1943), Lantos (1943, 1952), Menninger (1942), and Obendorf (1951). Osipow (1983) stated that "Brill, of all the analysts, devoted the most attention to career choice" (p. 37). We see reflected in Brill's writings two basic ideas that seem to have permeated early psychoanalytic theorizing on work: (a) work is a result of sublimation; and (b) work allows the pleasure and reality principles to be combined. As a product of sublimation, work was a means by which unacceptable impulses and wishes could be channeled into socially acceptable behaviors that contributed to society (e.g., transforming of aggressive, murderous impulses into a surgical occupation). In combining the pleasure and reality principles, work was a means by which the individual could satisfy both id and ego demands.

Like Brill, Menninger (1942) and Obendorf (1951) viewed work as a sublimation. Menninger considered work to be closely aligned with the destructive instinct and the primary method for transforming aggressive energy into something useful. Obendorf (1951) was interested in the investment of libidinal energies in work behaviors. In particular, Obendorf was concerned with how libidinal investment of energy affected excesses (over-industry) or deficiencies (indifference or laziness) in work behavior.

Lantos (1943, 1952) examined the effect of the instincts on work behavior. Critical to one or both of her papers is the concept of self-preservation and the distinction to be drawn between work and play. For her, the *purpose* of an activity was what distinguished work (to preserve oneself or others) from play (to solely gratify instincts). Departing somewhat from the previous papers, Hendrick (1943) proposed the existence of a work principle to complement the pleasure and reality principles. He contended that work is motivated by the need to efficiently use one's intellectual and muscular abilities. The instinct to master was considered to be reflected in work pleasure. For proposing an alternative principle to explain work behavior, Hendrick was criticized (Lantos, 1952; Menninger, 1942; Obendorf, 1951).

Evaluation. In early analytic theorizing about work, the key watchwords seem to have been *sublimation*, the pleasure and reality principles, and *instinctual gratification*. Unfortunately, much of this writing is quite abstract and seems vary far afield from career counseling. The concepts are hard to translate into career work in any meaningful way. Also, as Neff (1965) pointed out, three potential limitations of these papers

include: (a) a heavy preoccupation with the instincts; (b) the idea that adult work behavior is determined largely by parent–child interactions in the first 6 years of life; and (c) minimal attention to social and cultural influences on behavior.

Later Theorizing About Work, Career, and Vocational Behavior. If later theorizing is to be examined, then the work of Bordin and his colleagues must be considered. In 1963, Bordin, Nachmann, and Segal presented a psychoanalytically based framework for understanding vocational development. Their model attempted to explain the effects that needs, impulses, and motivations have on vocational behavior. Bordin et al. identified 10 dimensions that can be of value in gaining an understanding of vocational behavior. Some of these were as follows: nurturing (feeding, fostering), oral (aggressive, biting), manipulative (physical, interpersonal), sensual (sight, sound, touch), and anal (acquiring, timing-order, hoarding, smearing). In addition to the 10 dimensions, Bordin et al. also identified other aspects of the dimensions that needed to be considered. Some of these included the degree to which a dimension was important in an occupation, the means by which an impulse was expressed, and whether the occupational activity is directed toward people or things.

To help lend their framework a more concrete feel, Bordin et al. applied their conceptual dimensions to three occupations: social work, plumbing, and accounting. For example, they saw social work as being a very *nurturant* occupation that involved the feeding and fostering (i.e., helping) of clients. Plumbing involved (physical) *manipulation* of pipes and valves and required the use of the *exploratory* (detecting leaks) and *flowing-quenching* (arranging pipes and valves) dimensions. Accounting primarily involved the (interpersonal) *manipulation* through giving advice and recommendations and *anal* dimensions (e.g., acquiring investments, timing-ordering systems and audits). Thus, the idea for Bordin et al. was to consider individual needs and impulses and align these with the occupation that best gratified these needs and impulses.

Bordin et al.'s framework was the first and only serious attempt to apply Freudian theory to building a model of vocations. The model now is more a matter of historical interest than otherwise. It did produce some interesting research but informed practice minimally, and seemed to suffer from some of the same limitations characteristic of early psychoanalytic theorizing about work (e.g., instinctual base). Bordin et al.'s original model did not really consider some of the later developments in Freud's thinking (which gave way to ego psychology and object relations theory).

Although Bordin sees value in his original model, he has attempted to

update it (Bordin, 1984). In his revision, Bordin set forth seven propositions that in some respects involve a softening of aspects of his original model. Bordin talked about people striving to get a sense of wholeness through work, the mapping of occupations, and building a unique identity that incorporates aspects of one's mother and father. Bordin continues to be concerned with key motives, intrinsic satisfactions, and the mapping of occupations. However, the more recent key motives and satisfactions Bordin mentioned include curiosity, precision, and power. (Bordin, 1980, 1984, 1987).

Evaluation. Bordin's original model is primarily consistent with classical, id-based, Freudian theory, whereas his revision is more consistent with an ego-analytic or ego-psychology viewpoint. Bordin's original model and early psychoanalytic writings seemingly sensitized counselors to the importance of intrinsic needs, motives, and satisfactions and the way in which these affect vocational behavior. Since the 1960s, however, attention to Bordin's model and psychoanalytic conceptualizations of vocational behavior have been minimal. Analytic theory as it relates to careers seemed to stop some two decades ago. The only real statement since Bordin et al.'s 1963 article has been Bordin's 1984 chapter. Perhaps the harshest but seemingly most realistic statement we could make about a psychoanalytic career theory is that it is now dead or, at best, moribund.

Psychoanalytic Research

Because most relevant psychoanalytic career literature has been summarized elsewhere (Bordin, 1984; Osipow, 1983; Roe, 1964), we only briefly mention it here. Whenever psychoanalytic career studies are considered, several early studies are typically identified (Galinsky, 1962; Nachmann, 1960; Segal, 1961; Segal & Szabo, 1964). Galinsky compared clinical psychology and physics graduate students on their early life experiences and found the two groups indeed did manifest some differences. Nachmann compared lawyers, dentists, and social workers on their perceptions about their early life experiences. Similar to Galinsky, Nachmann found some anticipated differences between the three groups (e.g., mother more dominant in recollections of social workers, parents of dentists most concerned with cleanliness and hygiene). Segal compared writers and accountants, finding that accountants were more controlled emotionally but writers were more hostile and better able to tolerate ambiguous emotional situations. Segal and Szabo again compared groups of writers and accountants and found that accountants had more positive feelings toward their parents and a

more firm identification with their fathers. Each of these studies is considered to provide some support for a psychoanalytic model of vocational development.

Other studies, which tested such psychoanalytic concepts as identification and ego strength, have been reviewed by Osipow (1983). Osipow said that "ego strength seems to have been studied most carefully and with the greatest success, [whereas] identification [has been studied] least carefully and with results of a contradictory nature" (p. 54). Bordin (1984) reviewed various studies that he considered to bear upon his revised model. Bordin considered current data to be supportive basically of the psychoanalytic or revised ego psychological model of vocational behavior.

Evaluation. Like psychoanalytic theorizing about careers, research on careers conducted from a psychoanalytic perspective seems at a standstill. In Osipow's (1983) review, most all of the reference material is pre-1970. Bordin's (1984) review, although more supportive in tone, largely consists of pre-1970 research material. Much of the recent material referenced by Bordin is not really vocational in nature and does not seem to be conducted with vocational behavior in mind. More traditional analytic theory and research seems dead in terms of what it has offered career counselors over the past couple of decades.

Eriksonian Theory

Erik Erikson's (1963, 1968) contributions to our understanding about personality are many. Since the early to mid-1960s, some attempts have been made to apply Erikson's theoretical contributions to vocational behavior. However, to place these efforts in perspective, it is first necessary to understand Erikson's theory of psychosocial development.

The primary appeal of Erikson's theory lies in its developmental nature and its inclusion of the entire life span. From Erikson's perspective, individuals pass through eight stages of growth and development. Within each stage, the person is confronted with different psychosocial tasks or crises that require adaptation and resolution. A resolution of the tasks occurring in one stage fortifies the individual and enables him or her to better deal with the developmental tasks of the successive stage. A failure to resolve the tasks of one stage renders the individual less able to deal with the developmental tasks of the successive stage.

The eight stages that are described by Erikson include the following:

1. trust versus mistrust;
2. autonomy versus shame and doubt;

3. initiative versus guilt;
4. industry versus inferiority;
5. identity versus identity confusion;
6. intimacy versus isolation;
7. generativity versus stagnation; and
8. ego integrity versus despair.

Ideally, for each of the eight stages, individuals develop a greater proportion of the first-mentioned (e.g., initiative) instead of the second-mentioned (e.g., guilt) variables. Each of Erikson's eight stages has potential implications for career development. However, the fifth stage—identity versus identity confusion—has received the most attention in the career literature. The identity versus identity confusion stage occurs primarily during the adolescent years when such questions as the following are being asked: Who am I? What are my values? Where am I going with my life? What do I have to offer as an individual?

But what does forging an identity have to do with career development? From an Eriksonian viewpoint, individuals make statements of identity through the occupations they choose. An occupation, then, is a means by which an individual's identity can be implemented. It is a means by which individuals express who they are, how they see themselves in relation to others, and how they see themselves as contributing to the world about them.

Erikson's theory easily lends itself to the formulation of hypotheses about identity and its effects on career development. Some fundamental hypotheses that derive from Erikson's theory are presented subsequently. These hypotheses have been alluded to in the works of Erikson (1968) himself, by researchers extrapolating the work of Erikson to the career domain (cf. Galinsky & Fast, 1966; Hershenson, 1967; Munley, 1977; Tiedeman & O'Hara, 1963), or can be readily inferred from readings of and speculating about Erikson's work and its relevance to career development.

1. *Individuals with highly crystallized identities, in contrast to people who have poorly crystallized identities, will be more apt to have successfully negotiated previous developmental stages.* This is a means of recognizing the importance of having successfully negotiated the tasks and stages that lead up to confronting the identity versus identity confusion stage. Provided these tasks and stages have been dealt with successfully, the likelihood of the individual developing a crystallized sense of identity is enhanced considerably.

2. *Individuals with highly crystallized identities, in contrast to those with poorly crystallized identities, tend to have more useful information at their*

disposal with which to make career decisions. Because of having a well-crystallized identity, these individuals seemingly would be more knowledgeable about themselves, their interests, and abilities. Such knowledge of self would also result in culling career materials for information that would be of the most use personally. A person with a poorly crystallized identity may peruse career materials, but his or her search in theory would not possess the needed direction and foresight. Moreover, this person also would not possess the amount of self-knowledge characteristic of individuals with a well-crystallized identity.

3. *Individuals with highly crystallized identities, in contrast to individuals with poorly crystallized identities, are better able to choose a career that is most suitable to them.* If one has a well-crystallized identity, is able to most effectively use career materials, and has a broad knowledge of information about oneself, then in theory the individual would be able to better make a good career decision. Conversely, the person with a poorly crystallized identity would be more apt to make an inappropriate career decision.

4. *The more crystallized the sense of identity, the more decisive the individual will be in choosing a career.* The more crystallized the sense of identity, the more favorable is the expected outcome. The less crystallized the sense of identity, the less favorable the outcome will be in terms of choosing a career. A solid crystallization of identity, then, is seen as critical to deciding on a career.

5. *Individuals with highly crystallized identities, in contrast to people with poorly crystallized identities, are more career mature.* The person with a highly crystallized identity is more apt to have mature attitudes about careers, the place of careers in people's lives, and the positive and negative features associated with careers and the world of work. In a sense, career maturity is reflective of personal maturity. Individuals with poorly crystallized identities can be considered both personally immature and career immature.

6. *Individuals with well-crystallized identities, when being seen by a counselor for career issues, may benefit most from self-directed activities, career information, and related interventions that capitalize upon their identity development.* If clients have good information about themselves and the career directions in which they want to move, then they may be able to profit most from learning about informational sources of potential value to them (e.g., the *Occupational Outlook Handbook*) or engaging in activities that take into account their self-knowledge. Conversely, for clients with poorly crystallized identities, a counseling process that assists them to better define themselves, learn about who they are, and identify their values and needs would probably be most beneficial.

7. *Individuals with highly crystallized identities, in contrast to individuals*

with poorly crystallized identities, tend to be more satisfied with and adjusted to their careers. The person with a highly crystallized identity seemingly is more satisfied with oneself personally and vocationally. Individuals with highly crystallized identities are more apt to like what they do and feel good about it.

8. *Individuals with highly crystallized identities, in contrast to individuals with poorly crystallized identities, tend to manifest more efficient work behavior, to be more productive, and to manifest less problematic work behavior.* In theory, individuals with highly crystallized identities would know themselves better, make the most appropriate career choices, and be more satisfied with their careers and work. It follows then that this would be reflected in actual work behavior. There may be less depression, absenteeism, and other workrelated problems from employees with well-crystallized identities. There may be more of these problems from employees who possess poorly crystallized identities.

These are but a few examples of the implications Erikson's work can have for career psychology. We have largely focused our discussion here on identity and its effects on vocational behavior. However, all of the eight stages have possible implications for career development (Munley, 1977).

Evaluation. Erikson's theory seems to have much to offer to career development. The framework is comprehensive and covers the entire life span. The potential importance of each stage for career behavior can easily be seen. But, career theorists need to turn their attention more directly to the implications of the different stages. By examining the stages inclusively, we may be able to develop an all-encompassing picture of how they contribute to the career development process across the life span. So far, this sort of integrative work has been lacking in the career literature.

In terms of theory, the identity stage seems to have been examined most thoroughly. The identity stage has much to offer career counselors from a conceptual standpoint; it provides a means of thinking about identity formation, how identity affects the implementation of self vocationally, and how identity affects other variables that bear upon the career choice process. Thus, the identity stage as conceived by Erikson is a highly useful and usable theoretical construct that can be applied to the career counseling situation.

If there is one criticism to put forth about Erikson's theory, we must acknowledge that little work has been done to translate it into career counseling technique. Erikson's work has focused almost exclusively on the implications of his theory for general personal functioning and

addressing personal concerns through therapeutic intervention. It seems equally important to develop more concrete means by which his work can be applied to the career counseling process.

Eriksonian Research

Most of the Eriksonian career research focuses on the identity stage and is summarized here. Munley (1975) found that students who manifested mature career attitudes and made adjusted vocational choices were more successful comparatively in negotiating the first six stages in Erikson's theory. His study supported the idea that career development occurs within the broader context of psychosocial development. Holland, Gottfredson, and Power (1980) attempted to operationalize the vocational identity construct by developing a vocational identity scale. They defined *vocational identity* as "the possession of a clear and stable picture of one's goals, interests, and talents" (p. 1191). Holland et al. reported the evidence to support their vocational identity measure was strong. Based on this study and previous research (Holland, Gottfredson, & Nafziger, 1975; Holland & Holland, 1977), Holland and his associates indicated that individuals high in vocational identity tend to be more confident, mature, and decided than individuals low in vocational identity.

Since Holland et al.'s (1980) study, several investigations examining the usefulness of the vocational identity construct have been performed. In studying a group of medical students, Savickas (1985) found vocational identity to be related to progress in ego-identity achievement and degree of vocational development. Other studies have found the vocational identity construct to be useful for nontraditional students and homemakers (Haviland & Mahaffy, 1985; Olson, Johnston, & Kunce, 1985). Grotevant and Thorbecke (1982) found vocational identity to be related to masculinity for both men and women, but found vocational identity to relate differently to patterns of achievement motivation in men and women.

Earlier research, although not drawing on Holland et al.'s work, still tended to find support for Erikson's theory as it applies to career development. Davis (1965) reported that ego identity was related to career choice commitment. Bell (1968) found the degree of certainty about career choice to be related to ego identity. Rosenfeld (1972) found level of ego identity to affect the degree of similarity between self and probable occupational concepts. Hershenson (1967) reported that a relationship existed between occupational fit and ego identity.

Evaluation. The research has been supportive of Erikson's theory as it relates to career development, suggesting that identity development

significantly affects various career variables (e.g., career decisiveness and career adjustment). As Munley (1977) pointed out, "the theory does not lead to predictions in terms of what kind of person chooses a certain kind of job, but rather helps identify personality factors associated with success in handling career development tasks" (p. 266). This statement is also true for the research. The research seems most useful in giving us a base to understand the relationship between personality and vocational development.

The identity research seems to offer some implications for practice. For example, clients low in identity may need special assistance in better establishing a cohesive identity before a career choice can be most viably made. Clients with a good sense of identity may not require such special assistance and may best benefit from informational sources and self-directed activities. Although these implications for career counseling can be drawn, we again are given very little to use in terms of career counseling techniques.

Adlerian Theory

Although Adler considered the importance of work in his writings, only in recent years has more direct attention to Adlerian theory and vocational behavior emerged (McKelvie, 1979; McKelvie & Friedland, 1978, 1981; Savickas, 1988; Watkins, 1984b). Watkins (1984b) developed what is perhaps the most formal attempt to translate Adlerian theory into vocational theory. He examined four variables integral to Adler's theory: lifestyle, life tasks, family atmosphere and family relationships, and early recollections. Some of his theorizing, as well as the theorizing of other Adlerian practitioners, as it relates to these four variables is summarized below.

Lifestyle. Lifestyle has been defined as being synonymous with the concept of "personality" (Dinkmeyer, Pew, & Dinkmeyer, 1979). Mosak (1971) has defined lifestyle as being each person's unique style of perceiving, thinking, and acting. Lifestyle, then, is the overall schema (or apperceptive schema to use Adler's phrasing) by which individuals understand and make sense of the world about them. Numerous lifestyle types (e.g., useful, driving, controlling) have been identified (Adler, 1956; Mosak, 1971).

The lifestyle of the person can often be summarized in one word. This one-word description captures the basic manner in which individuals think about and approach the world. This basic manner is manifested in all spheres of life, including social relationships, love relationships, and

work. From a career standpoint, individuals implement their lifestyle through the vocation or occupation they choose.

The three components of the lifestyle have potential vocational implications. The attitude held toward oneself affects the way in which individuals function, present, and think about themselves as workers. The attitude held toward others affects how people regard and work with their co-workers. The attitude held toward the world in general affects the perceived significance of and purpose of work in individuals' lives. Lifestyle is an all-encompassing organizational framework that impinges on work, career, and vocational behavior.

Work As Life Task. Adler identified three tasks that individuals confront as they move through life: love, social relations, and work. Because work often occupies people 40 hours each week or more, is the primary means of earning wages and fostering subsistence, and is a primary means by which society is maintained and perpetuated, its identification as a major life task by Adler seems fitting. Within Adlerian theory, the manner in which individuals approach work is considered to influence the type of work and work environment in which they can function. Similarly, the way in which individuals approach work relationships is considered to affect the type and range of people with whom they can work. These ideas reflect a fundamental hypothesis in Adler's theory: That the individual's *lifestyle* will be brought to bear on one's orientation to tasks and relationships. In this regard, work and work behavior are no exceptions.

Social interest—a basic concern for others and desire to contribute—is another important variable to consider in relation to work. Work can be seen as a primary means by which individuals implement social interest (i.e., a means by which they contribute to society). Social interest in theory influences the general output and productivity of the worker. Thus, with ability and related variables being equal, the highly socially interested person in contrast to the person low on social interest should be more productive at work.

Family Atmosphere and Relationships. Family atmosphere refers to the basic environment that characterizes family interactions. What is the predominant mood or atmosphere that exists within the family? From an Adlerian view, children first learn about work and working within the family context. It is thought that perceptions of and relationships with parents (or parental figures) affect the values and expectations individuals hold about work. Through observing the father, the child acquires information about men as workers and the place of men in the world of work. Through observing the mother, similar information is

obtained about women. In terms of siblings, they provide an opportunity to learn about working together or with someone else—with a co-worker of sorts. Children are given some of their first lessons in collaboration with their siblings or sibling substitutes (e.g., friends with whom one can create a sibling-like relationship).

Birth order also deserves mention here. Adler identified several birth-order positions, with each being aligned with certain behavioral and personality characteristics. For example, first-born children are often considered to be responsible, dependable, conscientious individuals who feel comfortable with taking charge; the last-born child is sometimes referred to as pampered. Birth order creates a set of interactional–environmental events that potentially affect work identity and work behaviors. By virtue of being a first-born, children can be placed into a family situation that affects their ultimate work style and work behaviors.

Early Recollections. Early recollections (ERs) are memories that occur before the age of 8, are visualizable, and single, specific incidents. ERs are purposeful. People remember certain childhood events or situations because they are meaningful. ERs are reflections of the present (Verger & Camp, 1970).

Just as ERs are important to personality makeup, they also are important to work behavior and vocational functioning. ERs contain information about the manner in which the individual will think about and operate in the world of work. Moreover, ERs are integral in sustaining, supporting, and guiding individuals' work behavior.

Evaluation. Adler's personality theory and approach to personal counseling are regarded as highly practical and useful. Adler's contributions also are useful because they are common sense in nature (i.e., they are easily understood). Many practical concepts of Adler's approach, which have been translated into personal counseling, seem equally usable in career counseling. For example, the concept of a lifestyle type is quite similar in some ways to a trait–factor conceptualization. That family atmosphere and family relationships would affect one's schema about work and work behavior seems tenable. That early recollections would contain information pertinent to work and career seems tenable as well.

Although we believe Adlerian theory has much to offer, two criticisms or observations about Adler's approach as it relates to vocational behavior merit comment: (a) the need to translate therapeutic applications into vocational counseling applications; and (b) the need for more attention to theorizing about vocational behavior from an Adlerian

perspective. The major problem, from our perspective, in implementing an Adlerian vocational approach lies in translating a theory of psychotherapy into a theory of vocational counseling. The concepts of lifestyle, social interest, and related variables have been directly applied in psychotherapy and well-illustrated practically (Manaster & Corsini, 1982). But for vocational counseling, the techniques of practice require modification. Recently, creative attempts have been made to render Adlerian concepts more useful to vocational counseling practice (e.g., Savickas, 1988, 1989). For example, rather than using a lifestyle interview, the vocational counselor can obtain lifestyle information via examination of role models, favorite books, and favorite sayings. Such efforts are more "experience-near" and not as far afield for career exploration purposes as some traditional Adlerian methods. This type of creative work is requisite if Adlerian theory is to prove useful in vocational counseling.

In terms of our second point, there clearly is a need for more direct attention to theorizing about vocational behavior from an Adlerian perspective. As stated earlier, most theorizing about vocational behavior from an Adlerian viewpoint has appeared within the past decade. If the theoretical implications of Adlerian theory for the vocational realm are to be realized, then more specific and direct attention will be needed in this area. We hope further, more microscopic attention will be given to how the variables of lifestyle, social interest, family atmosphere and family relationships, early recollections, and related variables affect individuals' vocational lives.

Adlerian Research

Birth Order. Birth order has received the most attention overall. Basically, research has attempted to examine the relationship between birth order and occupational choice. Higher than expected numbers of first-born children have been found to be represented among physicians, attorneys, members of Congress, teachers, and nurses (Angers, 1974; Layman & Saveracker, 1978; Muhlenkamp & Parsons, 1972; Very & Prull, 1970; Zweigenhaft, 1974). First-born women have been described as being more comfortable, oriented toward, and more likely to be successful in academics (Bryant, 1987; cf. Lynch & Lynch, 1980). Similarly, first-born females have been found to be more highly represented among doctorate recipients (Melillo, 1983). Birth order has also been found to affect patterns of achievement motivation (Snell, Hargrove, & Falbo, 1986).

Although a number of other studies could be cited, the basic conclusion to be drawn from these research efforts is as follows: Birth-order

position can have an effect on achievement patterns and the occupation toward which individuals gravitate. With this point acknowledged, however, it is important to bear in mind that in Adler's theory birth order is a psychological position. The perception of the birth position by the child, his or her parents, and siblings is what is most important (see Shulman & Mosak, 1977). Just because someone is born first, this does not automatically have cookbook-type personality implications.

Lifestyle. A few empirical studies have examined the effects of lifestyle on careers and the usefulness of lifestyle analysis in career assessment. For example, Cline, Riordan, and Kern (1978) found that an Adlerian lifestyle analysis could be as effective as the Self-Directed Search (Holland, 1985, Appendix B) in predicting vocational choice. Gentry, Winer, Sigelman, and Phillips (1980) found that some of the Adlerian lifestyle types (as defined by Thorne, 1975) were related to some of the vocational personality types put forth in Holland's (1985) theory. Bichekas and Newlon (1983) studied a group of hospice home-care nurses in an effort to better understand their lifestyle dynamics; they reported that the nurses' lifestyles were characterized by a desire for control and predictability. In performing a similar study, Emerson and Watson (1986) also found a desire for control and predictability to characterize the lifestyles of hospice home-care nurses. Last, Newlon and Mansager (1986) reported that 66% of their sample of Catholic priests were identified as being of the "right, superior, or good lifestyle." These five studies form the bulk of what has been done empirically in relation to lifestyles and vocational behavior.

Early Recollections. In recent years, the most research attention examining the relationship between Adlerian concepts and vocational behavior has focused on early recollections (ERs). Holmes and Watson (1965), in studying the ERs of education and medical science subjects, concluded that the content of early memories was related to an individual's vocational choice. Manaster and Perryman (1974) studied students representing five different professional groups and found that the ERs of the respective groups contained some distinguishing characteristics (e.g., nurses' memories mentioned mother figures more). Attarian (1978) studied students majoring in one of six majors (e.g., drama, astronomy). Based on ERs, he reported that judges generally could categorize students correctly into their respective major areas.

In three investigations, Hafner and Fakouri (1984a, 1984b; Hafner, Fakouri, & Etzler, 1986) studied the ERs of different student groups. In their first study, they found the ERs of students majoring in accounting, secondary education, and psychology to possess distinguishing fea-

tures. They next found the memories of graduate students in clinical psychology, dentistry, and law to also be distinctive. Last, they found the memories of students in chemical, electrical, and mechanical engineering to differ. As Hafner et al. stated, the "manifest content of ERs has some value for distinguishing among occupational groups, no matter how similar the occupations, and should be seriously considered for use in vocational guidance" (p. 365). Other similar studies have also found support for the vocational relevance of ERs (Elliot, Amerikaner, & Swank, 1987; McFarland, 1988).

Social Interest. Although social interest is one of the most important concepts of Adler's theory, it is the least researched in regard to vocational behavior. Watkins (1984a), as one aspect of a research study, found social interest to positively relate to self-management effectiveness in students' work behaviors. Amerikaner, Elliot, and Swank (in press) examined the social interest, vocational preferences, and job satisfaction of individuals working and majoring in six areas (e.g., mechanical technology, biology). Interestingly, they found that social interest was positively related to job satisfaction and recommended that counselors incorporate discussion of it into career counseling.

Evaluation. Adlerian-oriented research on vocational variables suggests that birth order, lifestyle, early recollections, and social interest have implications for understanding vocational behavior. However, the best we can now say is that we have a tentative base supporting the relevancy of Adlerian variables to the career counseling process. In most areas reviewed here, the number of research studies has been all too few. Admittedly, a basic problem with Adlerian research has been a lack of viable instrumentation to use in studying Adler's concepts. However, attempts have been made to develop more valid and reliable tools to measure Adler's concepts (Watkins, 1982, 1983). As these efforts continue, the sophistication and credibility of Adlerian studies on vocational variables will be enhanced substantially.

Although it is encouraging to see more empirical attention given to Adlerian theory, it is not always clear what some of the research means for career counseling. For example, although the early recollections research is interesting and potentially useful, it remains for memory differences between groups to be translated concretely into meaningful counseling information. This type of research will need replication to see if memory differences found for a certain group stand up when an identical occupational group of different individuals is studied. Moreover, if differences in ERs exist in subgroups of a particular occupation, as Hafner et al. (1986) suggest, then the possible configurations of

memory differences within and across occupations could be so large as to defy comprehension. Last, if the concept of lifestyle is to be effectively studied, it seems important to devise an "experience-near" lifestyle typology that translates lifestyle types into meaningful vocational behaviors. These are but a few of the questions or issues that present themselves. With some of these questions, problems, and issues recognized, there still appears to be a promising beginning to testing the relevancy of Adlerian theory to vocational behavior and career counseling. As referred to earlier, however, the need to render the theory and research "experience-near" to career counseling and vocational behavior is critical. We hope future efforts will better address this concern.

PSYCHODYNAMIC CAREER COUNSELING

The first half of this chapter contained a review of psychodynamic contributions to vocational development theory and the psychology of occupations. Few of these contributions explicitly dealt with career counseling. Thus, little of this knowledge has been presented to counselors in a readily useable way. Unfortunately, most practitioners have little inclination or time to translate research findings on the psychodynamics of vocational development and occupations into career counseling methods. Moreover, many of those who have tried to translate these contributions into practice became discouraged because they could not blend psychodynamic constructs with contemporary vocational guidance methods. This failure was not their fault; rather, as we argue here, it is a major flaw of psychodynamic vocational research. The few practitioners who found effective ways to translate psychodynamic constructs into practice have done so by shifting their perspective from objective vocational guidance to subjective career counseling.

The remainder of this chapter consists of two parts. In the first part, we analyze the relevance of psychodynamic theory to career counseling. This analysis is based on a comparison of the objective and subjective perspectives on vocational behavior and the use of these perspectives in vocational guidance and career counseling. In the second part, we describe the predominant psychodynamic model for career counseling along with pertinent assessment techniques and counseling methods.

Perspective

Counselors may take two perspectives on their clients' vocational behavior—the objective and the subjective. The objective view consists of conceptions of the client formed by observers, whereas the subjective

view consists of apprehending the client's conception of his or her personal experience. Although the English language does not explicitly recognize this distinction, other languages do. For example, in German *Personlichkeit* denotes the actor's interpersonal style and the impression that one makes on others. *Personalitat* denotes the actor's understanding of the reasons for his or her behavior (MacKinnon, 1944). In this chapter, the word "vocational" denotes the objective perspective, so vocational behavior, development, and guidance all deal with *Personlichkeit*. When we deal with *Personalitat* we use the word "career" to mean "subjective career" or an individual's thoughts about his or her past, present, and future vocational life.

The Objective Perspective

Vocational guidance operates from the objective perspective. Guidance counselors help clients become more objective, realistic, and rational in making vocational choices. The guidance paradigm as first proposed by Parsons (1909), and still practiced by many counselors today, consists of three steps. First, counselors help clients increase their self-knowledge through objective appraisal and discussion of their abilities and interests. Together, a client and counselor articulate the client's strengths and weaknesses and how they differ from those of other people. Second, counselors help clients gather realistic occupational information and learn how differences in abilities and interests structure the world of work. Third, counselors help clients rationally identify and explore occupations at the levels and in the fields that correspond to a client's abilities and interests. Guidance concludes when clients use "true reasoning" to match themselves to fitting occupations and then make viable occupational choices that should eventuate in job success and satisfaction.

Vocational guidance always has been based on a community's consensually valid attempts to objectively explain individual differences in behavioral dispositions. Objective explanations use the common sense of the group, not the private sense of individuals. Thus, objective explanations are not metaphysical realities, they are merely intersubjective agreements (Berger & Luckman, 1966) or social facts. The common sense of some ancient cultures looked to the stars and astrology to explain individual differences. The Greeks of antiquity relied on Galen's humoral formulation of temperament (i.e., melancholic, choleric, phlegmatic, and sanguine) to explain individual differences. The explanations offered by palmistry and phrenology were widely popular in U. S. society at the turn of the century. In fact, Lysander Richards' (1881) textbook, *Vocophy*, relied on phrenology to explain vocational behavior.

Parsons' (1909), in his seminal formulation of the vocational guidance model, shifted counselors' thinking from phrenology to character traits. While Parsons wrote *Choosing a Vocation*, psychologists were already developing trait theory to explain individual differences. Traits quickly replaced astrology, palmistry, phrenology, and constitutional types as common sense and scientific explanations of behavior.

Trait theory of individual differences sustains the contemporary practice of vocational guidance. Trait theory attributes recurring uniformities in a person's social behavior to personality structure. Thus, behavioral continuity reflects personality and behavioral discontinuity reflects the environmental demands. The underlying dimensions that structure behavioral clusters are called *traits*. Scientific and lay observers of an actor encode their impressions of the actor's social conduct in trait vocabularies. For example, an observer might attribute a person's behavior to the trait of honesty. Note that this trait is value laden. According to Hogan (1983), "the primary function of trait ascription is to evaluate other people, specifically, to evaluate their potential as resources for the group" (p. 60). Thus, in a group that divides labor among its members, traits can be used to assign work roles. The honest person would make a better banker than would a dishonest person. Today, trait theory offers several different approaches that counselors may use to appraise individuals and describe occupational groups.

Contemporary practitioners of vocational guidance operationalize the trait-theory approach to objective vocational guidance with actuarial methods. The counselor as actuary estimates the probabilities of a client succeeding in various occupations. Counselors base these estimates on data gathered through assessment of the client with psychometric instruments that objectively measure individual aptitudes and interests. After matching a client's aptitude test and interest inventory results to aptitude and interest patterns that characterize various occupations, counselors can recommend fitting occupational levels and fields to the client. The enormous popularity of instruments like the Strong Campbell Interest Inventory, Kuder inventories, Differential Aptitude Test, and General Aptitude Test Battery testify to the widespread use of trait theory and actuarial methods. Readers who are unfamiliar with the actuarial approach to objective vocational guidance in its most highly developed form can find its epitome in an article by Goodyear and Healy (1988).

The objective perspective of trait theory and the common sense of the actuarial method permits counselors to offer vocational guidance to groups of clients at the same time. For example, school counselors can test a whole 10th-grade class of students as a group and later interpret the results to individuals in a group by explaining trait theory of

individual and occupational differences, how to interpret one's test results, the steps in the matching model, and how to gather occupational information. In fact, the objective perspective even allows individuals or groups to get vocational guidance without meeting a counselor. Holland's Self-Directed Search (1985, Appendix B) and Paper Guidance System (1974) lets students, on their own, assess themselves, learn about occupational differences and the structure of the world-of-work, and match themselves to fitting occupations. Computerized programs for vocational guidance can assess clients, give customized test interpretations, and vocational guidance without counselors being present.

The Subjective Perspective

The objective perspective of vocational guidance supported by trait theory, actuarial methods, and psychometric instruments has dominated counseling practice during this century. The objective perspective does not recognize the significance of subjective experience (*Personalitat*) nor seek to understand it in the subject's own terms. Thus, the possible contributions to counseling practice that may be envisioned from the subjective perspective on vocational choice have remained relatively unexplored.

Career counseling operates from the subjective perspective. It helps clients understand their behavior from their own point of view. When operating from the objective perspective, the counselor acts authoritatively as a representative of the community and its common sense. When operating from the subjective perspective, the counselor elicits clients' subjective conceptions of themselves and their world and acts as interpreter to help clients understand their selves and the meaning they give to their lives. The counselor elicits occupational possibilities, not through traits, but through facilitating self-exploration and interpreting meaning. These procedures help clients acknowledge and discuss unexamined (or unconscious) ideas and feelings they have about making vocational choices. These personal ideas and feelings compose the client's private-sense conceptions of self, work, and life.

Private sense cannot comprehend traits as an explanation of vocational behavior. Individuals do not use differences between themselves and others to explain their behavior to themselves. In fact, individual difference variables do not exist for individuals. Without objective feedback from teachers or counselors, people do not ordinarily sense their position relative to other people across a taxonomy of traits. What they do sense is their own needs and goals. Individuals comprehend these needs and goals as the reason for their behavior. Purpose, not

traits, structure actors' causal explanations. The behavioral clusters, which from the objective perspective are explained by traits, are explained by actors as intentional action. People use subjective purpose and resultant life patterns, not objective traits, to explain behavioral continuity, sustain identity coherence, and foresee future behavior.

Life pattern theory sustains contemporary career counseling. At mid-century, Super (1954) elaborated the subjective perspective on career counseling by developing "career pattern counseling." Super devised career pattern theory as an extension of life pattern theory. Essentially, the theory of life patterns states that analysis of an individual's life history reveals tendencies and patterns that can characterize that life story. The life history approach to career pattern counseling seeks to aid the individual by identifying past and probable future patterns of development.

> The assumption underlying this approach is that one way to understand what an individual will do in the future is to understand what he did in the past. It postulates that one way to understand what he did in the past is to analyze the sequence of events and the development of characteristics in order to ascertain the recurring themes and underlying trends. This type of analysis differs from the actuarial method in which each specific factor is evaluated and weighted and a prediction of behavior is made on the basis of observed correlations with similar behaviors of other people. In the life pattern approach an attempt is made to project trends into the future, to extrapolate, modifying each "thema" in the light of others in order to predict future development and behavior. (Super, 1954, pp. 13–14)

Super developed a version of life history method that he called "extrapolation based on thematic analysis." Essentially, this method enables counselors to identify life themes by analyzing a case history. When using the thematic-extrapolation method to clinically study clients and their development, counselors act more like biographers than actuaries (Savickas, 1988).

Psychodynamics of Object and Subject

The dichotomy between objective and subjective perspectives may be used to analyze the failure of psychodynamic theory to significantly influence research and practice in vocational psychology. Psychodynamic theory is a tool to understand the subjective outlook of a client not the objective characteristics of that client. Counselors examine the psychodynamics of subjects not objects. Psychodynamic theory falters when counselors try to use it from an objective perspective. It just does

not blend well with the study of objects, trait theory, or actuarial methods; consequently, the published attempts to use psychodynamic theory as a basis for vocational guidance impress many readers as awkward or forced. The next three paragraphs discuss the three major ways in which scholars have tried to use psychodynamic theory from the objective perspective.

The first way in which psychologists tried to link psychodynamic theory to vocational guidance was to replace interests and abilities with psychodynamic constructs. The most comprehensive attempt was offered by Bordin et al. (1963). As described earlier, they used 10 psychoanalytic dimensions to differentiate occupations. "Assuming then, that a counselor should wish to base vocational counseling on this framework, a trait–factor approach would be used, but client modes of impulse gratification, psychosexual development, and anxiety level would take the place of interests and abilities" (Osipow, 1983, p. 42). Berg's (1954) presentient comment captures the reaction many counselors have had to this approach: "both trait and psychoanalytic theory were organizations of knowledge concerning human behavior. At a time when words of Freudian flavor such as *libido* or *anal eroticism* would cause many people to blush or bristle, the same people received findings about aptitudes or abilities with a quiet acceptance usually reserved for gospels" (p. 19). Another example of attempts to replace interests and aptitudes with psychodynamic constructs is the effort to classify occupational differences using Adlerian constructs and the early recollection technique. Because Adlerians emphasize the social rather than the sexual, their attempts have fared better. However, to date, attempts to replace interests and aptitudes with psychodynamic constructs, whether pursued by Freudians or Adlerians, have played only a minor role in vocational psychology and guidance.

The second approach to linking psychodynamic theory to vocational guidance has fared slightly better than attempts to devise a psychodynamic trait taxonomy of people and occupations. In this approach, interests and aptitudes are not replaced. Instead they are interpreted as expressions of more fundamental psychodynamic constructs. Counselors use psychodynamic theory as a framework to interpret interest inventories and ability tests. A classic example of this approach is Goldberg and Gechman's framework for making psychodynamic inferences from Strong Vocational Interest Blank profiles. In order to go beyond objective trait interpretation of the scores, they offer a "systematic process for organizing SVIB results within a psychodynamic framework and for using this framework for making inferences about personality" (Goldberg & Gechman, 1976, p. 286). They noted that clients need help to realize the importance of overall patterns and long-term devel-

opmental issues. Although Gobetz (1964) did not focus exclusively on psychodynamics, he provided counselors with many psychodynamic inferences in his interpretive syllabus for the Kuder Preference Record.

The third approach to using psychodynamic theory in objective vocational guidance has been the most successful, yet, at best, its success in influencing practice has been slight. The slight success it enjoys comes from its recognition that making psychodynamic inferences from interest inventory results may be circuitous. To be more direct, some counselors add to their assessment battery a measure of a psychodynamic construct. Typically, they do this by including a measure of psychological needs in their vocational test battery. Although a few counselors measure needs with projective techniques such as the Thematic Apperception Technique and the Rotter Sentence Completion Blank, most counselors who measure clients' psychological needs do so with structured personality inventories such as the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule and the Personality Research Form. In practice, counselors who administer needs inventories often use the results to explain the origin of interests. For example, they might tell clients that their social service interests arise from their psychological needs for nurturance, dominance, and affiliation. For clients with undifferentiated interests, counselors may use clients' most pressing needs to predict which interests might emerge and to prescribe exploration activities that can stimulate interest crystallization. The limited success of needs assessment in improving vocational guidance and characterizing occupations has been thoroughly analyzed by Osipow (1983, chapters 3 and 7).

Most practicing counselors have never embraced these three approaches to using psychodynamic theory in objective vocational guidance. We think that three reasons explain this lack of acceptance by counselors. First, psychodynamic theory has not been elaborated with work in mind. Its focus is psychosexual and psychosocial not psychoeconomic. Recent contributions have addressed this gap in psychodynamic theory (e.g., LaBier, 1986; Rohrlich, 1980), but for career counselors these efforts may be too little and too late. Second, the language of psychodynamic theory is vague, provocative, artistic, and psychopathologically oriented. As such, it cannot easily compete with the commonsense language of trait theory in holding the attention of career counselors who are more pragmatic, empiric, and health-oriented. And third, psychodynamic constructs have not been shown by rhetoric or research to be an improvement over the traditional guidance constructs of interests and abilities. We expect that occasional attempts to use psychodynamic constructs in an actuarial way will continue to occur in the future. However, we do not anticipate that they will ever be

persuasive or particularly useful to most career counselors. This is not to say that psychodynamic theory cannot be useful to career counselors. On the contrary, psychodynamic theory and methods offer a way to operationalize the subjective perspective on career decision making. In fact, if psychodynamic methods ever become popular among career counselors, then it probably will be due to increased interest in the subjective perspective on career development.

The great potential value of psychodynamic theory for vocational counselors lies in its model and methods for understanding subjects' views of their vocational choices and how they make and implement their choices. Psychodynamic theory assists the counselor as biographer to understand a client's private sense by attending to life patterns. Psychodynamic theory offers an apposite method for identifying life patterns and extrapolating them to career pattern counseling, the life history (case study) method. Career counselors may do well to follow the lead of Henry Murray, who in synthesizing the psychodynamic theories of Freud, Adler, and Jung, made the life history method central in his thinking about assessment. Although not the only way, it may be the most developed way of implementing Super's thematic-extrapolative approach to career pattern counseling. While counselors wait for other methods to emerge from life-cycle, ecological, biographical, and hermeneutical theories (Collin & Young, 1986; Sonnenfeld & Kotter, 1982), they already have available well-developed psychodynamic methods.

Blending Objective and Subjective Perspectives

The real value of psychodynamic career counseling is to complement the objective perspective with the subjective perspective. Viewing clients from both the objective and subjective perspectives offers counselors two vantage points on a client. From the first position the counselor attempts to "see how the client is like others" and from the second position the counselor attempts "to understand the rhythm, the themes, and the cycles of that life" (Frey, 1973, p. 38). From these two positions, counselors can consider aptitudes and interests in a matrix of life experience as recommended by Berg (1954). By integrating the objective and subjective pictures of a client, career counselors may be more useful in helping clients mesh their "inner reality" with "outer reality." Taking two perspectives also enriches counselors' trait-theory conception of "congruence" as the fit between the objective person and objective environment. Adding the subjective person and the subjective environment to definitions of congruence enables counselors to deal with the psychodynamics of fit. A model of fit that comprehends both

objective and subjective fit (such as the one depicted in Fig. 3.1) allows counselors to address psychodynamic variables such as reality contact, accuracy of self-knowledge, defense mechanisms, and coping strategies.

Counselors who understand clients from both perspectives have a better picture of clients' vocational development and career decision making. With this picture, counselors can do more than objectively describe how a client compares to the group and translate the client's interests and abilities into fitting occupations. Counselors can also subjectively explain clients' interests and abilities, not as possessions, but as solutions to problems of growing up (Carter, 1940). By combining trait descriptions and life-theme explanations of interests (as Uncle Remus might say to Briar Rabbit, "what you got and how you use it") counselors can more effectively clarify clients' choices and enhance their ability to decide. The purpose of combining the objective and subjective perspectives in career counseling is to help clients find socially viable (objective) and personally suitable (subjective) vocational opportunities to develop their life themes and grow through work. Such work will feel essential, not external, because it is an integral part of the life theme.

Psychodynamic career counseling is not a replacement for objective vocational guidance, it is a supplement. As Super (1954) commented counselors "must use both methods, sometimes emphasizing the one, and sometimes the other" (p. 16). Despite the advantages of combining

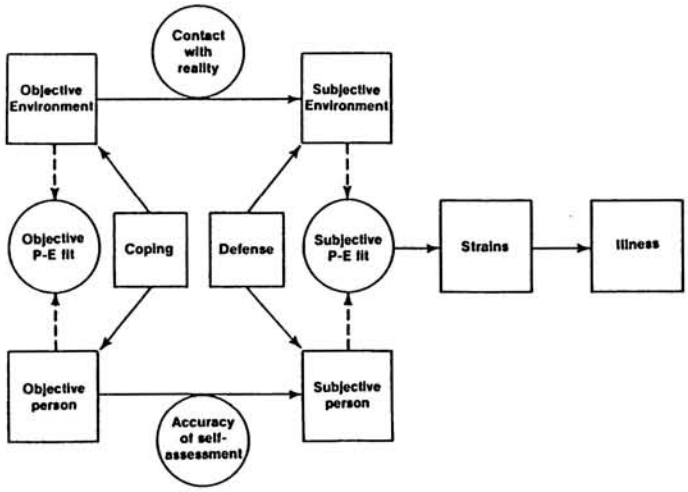

FIG. 3.1. A model describing the effects of psychosocial stress in terms of fit between the person and the environment. Concepts within circles are discrepancies between the two adjoining concepts. Solid lines indicate causal effects. Broken lines indicate contributions to interaction effects (from Harrison, 1978, copyright © 1978 by Wiley. Reprinted by permission).

objective and subjective perspectives in career counseling, it requires more time than most counselors can afford to allot to every career client. Thus, it is not for everyone (Holland, 1973). In particular, it is not for those clients who can be served effectively by group guidance, computer-assisted counseling, or paper guidance systems.

Four types of clients seem to benefit greatly from adding the subjective perspective. The first type are those clients who seem indecisive as opposed to undecided or who seem particularly unrealistic in self-appraisal and naive about life. Interest inventories assume a certain degree of maturity in the respondent. Indecisive and unrealistic clients often need help to become more complete before taking these inventories in a meaningful way. The second type are those clients referred by other counselors as "difficult cases" and those who have already finished vocational guidance with a different counselor. We find that the subjective perspective often reveals the private-sense misconceptions that made them difficult clients and frees them to develop their careers. The third type are adult clients such as mid-career changers, displaced homemakers, and discharged employees who already have an objective view of their interests and abilities. And the fourth type includes culturally different clients who may not be adequately served by an "objective" view that draws on a common sense different from their own.

Model, Techniques, and Methods

In this section, we briefly discuss the psychodynamic life-theme model along with associated assessment techniques and counseling methods. In doing this, we identify resources for further study and suggest how counselors may begin to add psychodynamic career counseling to their repertoires.

Life-Theme Model

A common model for psychodynamic career counseling emerges from all psychodynamic theories because each of these theories deals explicitly with life themes. All psychodynamic theories conceptualize people as somewhat neurotic and consider overcoming neurosis to be the most important life problem that faces each person (Hogan, 1983). A person's neurosis has a theme that various psychodynamic theorists have called a *life line, lifestyle, life plan, life drama, life plot,* and *life project.* Psychodynamic theorists vary in how they conceptualize life-theme content (e.g., Freud's oedipal complex, Erikson's identity confusion, or Adler's inferiority feelings). Yet, the theorists share the view that life-theme process

involves adaptation to overcome adversity, that is, "improvements in the organism's pattern of interactions with its environment which increase its chance for survival, cultural self-realization, and perpetuation of its type" (Rado, 1969, pp. 7–8). Adaptation develops the unfinished individual toward more completeness, wholeness, and integration.

Freud succinctly described this process of moving through life when he wrote, "Where id was, there ego shall be." He asserted that "I" develops from mastering "it." Adler's phrase to describe this same process was "from a felt minus to a fictional plus." They both meant that the life process consists of actively mastering what you passively suffer. As Milton wrote in *Paradise Lost*, "our torments also may in length of time become our elements." Less poetically, MacArthur said that victims must become victors. In short, people develop by turning symptoms into strengths and strengths into social contributions. Subjective career counseling deals with turning neurotic symptoms into strengths and objective vocational guidance deals with turning personal strengths into social contributions. The substance of vocational decision making can be viewed both ways. For example, interests may be viewed as both solutions to problems in growing-up and salient personal traits that connect an individual to the community.

To us, an article by Csikszentmihalyi and Beattie (1979) serves as the best introduction to the study of life-theme theory and its applicability to career development. After comparing the concepts of life theme presented in different theories, they succinctly defined a *life theme* as "a problem or set of problems which a person wishes to resolve above everything else and the means the person finds to achieve solution" (p. 50). They asserted that individuals' career choices correspond to their chosen method for solving their central problem. Based on their study of 30 male adults, Csikszentmihalyi and Beattie concluded that life themes develop in four steps as people (a) recognize an existential stress, (b) label the main problem, (c) state the cause of the problem in a form that allows solution, and (d) adopt a method of solving the problem. They go on to discuss this conclusion and illustrate it with several case reports. While reading these case reports, counselors may begin to think about assessment techniques and counseling methods with which they could implement the life-theme model of career development.

Counselors who apply the life-theme model in their psychodynamic career counseling typically use clinical assessment techniques to identify life themes, interpretation methods to increase clients' understanding of their life themes, and counseling methods to examine the current meaning and extrapolate future implications of the themes. Clinical assessment techniques provide methods for intensive study of the

meaning that an individual attributes to self, other people, and life. Simply asking clients to report the meaning that structures their lives rarely elicits a usable answer because most people do not realize that their life has a theme. They are so embedded in the webs of meaning that they have created that they do not imagine the absence of this meaning nor conceive the presence of a pattern. After they discern the pattern, counselors use interpretation methods to reveal these tacit, unexamined, or unconscious life themes to clients. Counselors select interpretation methods that help clients recognize who they are and accept themselves not interpretation methods that label or diagnose clients. When clients can articulate their life themes and view their careers as biographies, counselors use thematic-extrapolative counseling methods to ease clients' self-exploration of their life themes in relation to future goals and present decision making as well as methods that encourage clients to act based on how things look to them.

Assessment Techniques

Counselors who wish to add psychodynamic career counseling to their repertoires usually need to develop skill in assessing life themes to augment their existing skill in interpretation and counseling methods. Counselors who can sense patterns are better prepared to develop skill in clinical assessment than counselors who have difficulty with pattern recognition. Those counselors who want to develop a sense for patterns usually need coaching and encouragement from colleagues while they learn psychodynamic assessment techniques. Without this support, they may too quickly conclude that clinical assessment requires a gift that they lack and then continue to rely exclusively on objective psychometric instruments and actuarial methods. Our experience has taught us that if these counselors persevere, then they can develop skill at clinical assessment. Neophytes often benefit from experimenting with several different psychodynamic assessment techniques until they find one that suits them. Fortunately, they have many alternative techniques to choose among because counselors have adapted numerous psychodynamic assessment techniques for use in career assessment (Klopfer, 1965). Four of these are particularly worthy of consideration: structured interviews, projective techniques, autobiographies, and card sorts.

Structured Interviews. A structured interview is useful for assessing life themes. During a structured interview, a counselor asks the client a predetermined set of questions that have been designed to elicit life-theme material. Counselors who prefer Adler's version of psychody-

namic theory, Individual Psychology (IP), have developed a structured interview to investigate life themes revealed by clients' descriptions of family life during their formative years. Two recent versions of the traditional IP lifestyle interview provide counselors with excellent self-instructional materials (Powers & Griffith, 1987; Shulman & Mosak, 1988). McKelvie and Friedland (1978, 1981) adapted the IP lifestyle interview "for pinpointing the life question" during career counseling. In their "career goal counseling" model, McKelvie and Friedland recommend that counselors formulate a life question that expresses a client's life goal and the obstacles that block movement toward it. Then counselors may help clients recognize their answers to the life question by articulating clients' strategies for moving toward their goals. McKelvie and Friedland gave case illustrations to show how counselors may use their "goals/obstacles/strategies" paradigm to help career clients clarify what they wish to do with their lives, articulate obstacles that stand in their way, and develop effective strategies to move toward their goals and cope with obstacles.

Two other structured interviews merit consideration. Holloway (1973) devised the Life Script Questionnaire to implement the Transactional Analysis approach to assessing life themes. The questionnaire consists of 56 questions selected to reveal a client's life plan. Although certainly not psychodynamic in origin, the genogram assessment technique developed by family therapists has been used by career counselors to clinically study clients' individuality. Okiishi (1987) described a model for using a three-generational graphic model of a family of origin to assess career clients' self-observation and world-view generalizations as they relate to career development. Okiishi demonstrated this assessment technique by presenting and discussing one client's genogram. An in-service instructional videotape produced by the Menninger Foundation (1985) teaches counselors how a genogram can be used to ease self-exploration of life themes expressed through love and work.

Projective Techniques. Like structured interviews, projective techniques for psychodynamic assessment have been adapted for career counseling. In particular, the Adlerian early recollection technique has been used by career counselors. McKelvie (1979) discussed how to use the early recollection technique with the goals/obstacles/strategies counseling paradigm. Forer (1957) and Dole (1958) devised vocational sentence completion blanks and Ammons, Butler, and Herzig (1950) devised a vocational adaptation of the Thematic Apperception Test. Although the Forer Vocational Survey and Ammons' Vocational Apperception Test have been commercially published, neither technique has been highly developed or widely used.

Autobiographies. In addition to the adaptations of these classic projective techniques, career counselors have used another projective technique that also relies on verbal production. The future autobiography technique uses an open-ended statement to elicit personal scenarios of the future. Statements that have been used include: "Write your obituary as it will appear in the New York Times 50 years from now" and "Imagine life goes great for you, then write in detail about the events that occur during a typical day in your life 10 years from now." From clients' "self-drawn cognitive maps of how their future lives will be purposive" (Maw, 1982), counselors extract life themes. Other counselors use autobiography stimulus questions that include the past and present. For example, Danielson and Rothney (1954) asked clients to respond to three questions: "What kind of person am I?," "How did I get that way?," and "What do I hope to become?" Hahn (1963) used three similar topics: "What I think I am like," "How other people see me," and "What I would like to be like." To learn more about the autobiography technique, counselors should read Annis' (1967) discussion of the uses of autobiographies in counseling psychology.

Card Sorts. Some clinical assessment techniques combine interview and projective techniques. In these approaches counselors use projective stimulus materials to evoke clients' opinions about themselves and work. Then counselors use interview techniques to elaborate and explore the meaning of clients' initial responses. During this dialogue, counselors listen for themes to evolve and then help clients to recognize these themes. Vocational card sorts exemplify this approach. Card sorts present stimulus material, one per card, such as occupational titles and leisure activities. Clients sort a set of cards into three piles indicating "would choose," "no opinion," or "would not choose." During the sorting, the counselor asks clients to think aloud so that the counselor can hear clients' interpretations of the stimuli and reasons for each sorting decision. After completing the sorting task, the counselor interviews the client. Dolliver (1967) considered vocational card sorts to be "a structured interview technique that deals mainly with a client's reasons for making the choices" (p. 920). Moreover, Goldman (1983) considered vocational card sorts to be "similar to a work sample or a projective test, the card sort thus permits observation of the person's approach to the task fast or slow, decisive or hesitant, specific or vague, clear or cloudy, simple or complex, informed or uninformed about the world of work" (p. 108). Tyler (1961) implicitly addressed the use of vocational card sorts to assess life themes when she wrote that "the core of individuality consists of a person's choices and the way he organizes them" (p. 195). Counselors who want to use card sorts should read a

chapter on this technique by Slaney and McKinnon-Slaney (1990) that discusses its history, current versions, variety of uses as well as a case report that shows how life theme emerges from the sorting task.

Counseling Methods

Several career counseling theorists have elaborated methods that blend the objective and subjective perspectives on career counseling. The most widely known are probably Super's (1957) scheme for the cyclical use of directive and nondirective methods and Crites' (1976) model for comprehensive career counseling. Whether or not many career counseling practitioners systematically blend the objective and subjective in their practices is unknown. The camps may be so divided that most practitioners of objective vocational guidance may ignore psychodynamic methods and most practitioners of subjective career counseling may eschew actuarial methods. However, there are several published accounts of career counseling practice that explicitly integrate objective and subjective methods for interpretation, individual counseling, and group counseling.

Interpretation Methods. Structured interviews, projective techniques, autobiographies, and card sorts have been presented here as assessment techniques. These clinical techniques deal with the person directly as opposed to actuarial assessment techniques that deal with the person via social comparisons. Maybe this is why Goldman (1983) noted that clinical assessment techniques are as much counseling methods as they are assessment techniques. The boundary between their use for assessment or counseling is permeable, thus leaving counselors great leeway in how they present the assessment results to clients. Counselors may use test-interpretation methods to make the presentation a discrete activity or microintervention within counseling or integrate the presentation of assessment results into the ongoing counseling dialogue by using answers to assessment questions as counseling leads. Discussions of methods for and research on test interpretation (Biggs & Keller, 1982; Goodyear, 1988) indicate that both microintervention and integration can be effective yet we prefer the integrative method proposed by Crites (1981) because it blends the objective and subjective perspectives on test interpretation.

Regardless of the approach to presenting assessment results to clients, the counselor operating from the psychodynamic life-theme model seeks to explain the client to the client by making intelligible interconnections among the episodes of the client's life. To do this, counselors may summarize their understanding of the client's life theme to answer

the subjective assessment question, "What is this person trying to do?" (Dailey, 1971) and the objective assessment question, "Which abilities and interests can the client use to continue to do this in the world of work?" (p. 45). In formulating integrative interpretations, counselors should use their knowledge of psychodynamic theory, the client, and one's own self. Counselors may then present their "summation of understanding" (Powers & Griffith, 1987) in the form of hypotheses about the client's uniqueness and similarity to other people. Effective interpretations move clients to see themselves and their choices more clearly, prepare clients to examine the issues and make the decisions that prompted them to seek career counseling, and help clients to organize their diffuse career tensions into specific vocational intentions.

Career-Style Methods. To blend the objective and subjective perspectives on individual career counseling, Savickas (1989) devised a method that integrates the psychodynamic life-theme model with Holland's (1985) actuarial model. Rather than adapting existing materials, Savickas developed a structured interview for life-theme assessment that uses the typical subject matter of vocational counseling. A sequence of eight stimulus questions organizes the career-style interview. The questions deal with role models, favorite books, magazines, leisure activities, school subjects, mottos, ambitions, and decisions. He explained the rationale for each question, discussed how to present them, and specified how to assess client responses. Assessment of responses leads to identification of life theme and determination of a Holland RIASEC code. The assessment produces ideas about a client's private sense, career style, career path, interests, and occupational prospects. Career-style counseling then uses this assessment information along with the results of Holland's Self-Directed Search as it progresses along five structured phases: (a) summation of understanding of life theme and career path, (b) examination of private sense as it affects career decision making, (c) discussion of how clients' interests extend their life stories and point to certain occupations as useful, (d) preparation of a list of occupations to explore and instruction on how to explore them, and (e) coping with choice barriers.

Transactional Analysis Methods. An even more complete blending of the objective and subjective perspectives occurs in Kurtz' (1974) Transactional Analysis (T.A.) program for career counseling in groups. After explaining the rationale, Kurtz described a structured program for using T. A. methods. The group experience has five components. It begins with an ice-breaker exercise and a lecture on T.A. The second part consists of three Parent Ego-State exercises to help clients under-

stand the influences on their vocational development and explore their values. One of these exercises has participants select five occupations from Holland's Vocational Preference Inventory that their parents would select for them and five that would disappoint their parents if the clients were to choose them. The third part uses two Child Ego-State exercises to help clients understand their fantasies and needs as these influence their career decision making. The fourth part engages the Adult Ego-State by taking the objective perspective and using aptitude test scores and Strong–Campbell Interest Inventory results. In the fifth part, clients use script analysis to understand their own life as an unfolding drama. The group concludes after helping each member integrate all phases of the experience and formulate specific vocational plans. Counselors can easily adapt the methods in Kurtz' group counseling program to individual career counseling.

We conclude this section by recalling a prediction concerning the future of the subjective perspective in career counseling practice. Berg (1954), in commenting on Super's career pattern theory, predicted

> that in a decade or two we shall routinely be using the research results of career pattern theory with the same facility that we use the findings which stemmed from trait theory . . . trait and career pattern theory will probably be bundled into some inclusive bin labeled "vocational counseling practice" and we shall talk of aptitudes in a matrix of life experience. (p. 20)

Now, more than 35 years after Berg's prediction, we find that most counselors who offer vocational assistance still limit their practice to trait theory, psychometric techniques, and actuarial methods. Ironically, we now call this objective vocational guidance, career counseling.

SUMMARY

In this chapter, we reviewed psychodynamic theories as they are used by vocational psychologists and career counselors. In the first half of the chapter, we considered vocational theory and research derived from the psychodynamic theories of Freud, Erikson, and Adler. In the second half of the chapter, we considered the use of the psychodynamic model and associated methods for career counseling. Without question, psychodynamic theories typically have not been well applied to career counseling practice. But, as we have attempted to explain here, some psychodynamic theories and concepts can be used to inform one's thinking about vocational behavior. In similar fashion, some psychody-

namic techniques and methods can be effectively integrated in one's career counseling efforts. In summary, psychodynamic theory has a distinct contribution to make to the practice of career counseling. We hope that counselors continue to use psychodynamic theory to study vocational behavior and develop new methods and techniques for career counseling.

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