Career Counseling in the Postmodern Era

Mark L. Savickas
Northeastern Ohio Universities College of Medicine

Hallmarks of the modern era such as logical positivism, objectivistic science, and industrialism are being questioned as we decenter from an "us versus them" singular perspective toward a multiple perspective discourse. All indicators suggest the move from seeking truth to participation in conversations; from objectivity to perspectivity. In tune with these societal changes, career counseling seems to be reforming itself into an interpretive discipline in which practitioners help individuals to relate their quest for meaning to the division of labor in their community. The postmodern era has already engendered six innovations in counseling for career development.

As we approach the turn of the millennium, our society moves to a new vantage point from which to view the work-role and career development. Counseling for career development must keep pace with our society's movement to a postmodern era. Thus, counselors must innovate their career interventions to fit the new zeitgeist. The first section of this article describes how views on the work-role and career development have changed as our society evolved from romanticist to modernist world views. The second section delineates how our society is currently evolving into a post industrial society in preparation for the postmodern era. In the final section of this article, six specific innovations in career counseling for the postmodern era are described.

VOCATIONAL AND CAREER ETHICS

We can expect to change our society's work ethic as we stand on the threshold of a new century. This is because Americans have done it the last two times a century turned (Maccoby, 1981). During the 19th century, our society espoused a "vocational ethic" of work that valued independent effort, self-sufficiency, frugality, self-discipline, and humility. The ethic was best articulated by Benjamin Franklin and most clearly enacted by craftspeople and farmers. The

vocational ethic was a secular version of the work ethic the Puritans brought to this continent. The vocational ethic fit the Romantic atmosphere of the 19th century, a time dominated by feelings. Bruner (1986) noted that Romantic "conceptualism" asserted that meaning is in person. Because motivation and meaning resided in the person, the path to success and personal fulfillment was through self-expression and individual effort. Thus, the vocational ethic encouraged passion, genius, and creativity in all work. Workers were to be genuine or authentic and express their core identities. Occupation typically followed family traditions, such as staying on the family farm or taking over the family business. Individuals who choose not to do the family's work were expected to choose an authentic work-role through a vision quest or vocational retreat.

A few individuals turned their vocational passion into a risk-taking and empire building that served to organize the craftspeople into companies and to build large cities around industries. The craftspeople, farmers, and small business operators retained, and still retain to this day, their vocational ethic. Nevertheless, individuals organized into companies found little reinforcement for independence, self-sufficiency, and self-management. Companies of workers needed a new work ethic as the USA entered the 20th century.

Companies brought the 20th century "career ethic." Nobody had careers until large organizations emerged. Self-employment on farms and in small businesses was replaced for many workers by the challenge of working for someone else, and moving up the corporate ladder. The ladder remains the ultimate metaphor for a career. Large organizations and city life changed work from a calling from God to what your neighbors call you. Occupational titles serve to place the worker in the organizational hierarchy, and to define one's social identity for the group.

While the career ethic replaced the vocational ethic, 20th century logical positivism replaced 19th century conceptualism. Unlike conceptualism which holds that meaning is in the person, positivism holds that meaning is in the world, and thus values facts over feelings. Twentieth century science replaced Romantic passion, creativity, and self-expression with an emphasis on reason, observation, and accuracy. Some scientists proclaimed the death of the subject (and the subjective perspective) as they rigorously studied objects in the world. As a society, we eventually learned to demand a singular truth, and to rely on objective methodology to discover it in the world. In work-role counseling we followed Parson's lead in applying the scientific method to fostering career choice. While scientists were objectifying the world, counselors objectified interests, values, and abilities with inventories, and used these inventories to guide people to where they fit in organizations. Thus, career development professionals participated fully in the societal move to increase domination of the subjective by the objective.

The career ethic, or hierarchical view of life was apparent in motivation theories used by counselors. Maslow's hierarchy of needs fit the model of moving up the ladder just like General Motors car models reflected rungs on that ladder (i.e, from Chevrolet, Pontiac, Oldsmobile, Buick, to Cadillac). Meaning and self-development as moving up is still apparent in our emphasis on career development stages and counseling interventions that foster rational planning and self-market-

ing. Counseling models and methods fit the spirit of the age, as they must if clients are to accept them as useful.

Nevertheless, the spirit of the age is changing. As we approach the year 2,000, USA society is disappointed in authority and organizations. What once led the country to prosperity is being diagnosed as the underlying cause of contemporary social problems. Yesterday's solutions are today's problems. In the work realm, the career ethic is under severe attack, because the organizations and bureaucracies which it served are disappearing. The career ethic does not further the move from industry to information, from bureaucracy to teams, from electromechanical to electronic, and from competition to cooperation. As the millennium turns, the career ethic seems less and less useful.

Trends in personal values also have made us question the career ethic. The career ethic begat competition and a vertical view of life. Individuals are less willing to sacrifice everything for their careers. We hear cries from the hearts of individuals who feel betrayed by their organizations, anxious about competing, insecure about future, tired of self-marketing, and lonely because they left friends and communities behind as they moved up the career ladder (Maccoby, 1981). These symptoms suggest that our society and its opinion of work is changing. So, we are led to ask, what fundamental transformation are we experiencing?

MOVING BEYOND POSITIVISM AND AN INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY

Positivism as a path to truth is under attack. Throughout the century, and especially during the last decade, Americans have been ambivalent about objectivistic science. On the one hand, it has given us penicillin, cars, telecommunications, food, compact disks, televisions, and airplanes. On the other hand, it has given us bombs, air pollution, and holes in the ozone layer. As long as our society was univocal and believed in authoritative/singular meaning, we accepted the view that the positive contributions of science were benefactions attributable to science itself but the negative contributions were misuses attributable to monolithic organizations and politicians (Harding, 1991).

This ambivalence about objectivistic science has been exacerbated by social and economic trends that mark the approach of the year 2,000. The major social trend raising concern about positivistic science is the USA's move toward multiculturalism. As long as our society acted as if it was monocultural, the issue of objective truth remained on the margins. As the USA moves to affirm its multiculturalism, however, definitions of truth become the center. As diverse cultural groups gain voice, they articulate their vantage points as a claim to knowledge and power. Objects that had been previously subjected to a singular, authoritative interpretation by the representatives of the dominant culture are now subjected to multiple perspectives. The country no longer shares a singular truth articulated in univocal fashion. Now, groups ask not what the truth is, but what is right and wrong from the perspective that we have taken? The new question of what is right and wrong about a particular perspective leads us to ask further, "what perspective is most useful for

this particular context?" Thus the goal of meaning making is becoming a quest for usefulness, rather than the pursuit of truth. The objective methodology of positivistic science, long considered the path to truth, becomes a perspective among other perspectives when we recognize that interpretive communities create truth based on their cultural perspective and goals (Gergen, 1991).

Like positivism, the industrial society as we have known it, seems to be in incipient decline as we move to a postindustrial society or information age. The rules of positivistic inquiry guided the construction of industries that made products, especially those using an assembly line. Today, 70% of Americans work to provide services rather than produce goods. (The Bureau of Labor Statistics defines service as transportation, public utilities, government, retail and wholesale, health, insurance. entertainment, real estate, personal and professional service including physicians and lawyers.) With automation replacing repetitive jobs, the workers who remain must take responsibility for the whole job. Computers make diagnoses and solve problems, leaving humans to provide care, helpfulness, and understanding. Career paths are harder to find as bureaucracies downsize and life-long employment with one organization becomes a thing of the past. The career ethic falters with no path to follow or ladder to climb.

MOVE TOWARD PERSPECTIVITY

It is certain that our society is taking a fundamental step beyond positivism, objectivistic science, and industrialism. The question of what we are moving toward, however, remains unanswered. A tentative answer lies in the postmodern discourse in the social sciences (Lather, 1991). Postmodern refers to cultural shift of postindustrialism. Table 1 lists some of the shifts that we are experiencing. Postmodernism recognizes that culture and language provide the symbolic world in which we live, and they constitute meaning making and use (Bruner, 1990). Romantic conceptualism sees meaning in the person and modern positivism sees meaning in world (Is it true? Accurate?). Postmodern interpretivism sees meaning in the word (Why did she say that? Is it useful or interesting?) It appears that our society is turning from internal feelings and external facts to an interactional perspective. If we believe that objects are products of perspective, then we redirect our attention from discovering truth in objective reality to understanding truth as a socially constructed version of reality. Truth is determined by the perspective brought to bear by a community of understanding. As an interpretive community, we must decide what is socially useful, interesting, and reasonable, not what is right. To decide as a community, we must appreciate multiple perspectives and emphasize our relationship to each other. This entails a shift from emphasizing abstract principles to emphasizing social participation. Taylor (1989, p. 509) explained that in addition to advancing reason through increasing domination of the object by the subject, reason also increases through the search for consensus. As society, we seem to be decentering from an 'us versus them" singular perspective toward a multiple perspective discourse. All points suggest the move from seeking truth to participation in conversations; from objectivity to perspectivity.

TABLE 1. From the Modern to the Postmodern

From the Modern to the Postmodern	
Modern	Postmodern
Positivism	Postmodernism
industrial age	information age
printing press	electronic media
Newtonian physics	Quantum physics
demand singular truth	appreciate multiple realities
principles	particulars
empiricism	interpretivism
objectivity	perspectivity
reason	relationships
procedural rationality	interpretive community
concepts	constructs
language reflects reality	language produces reality
definitions describe	definitions inscribe
discover meaning	invent meaning
goal—accurate	goal—useful, interesting
clients receive pre-defined services	clients agentic in interpreting and shaping their own lives

A WORK ETHIC FOR THE 21ST CENTURY

Maccoby (1981) has forecasted that the new work ethic for the 21st century will be self-development. If so, and his argument is persuasive, then the goal of career counseling will shift from supporting careerism to fostering self-affirmation and improved decision making. Counselors will teach people to be more critical of authority. Becoming more self-realized will mean becoming more social not becoming more autonomous. People will need to be encouraged to make a commitment to their culture and community as well as learn to develop their values in the real world. Table 2 depicts a possible "development ethic" for the 21st century and compares it the vocational and career ethics.

If self-development replaces career development, then the developmental model remains as the major paradigm sustaining counseling. Like most other contemporary enterprises, modernist career development theory is a product of positivism and objective science. It focuses on the theme of development as movement toward a better fit or person-environment match. Career development theory's regent constructs have dealt with the objective career rather than the subjective career. To help people fit the organization, career theory has relied on constructs such as congruence and objectivist methods such as interest inventories and aptitude tests. The construct of fit which is so central to trait-and-factor models has been augmented by the construct of developmental readiness or maturity. Development, however, has been conceived of in terms of society not self. For example, developmental tasks are social expectations; identity means recognizable by the community as well as stable; and maturity means that the

TABLE 2. Comparison of Work Ethics

19th Century Vocational Ethic	20th Century Career Ethic	21st Century Development Ethic
Self-employed farmers and craftspeople	Employed by organizations	Work in teams
Romantic conceptualism	Logical positivism	Postmodern interpretivism
(Meaning in the person)	(Meaning in the world)	(Meaning in the word)
Value feelings	Value facts	Value perspectives
Be creative	Be rational	Actively participate in the community
Success through self-expression and invididual effort	Success through moving up somebody else's ladder	Success through cooperation and contribution

future is more important than the present. Thus, congruence, developmental tasks, vocational identity, and career maturity all reflect the perspective of objective science as it has been articulated during the 20th century.

COUNSELING FOR CAREER DEVELOPMENT IN A POSTMODERN ERA

To foster self-developers, we need to augment these objective constructs, not replace them. Modernists constructs will remain important in the postmodern 21st century, but they can no longer be meaningful in an abstract, essentialist, decontextualized sense. Postmodernism prefers particulars over principles and situated knowledge over decontextualized abstracts. The postmodern era already has spawned, or at least coincides with, the emergence of six innovations in counseling for career development.

No more experts. The first-innovation that we are witnessing as we move toward the new millennium is the transformation of counselors from agents of the dominant culture to "cultural workers" (Giroux, 1992) who cross the borders of domesticating definitions. During the 20th century, career counselors typically functioned as "representatives of commonsense." They took as their role instructing clients in the societal division of labor, implicitly including occupational sex segregation, and guiding their clients to occupational fields and levels that fit their measured interests and abilities. Although in the last 25 years the phrase "career counseling" replaced "vocational guidance," there has been not been a major shift in how counselors help their clients to make occupational choices. Career counselors, like vocational guidance counselors before them, continued to emphasize the communication dimension of counseling while neglecting the relationship dimension.

No longer content to be representatives of the culture, career counselors are now becoming cultural workers who seek to remove barriers that keep people

from speaking for themselves. In accepting the postmodern rallying cry of "no more experts" (Lather,1991), career counselors have taken on a new project and are unlearning their own privileges. Instead of positioning clients as recipients of pre-defined services such as occupational information and interest inventory interpretation, career counselors are affirming clients as agents interpreting their needs and shaping their lives out of a range of possibilities. Counselors are getting outside the frame of seeing the client as the problem and the counselor as the solution. More and more career counselors characterize their clients with hetero-geneity, irreducible particulars, and incalculable differences. Instead of portray-ing themselves as masters of truth, counselors are creating a space where those involved can speak and act for themselves.

Enable rather than fit. Counselors who want to help people to articulate their experience and construct their own lives doubt that person-environment fit can remain the cardinal construct in career development theory. Some counselors believe that fit must be replaced as the central construct because multiculturalism has moved from the margins to the center. A modernist project has been to "normalize" or socialize individuals with diverse cultures to fit the mainstream culture. Moreover, individuals and groups who were "misfits" because of class, gender, race, or sexual orientation were subjected to "normalizing" discourse. Now, the metaphor of the culture melting pot is being replaced by metaphor of a salad bowl in which diverse cultures mix together while each retains its integrity. Diversity is being affirmed and valued rather than normalized. Accordingly, fit is being augmented with constructs such as "enable" (Law, 1991). Career counseling for enablement nourishes the expressive freedom to draw up one's own life plan.

Rewrite the grand narrative. To enable clients in their quest to invent a workable personal framework for their lives requires that career counselors broaden their focus beyond fixation on the work-role. According to the Grand Narrative of the 20th century [i. e., society advances toward the better or new with the gradual yet steady progress of reason and freedom and the forward march of human productive capacities], the work-role provides the chief tie to reality and bestows a social identity. No framework or grand narrative, however, is shared by everyone in a multicultural society. Counselors are increasingly recognizing that theories of human development are only right for the context and culture in which they were forged. Different cultures provide different paths of development. We cannot apply one grand narrative to everyone and continue to inculcate the Puritan work ethic which makes career salient and work-role central.

In the next century, life design will subsume occupational choice. Therefore, career counselors are devising new constructs which are more fundamental than fitting individuals to occupational roles. Counselors are becoming increasingly concerned with how clients structure the basic roles of work, play, friendship, and family into a life (Super, 1980). The idea of counseling about life structure accommodates multiple perspectives. Contemporary life-role counseling (Brown, 1988; Hansen, 1989) affirms the multiple perspectives of diverse groups and thus addresses the relation of the work-role to other roles and the effects a career or

work-role choice will have on interpersonal relationships, children, and the community. Increasingly, career counselors will attend to life design and the place of the work-role within a constellation of life roles.

The beginnings of this move to life-design counseling are reflected by the assessment instruments that counselors are adding to their armamentarium. Measures of work values are becoming increasingly popular because they assess the meaning that clients' invest in work. Life-role importance inventories such as the Salience Inventory (Nevill & Super, 1986) and the Lifestyle Inventory (Epperson & Zytowski, 1985) are drawing increased attention because they measure the relative importance that clients ascribe to life roles such as student, worker, citizen, homemaker, and leisurite.

Career is personal. When the work-role is no longer artificially isolated from other life roles, counselors view the distinction between personal and career counseling as a wall created by words. The conceptual economy that favors the oppositional dichotomy of personal versus career counseling falters when counselors think of life-design counseling. The dichotomy, in turn, becomes a continuum of relative degree. The century long separation between counseling about the work-role and counseling about life (psychotherapy) is under escalating attack. This has been shown by recent programs at professional conventions and articles in scholarly journals.

The postmodern turn shows that a career is very personal to the individual. Too often, the objective methods of vocational guidance with their emphasis information about the self and occupations ignored the subjective or personal meaning constructed by clients to comprehend work and life. Unfortunately, vocational guidance and career counseling came to be viewed and practiced in an almost impersonal fashion. In fact, self-directed booklets, computer programs, and academic courses were designed to effectively provide the communication component of career counseling without a relationship component. As the focus of career intervention moves from objective fit to meaning making, the relationship component and subjective perspective will increase in importance. This increased emphasis on personal meaning and the therapeutic relationship will make postmodern career counseling much more similar to personal counseling and psychotherapy.

Career development theory is not counseling theory. When they focus on career counseling process rather than vocacional guidance, counselors notice that we do not have a career counseling theory. Instead, we have theories about how *people choose occupations and develop their careers. What career theories teach us about our clients' vocational behavior is critically important, but it is no longer* being-mistaken as career counseling theory. In lieu of a career counseling theory, and without really noticing it, many career counselors have relied upon objective guidance techniques (Williamson, Darley, & Paterson, 1937) or subjective client-centered counseling procedures (Rogers & Wallen, 1946). As post-modernism replaces subjectivity and objectivity with perspectivity, counselors are beginning to devise career counseling theories that spring from hermeneutical activity. These embryonic theories of career counseling concentrate on the invocation of meaning to understand decision making and to structure careers. The clients'

attempts to determine a direction in life are viewed as meaning making or a quest for sense. The quest is not one of discovery, but one of invention and construction. Career counseling thus becomes co-construction or social construction of meaning. The counseling process is one of making meaning.

Stories rather than scores. Following the lead of psychotherapy, career counseling is also forging an alliance with the cognitive sciences (Mahoney & Gabriel, 1987). With the elaboration of the counseling process as meaning making, we see increased use of the narrative paradigm (Russell, 1991) due in part to the compatibility of narration and perspective taking (Bamberg, 1991). An aspect of the modernist project that formed vocational guidance was the singular focus on the objective career, that is, the work positions that one occupies during her or his life cycle. As noted herein, the goal of vocational guidance has been to match people to fitting positions. To facilitate matching, individuals were objectified by scores they received on measures of constructs such as self-concept, aptitudes, interests, and work values. However, from the postmodern perspective we realize that individual difference variables do not exist for the subject; they exist within the counselor's seemingly objective view. What exists for individuals is purpose, not positions on a normal curve. Counselors are now becoming increasingly interested in augmenting their interventions by addressing the individual's subjective career, that is life story. Comprehensive career counseling attends to both the public/objective meaning and the private/subjective meaning of interests, abilities, values, and choices. For example, from the objective perspective an interest means a stronger than average preference for something in comparison to a normative group. From the subjective perspective, an interest means a solutions to a problem in growing up. In a similar fashion, developmental tasks can be viewed as social expectations or existential themes; identity can be viewed as predictable behavior or striving for inner continuity; and values can be viewed as general goals or expressions of meaning making.

Career counseling in a postmodern era will rely more on autobiography and meaning making than on interest inventories and guidance techniques. Viewing a career as analogous to a story or script allows counselors to develop innovative methods for career counseling (Leahy, 1991). Using the "career as story" analogy, career counseling may be conceptualized as a process of storying and restorying a client's vocational experience. Counselors can help clients to interpret life and career by viewing the person as a text. Like hermeneutical scholars who interpret the meaning of a literary passage from the corpus of the work, career counselors may interpret a client's interests, abilities, and work values as an expression a career pattern or central life theme.

This approach to career counseling helps clients to recite and develop narrative accounts of their vocational lives. These narratives serve to sum up meaning in the manner of a satisfying story. Acting as co-authors and editors of these narratives, counselors can help clients (1) authorize their careers by narrating a coherent, continuous, and credible story, (2) invest career with meaning by identifying themes and tensions in the story line, and (3) learn the skills needed to perform the next episode in the story.

CONCLUSION

As we approach the millennium, career counseling seems to be reforming itself in an interpretive discipline in which practitioners aim to relate individuals to the society's division of labor. To learn more about career counseling as an interpretive discipline, counselors are encouraged to read the work of colleagues who write about fostering career development in the postmodern era: Carlson (1988) on career development as meaning making, Cochran (1990, 1991, 1992) on the career project, Collin and Young (1986, 1988) on hermeneutical perspectives in career theory, Csikszentmihalyi and Beattie (1979) on life themes in career development, Jepsen (1992) on career as story, Neimeyer (1988) on constructivism and career choice, Peavy (1992) on constructivist career counseling, Ochberg (1988) on narrative construction of career, Osherson (1980) on the private meaning of career choices, Savickas (1988, 1989, 1991) on career-style counseling, Young (1988) on meaning making in career development, and Young and Borgen (1990) on studying subjective careers.

REFERENCES

Bamberg, M. (1991). Narrative activity as perspective taking: The role of emotionals, negations, and voice in the construction of the story realm. *Journal of Cognitive Psychotherapy: An International Quarterly, 5*, 275–290.

Brown, D. (1988). *Life planning workshop for high school students*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of north Carolina.

Bruner, J. (1986). *Actual minds, possible worlds.* Cambridge, MA; Harvard University Press.

Bruner, J. (1990). *Acts of meaning*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Carlson, M. (1988). *Meaning-making: Therapeutic process in adult development*. New York: Norton.

Cochran, L. (1990). *The sense of vocation: A study of career and life development*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Cochran, L. (1991). *Life-shaping decisions*. New York: Peter Lang.

Cochran, L. (1992). The career project. *Journal of Career Development, 18*, 187-198.

Collin, A., & Young, R. (1986). New directions for theories of career. *Human Relations, 19*, 837-853.

Collin, A., & Young, R. (1988). Career development and hermeneutical inquiry: Part II — Undertaking hermeneutical research. *Canadian Journal of Counselling, 22*, 191-201.

Csikszentmihalyi, M., & Beattie, 0. (1979). Life themes: A theoretical and empirical exploration of their origins and effects. *Journal of Humanistic Psychology, 19*, 45-63.

Gergen, K. (1991). *The saturated self: Dilemmas of identity in contemporary life*. New York: Basic Books.

Giroux, H. (1992). *Border crossings and the politics of education*. New York: Routledge.

Hansen, S. (1989). *Integrative life planning: A workshop*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota.

Harding. S. (1991). *Whose science? Whose knowledge: Thinking from women's lives*. Ithica, NY: Cornell University Press.

Epperson, D., & Zytowski, D. (1985). *Lifestyle Inventory*. Ames, IA: Iowa State University.

Jepsen, D. (1992, March). Understanding careers as stories. In M. Savickas (Chair), *Career as story*. Symposium conducted at the meeting of the American Association for Counseling and Development, Baltimore.

Law, W. (1991). *Careers work*. Cambridge, England: National Institute for Careers Education and Counselling.

Lather, P. (1991). *Getting smart: Feminist research and pedagogy with/in the postmodern*. New York: Routledge.

Leahy, R. (1991). Scripts in cognitive therapy: The systematic perspective. *Journal of Cognitive Psychotherapy: An international Quarterly, 5*, 291-304.

Maccoby, M. (1981). *The leader: A new face for American management*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Mahoney, M., & Gabriel, T. (1987). Psychotherapy and the cognitive sciences: An evolving alliance. *Journal of Cognitive Psychotherapy: An International Quarterly, 1*, 39-59.

Neimeyer, G. (1988). Cognitive integration and differentiation in vocational behavior. *The Counseling Psychologist, 16*, 440-475.

Nevill, D., & Super, D. (1986). *Manual for the salience inventory*. Palo Alto, CA: Consulting Psychologists Press.

Ochberg, R. (1988). Life stories and the psychosocial construction of careers. In D. McAdams & R. Ochberg (eds.) *Psychobiography and life narratives*, pp. 173-204. Durham: Duke University Press.

Osherson, S. (1980). *Holding on or letting go: Men and career change at midlife*. New York: The Free Press.

Peavy, V. (1992). A constructivist model of training for career counselors. *Journal of Career Development, 18*, 215-229.

Rogers, C., & Wallen, J. (1946). *Counseling with returning servicemen*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Russell, R. (1991). Narrative in views of humanity, science, and action: Lesson for cognitive therapy. *Journal of Cognitive Psychotherapy: An International Quarterly, 5*, 241-255.

Savickas, M. (1988). An Adlerian view of the Publican's progress. *Career Development Quarterly, 36*, 211-217.

Savickas, M. (1989). Career-style assessment and counseling. In T. Sweeney (Ed.) *Adlerian counseling: A practical approach for a new decade*, (3rd. ed) (pp. 289-320). Muncie, IN: Accelerated Development Press.

Savickas, M. (1991, September). *Career as story: Explorations using the narrative paradigm*. Paper presented at the conference of the International Association for Educational and-Vocational Guidance, Lisbon, Portugal.

Super, D. (1980). A life-span, life-space approach to career development. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 16* (3), 282-298.

Taylor, C., (1989). *Sources of the self: The making of the modern identity* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Williamson, E., Darley, J., & Paterson, D. (1937). *Student personnel work: An outline of clinical procedures*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Young, R. (1988). Ordinary explanations and career theories. *Journal of Counseling and Development, 66*, 336-339.

Young, R., & Borgen, W. (1990). *Methodological approaches to the study of career*. New York: Praeger.