This manuscript was published as:
Savickas, M. L. (2000). Career development and public policy: The role of values, theory, and research. In B. Hiebert & L. Bezanson (Eds.), *Making waves: Career development and public policy*. Ottawa, Canada: Canadian Career Development Foundation.

Career Development and Public Policy:

The Role of Values, Theory, and Research

Mark L. Savickas

Behavioral Sciences Department

Northeastern Ohio Universities College of Medicine

Rootstown, OH 44272-0095

USA

Prepared for the International Symposium on

Career Development and Public Policy: International Collaboration for National Action

Ottawa, Canada, May 2-4, 1999

Abstract

At the end of the 20th century, career development specialists have embarked on a new project. They are seeking to identify ways to strengthen national strategies for workforce development and career guidance as well as to forge an international vision for career service delivery. As an international community of technical experts, career development specialists can encourage policy makers to use their v*alues*, *theory*, and *knowledge* to assess the impact of current programs and to generate new policies. Career development specialists can begin by advancing their values and preferred outcomes in the very problem definitions that structure legislative action. In addition to values, career specialists can offer policy makers career theory as a viable means of coordinating and systematizing workforce policy. And finally, career development research provides a dependable source of valuable knowledge to inform public policy aimed at developing a satisfactory workforce and satisfied workers. Career development values, theory, and research can help public officials design workforce policies that encourage individuals to, on the one hand, invest their talents wisely and adapt quickly to changing circumstances and, on the other hand, contribute to their organizations and cooperate with their communities.

Career Development and Public Policy: The Role of Values, Theory, and Research

At the end of the 20th century career development specialists have embarked on a new project. They are seeking to identify ways to strengthen national strategies for workforce development and career guidance as well as to forge an international vision for career service delivery. These efforts have been prompted by the shift from an industrial to an information society and the concomitant tendency for the world to act as one economic market rather than as a series of national markets. The global economy has brought a quest for greater accountability and efficiency, often through the increased use of technology. This quest has resulted in both larger and smaller businesses– to flourish in today's economy companies must concentrate either on global or local markets, not national markets (Cascio, 1995). On the one hand, we have seen mammoth mergers such as the $74 billion agreement between Exxon and Mobile Oil. On the other, we have seen downsizing produce smaller companies that employ less people and have them work in teams with each member performing many tasks.

As mass production diminishes and vertical teams replace hierarchies of specialists, work itself has been fundamentally restructured. Rather than being defined as a group of tasks involved in making a product, jobs are now being described in terms of the services needed to meet customer demands. As work moves from making a product to performing a service, pay becomes linked to the market value of skills and success in customer service rather than tenure or job title. The new emphasis on process, technology, and service has increased the demand for technicians while reducing the demand for machinists. In addition to globalization and the transition to a service economy, social changes-- particularly the privatization of public organizations, the aging workforce, and the greater participation of women, racial and ethnic minorities, and disabled workers– have also affected jobs.

The reorganization of the workplace has transformed the employment contract and the meaning of career. Job security dissipates as fewer companies promise life-time employment along a well-defined career path, choosing instead to hire "contingent workers" for term-specific contracts. In the emerging employment compact, employees are urged to view themselves as "self-employed, " with the employer being their customer. Because many workers can now anticipate holding at least ten different jobs during their worklives, they must focus on learning and developing skills that enhance their current performance as well as qualify them for the next job. Thus, life-time *employment* must become life-time *employability*. To maintain their employability, contemporary workers must manage their own careers, with resumes becoming a list of transferable skills and adaptive strengths.

Employability is as important to organizations as it is to individuals. High technology, with its sophisticated production processes, makes a skilled workforce even more important for economic success (Pffefer, 1994). Nations that now compete in the global economy know that they need competent, well-trained workforces and urge their public officials to help train a smarter, not harder, working population. Cascio (1995) concluded that, instead of narrow specialists and broad generalists, companies need "multispecialists," that is, workers with in-depth knowledge about several different aspects of the business. As an example of cross-trained multispecialists who can get things done, Cascio gives the example of a Canadian company, Cadet Uniform Services. In the past, Cadet hired truck drivers to deliver clean uniforms and pick up dirty ones. Now, Cadet hires mini-entrepreneurs who function as customer service representatives as they design their own routes, manage accounts, and receive paychecks tied to customer satisfaction. Bank tellers in the United States offer a second example. In the past, they handled deposits, withdrawals, and payments; now they too are customer service representatives who are authorized to approve loans, sell stocks and bonds, and offer financial advice. To prepare a skilled workforce, nations must invest in public education, improve secondary schooling, expand opportunities for on-the job training, increase computer literacy, and enhance worker motivation. Using these desideratum, the *World Competitiveness Report* (1994) ranked the top six national workforces as Singapore, Denmark, Germany, Japan, Norway, and the United States.

In some ways, national workforce policies and career theory have returned to the concerns that they shared at the beginning of this century. At that time, they concentrated on preparing and selecting a satisfactory workforce from among the thousands of immigrants and rural families who swarmed into burgeoning cities in search of manufacturing jobs. In that social context, Parsons (1909) devised an approach to career guidance that matched workers to fitting jobs. This matching paradigm, used both in vocational guidance and personnel selection, served the needs of an industrial society seeking satisfactory workers. After World War II, increasing attention was paid to job satisfaction of the worker, not just satisfactoriness. Reflecting this concern with an individual's satisfaction at work, Super (1957) expanded career theory to focus on workers as well as work. Super's developmental perspective on workers concentrates on career satisfaction in contrast to occupational success. Thus, the pendulum at the beginning of century pointed at satisfactoriness, then at mid-century swung to satisfaction, and now at the end of the century has swung back to satisfactoriness (Dawis, 1996). This swing in emphasis shows in public funding of workforce preparation programs. The funding to support the school-to-work transition during the Great Depression

and World War II concentrated on preparing satisfactory workers. In the 1960's the new emphasis on career education concentrated on workers' job satisfaction. Late in this century, public policy has returned to its focus on smoothing the school-to-work transition by preparing satisfactory workers.

Career Development Specialist's Responses to Worklife Changes

Changes in work and the workplace require concomitant revision of career theory and practice. Unlike psychologists who focus on individuals, career development specialists focus on the nexus between person and environment, that is, the psychosocial integration of individuals into society. As such, career services benefit society as well as individuals. Choosing work that implements a self-concept and bestows a social identity enables an individual to perform productively for the community and thereby become self-supporting, successful, satisfied, stable, and healthy. Despite the changes in work and the workplace, contemporary work remains one of the most important ways for individuals and communities to connect, cooperate, and contribute to each other. In short, occupation gives stable meaning, passion, and purpose to a life. Jobs help individuals to become the type of people that they want to be, as well as to be somebody in their communities. Unfortunately, the transitional society and unstable environment in which we live now make it difficult to create stable meaning through occupational identities. In the future, personal stability will have to come from the meaning and values that workers construct subjectively for themselves, not receive objectively from occupational titles.

Because of changes in the structure of work and its social organization, counselors need to revise the twentieth century paradigms of first matching people to positions and then helping them develop their careers in stable organizations. A paradigm must be designed that assists individuals to strategically manage their own worklives and, draw meaning from the role of work in their lives not from an organizational culture. Career must become more personal and self-directed to flourish in the postmodern information age. As agents in their own lives, workers must learn to view career as a carrier of personal meaning that defines and structures significant events in a life (Carlsen, 1988, p. 186), not as life-time employment in a stable organization. Rather than looking just at how people fit into the occupational structure, career counselors now must envision how work fits into people's lives (Richardson, 1993) and how people can impose personal direction on their vocational behavior (Miller-Tiedeman & Tiedeman, 1985). According to Young and Valach (1996, p. 364) career will become a process that "people intentionally engage in to acquire social meaning within the framework of their lives."

The new paradigm for 21st century career guidance expands on, not replaces, the tried-and-true paradigms for occupational matching and for career development. The new paradigm focuses on constructing meaning for a life and accounts for changes in the social organization of work (Savickas, in press). Important developments include the shift from assuming that occupation is the most salient social role for every individual to recognizing how individuals position their occupation in a constellation of important life roles. New constructs such as career salience, work importance, and work-family integration signal this shift in meaning. The concentration on personal meaning and structuring life roles has accentuated the importance of values in designing a life. Rather than focusing on work values, career counselors now discuss with clients which values they can fulfill in different life roles. For example, achievement can be gained at work, altruism satisfied by volunteering in community organizations, nurturance fulfilled in the family, and creativity expressed in hobbies.

Reflecting the dissipating career paths in organizations, we find career *planning* being replaced by career *management*. Career planning functions better in a more stable and predictable economy. In this new era, flexible and adaptive self-management may provide a better pathway for developing a life. In our transitional society and unstable environment, even foundational constructs of career theory such as occupational interests are being challenged. Occupational interests rely on "constant" rather than "variable" occupations (Ayres, 1915). As occupations become less stable, it may be more beneficial to focus on activity interests (e.g., writing) rather than occupational interests (e.g., reporter). Attending to activities rather than occupations has brought renewed interest in skills and skill confidence. Some psychologists speculate that skills and skill confidence may eventually replace abilities and interests as criteria for matching people to positions. And finally, as noted above, career education programs in the schools, which prepare students for linear careers in stable organizations, has shifted to school-to-work transition programs, which emphasize employability skills, life-long learning strategies, and flexibility.

The school-to-work transition has become particularly problematic because the instructional methods and materials in the schools have become increasingly dissociated from the requirements of post-industrial organizations. Concern about school-to-work funding and priorities has spurred many counselors and researchers to become, for the first time, interested in public policy. For example, in 1998 the American Psychological Association, prompted by the Society for Vocational Psychology, formed a School-to-Work Task Force, with representatives from several divisions (7, 14, 15, 16, 17, and 43), to lobby public officials and influence legislation

on workforce preparation. This is but one example of the growing interest in public policy among career development specialists.

Career Development and Public Policy

Career development specialists have only infrequently attended to public policy about work and workers. To date, career development professional organizations and practitioners have been a loosely connected group of people interested in learning about policies that we have not initiated, yet affect our work. At this time, we have decided to examine how we might become an interest network that publicizes needs, presses others to act, and evaluates policy outcomes. To become policy actors who influence legislation, we must develop our own network, through self-organization and consensus. As an interest group we can work to help shape the values that public policy implements. As policy actors we can attempt to persuade the politicians to reorganize and reposition existing workforce development and career guidance policies, not to create something new. In this effort, we must recruit social and political experts to augment our expertise in career theory and intervention.

I now turn to main task in this paper, namely, discussing how career specialists as a community of technical experts can encourage policy makers to use our values, theory, and research findings to assess the impact of current programs and to generate new policies. I include values, in addition to theory and research, because policy represents, through the commitment of funding, an expression and clarification of public values and intentions (Considine, 1994).

Values

Career development specialists can actively use policy to institutionalize its values and preferred outcomes, starting by advancing our values in the very problem definitions that structure legislative action. One example of how the values which structure career theory and research can influence public policy involves committee reports. Burstein and Bricher (1997) argued that public policy is affected by how committees define public problems. In the USA at least, how congressional committees define a problem shapes legislative action. New definitions can lead to new policy legislation. Consider, as one example, the issue of work-family conflict. Between 1945 and 1990 there were 1,056 bills on paid work, family, and gender referred to congressional committees. These committees served as gatekeepers, issuing just 69 reports. For most of this period, the committee reports conceptualized work, family, and gender in different spheres and emphasized equal opportunity.

Now, in the 1990s the bills favor work-family accommodation, informed by a new definition moving from equal opportunity to concern about the problems that both men and women have in balancing paid work and family. Because career specialists know that problem definitions help shape public policy, we probably should conduct our own content analysis of problem definitions in committee reports regarding workforce policy. Then, career specialists can become policy actors by making our problem definitions explicit and press them.

Definitions and concepts are important in explaining our goals and naming the outcomes we are trying to shape. Pivotal concepts both shape career theory and represent our policy- relevant values. These critical constructs include a respect for individual differences, belief in the power of aspirations and dreams, emphasis on exploration and information, commitment to decision making and choice, facilitation of person-environment congruence, and nurturance of adaptability and flexibility. Career specialists can press our values by using them to advance new definitions of old problems. We know that changing definitions and word choices can strongly influence public perceptions and policies. Consider the changes prompted by the shifts in language from "sexual preference" to "sexual orientation;" from automobile "accidents" to "crashes;" and from "willpower" to "disease" models of addiction. Similar transformations in public values and policies may be enabled by shifting definitions from "fitting people into occupations" to "fitting work into lives." Other definitional shifts could include moving

from *career* to *worklife*;
from *work-family conflict* to *work-family integration*;
from *work values* to *life-role values*;
from *maturity* to *adaptability*;
from *work ethic* to *role salience* or *work importance*;
from *occupational interests* to *activity interests;*
from *abilities* to *skills*; and
from *self-esteem* to *self-efficacy*.

Theory

In addition to values, career development specialists can offer policy makers career theory as a viable means of coordinating and systematizing workforce policy. Career theory offers a coherent framework for organizing and systematizing the incredible complexity of contemporary public policy about work and workforce development. Current workforce policies and programs have produced a vast, uncoordinated network of services, provided by numerous types of professional, and funded by multiple sources. It is simple idea, yet one worth noting-

- coordination would improve public policies and programs.

Herr (1991) has written persuasively about using life-cycle theory to comprehensively reform and interconnect policies that are now fragmented and piecemeal. He urged career development specialists to identify a "core set of career guidance activities tailored to populations by gender and age across the life-cycle" (p. 281). Subsequently, Savickas (1996) designed such a model of core career services including education, guidance, placement, counseling, and mentoring. Instead of differentiating career services by population and setting, he differentiated these core services by the problems they best address. Each distinct service addresses a different type of career concern, allowing individuals of different ages and in different settings to receive the same core service if it addresses their concern.

The core services could be provided most efficiently in one location such as public libraries. Career services are now provided in schools, colleges, the US employment service, the Veterans Administration, rehabilitation agencies, business and industry, and philanthropic organizations such as the Jewish Vocational Service and YMCA, and in libraries (Herr, 1991). If the diverse services were coordinated and offered in a single location, then individuals could go to a career center where an in-take interviewer would arrange for them to receive the core service best suited to their career concern. Twenty-five years ago, Super suggested that public libraries would be an ideal venue for such career centers. More recently, Watts (1996) suggested that career services for individuals of every age could be subsidized by government vouchers. In short, career theory with its life-span perspective and a focus on core services could be used to help address the lack of coherence in workforce policies and programs. Such a structure would, in due course, allow findings from empirical research to more fully inform policy and practice. In addition to values and theory, career development specialists can offer policy makers valuable knowledge to help shape public policy and alter social views.

Knowledge

The science of vocational psychology provides a dependable source of valuable knowledge to inform public policy aimed at developing a satisfactory workforce and satisfied workers. Vocational psychology has also produced effective career guidance techniques for assessing persons, providing occupational information, and matching people to fitting positions. These proven techniques can be made more efficient and self-directed by advances in computer technology. Career development specialists can offer their expert knowledge about job

success and satisfaction to foster policy innovations such as novel objectives and empirically-validated practices. To make our research findings more useful in public policy arenas, we must first focus our knowledge on policy issues and then develop systems for collectively publicizing our intellectual property, persuasively articulating our insights, and distributing our most efficient and effective services. As an example of focusing our expert knowledge on policy issues, I have identified, from literature reviews and longitudinal studies, 14 facts that career specialists know for sure and could assert in debates about public policy regarding workforce development and career guidance.

1. Childhood socialization influence adult work performance and job satisfaction.

We know that attitudes toward work are formed early in life, so workforce and vocational guidance policy should take a developmental perspective. Vocational psychologists such as Super, Crites, Gribbons, and Lohnes have each concluded from their longitudinal studies that planful competence in early adolescence relates to more realistic educational and vocational choices, occupational success, and career progress (cf. Savickas, 1993). Longitudinal studies in other fields such as epidemiology, sociology, psychiatry, and developmental psychology also have shown that early experiences help to shape an individual's worklife. The sociologist Clausen (1991) used a 50-year longitudinal study to show that planful competence in early adolescence-- that is a syndrome of self-confidence, dependability, and effective use of intellectual resources– led to orderly careers in which individuals were stable and satisfied, with fewer disruptions of career and marriages in mid-life. Low competence related to recurrent life crises that involved career problems, marital conflict, divorce, depression, and alienation. Clausen demonstrated that planful competence allowed adolescents to make better life choices, helped them elicit social support, contributed to them reaching their goals, and enabled them to deal with the ill-structured dilemmas of worklife.

The epidemiologists Kalimo and Vuori (1991) traced the development of Finnish children for 25 years. They concluded that poor self-esteem and deficient social conditions in childhood constrained the development of personal resources and resulted in greater probability of entering and remaining in inadequate jobs as well as more prevalent adult health problems.

Using the perspective of psychodynamic psychiatry, Valliant and Valliant (1981) reported that for underprivileged men the capacity to work in childhood predicted mental health and capacity for relationships at mid-life, surpassing family problems and all other childhood variables in predicting success in adult life. By the age of 47, men who were competent and industrious at age 14 were twice as likely to have warm relationships with a

variety of people, five times more likely to be well paid for their adult work, and 16 times less likely to have suffered significant unemployment. Intelligence was not an important mediating factor.

The developmental psychologist Bynner (1997) analyzed data from a major British longitudinal study involving 17,000 people who were born in the same week in April, 1970 and were surveyed at ages 5,10, 16, and 21. Individuals with poor basic skills (reading, spelling, writing, and counting) at age 10 showed different career paths at age 16. Rather than continue their education, they tended to get jobs (about 45%), enter Government Youth Training Programs, or be unemployed. Problems with basic skills clearly led to problems in staying in school and acquiring more specific work-related skills.

2. Part-time work affects the socialization and development of adolescents.

Along with family, school, and peer group, work can be a key social context affecting the development of youth (Stone and Mortimer, 1998). Social scientists debate whether young people should be encouraged to work and whether some jobs are better than others to foster healthy adolescent development. Nevertheless, about 60% of high school juniors and 75% of high school seniors work for pay outside the home at least one week during the academic year. On average, juniors work about 18 and seniors work about 24 hours during the weeks they worked. Unfortunately, adolescents' work experience is usually unconnected to their occupational aspirations and career plans.

Stone and Mortimer (1998), based on their evaluation of the empirical evidence, recommended that public policy explicitly link school to work so that school personnel supervise work and make the workplace a context for youth development. This would allow teachers to connect work to school in meaningful ways, thereby helping students to view work as a complement to school, not a separate domain. The links between school and work now are especially loose at lower levels, with school being almost irrelevant for unskilled and semi-skilled jobs. Stone and Mortimer (1998) also encouraged employers to provide moderate work hours over a long period of time, improve the quality of jobs, and increase opportunities for skill development.

Even more radically, policy could reconstruct adolescence as a life stage. Adolescence as a distinct period in life is synonymous with twentieth century industrial societies. Currently adolescence is socially constructed as period of preparation for work, a life stage truncated by employment Grubb (1989). As society moves toward lifelong learning and job flexibility, adolescence could be reconstructed as mix of work and schooling that extends

into the thirties, giving greater flexibility around decisions related to career choice and certainty about it. Such a reconfiguration of adolescence as a life stage could reduce the floundering, drifting, and stagnating among school leavers while increasing training and employment.

3. Knowing how the world-of work is organized eases vocational decision making and job transitions.

When individuals face an initial occupational choice or change jobs, they must choose from among thousands of jobs. Vocational psychology has shown that it helps tremendously to have "a more compact view of the world of work at a more manageable level of abstraction" (Dawis, 1996, p. 239). Of course this view can be socioeconomic in terms of pay and fringe benefits or functional in terms of tasks and work conditions yet vocational psychology has something better to offer. Based on 40 years of programmatic research, Holland (1997) has provided a compact view of the work world in terms of psychological attributes. He organized all jobs onto a hexagonal model of the world-of-work. Because jobs are mapped using personality traits, it is easy for individuals to match their own personality traits to jobs. By organizing occupational information and personality types using the same language, career development specialists ease decision making by teaching clients that the work world has a meaningful structure into which they must fit themselves. Knowing how environments are organized is a transferable skill that individuals can use to adapt to many diverse life situations.

4. Vocational exploration and information lead to better career decisions.

Vocational exploration and information-gathering increases self-knowledge and awareness of suitable educational and occupational options (Blustein, 1992). In fact, one of the best ways to determine the wisdom of a specific career choice is to assess the amount of information an individual has collected about that choice. In addition to encouraging exploratory experiences, public policies should continue to support occupational information delivery systems, especially those that use computer technology and the Internet to widely distribute their products (Peterson, Mumford, Borman, Jeanneret, & Fleisman, 1999).

5. Career interventions effectively ease occupational choice and enhance work adjustment.

Career interventions help individuals gain self-knowledge about where they can be satisfactory and satisfied workers (Baker, 1998; Killeen, 1996; Whiston, Sexton, & Lasoff, 1998). The interventions can also smooth job transitions by helping job changers learn which jobs are easiest for them to move into and what specific skills they need to acquire. Evidence also supports the effectiveness of teaching individuals job-seeking skills. Today's

economy requires the flexibility to repeatedly move into newly configured jobs. Career counselors have evidence that their interventions help smooth school-to-work transitions and movement from one job to another. We do not have evidence, yet we infer from the available data that career interventions also benefit nations in reducing unemployment, enhancing gross national product, and restimulating discouraged workers and displaced homemakers.

6. Interests shape occupational preferences and enhance learning during training

The measurement of vocational interests is a singular accomplishment of vocational psychology. Over 75 years of systematic research has produced a clear understanding of interests as a motivational construct along with a sophisticated technology for measuring vocational interests of men and women across the life span and within diverse cultures. Most importantly, this research has documented how to best communicate interest inventory results to clients in a manner that fosters their occupational self-efficacy, vocational exploratory behavior, and career decision making (Savickas & Spokane, 1999). Self-knowledge about vocational interests enhances educational and vocational decision making. Conversely, knowledge about a candidate's interests can be useful in selecting individuals for training programs.

7. Personality and ability determine job performance more than interests

While interests are an important factor in shaping occupational preferences and predicting learning in job training programs, they are less important in predicting job performance (Schmidt & Hunter, in press). Yes, it is better if interests match the content of the job, however quality and level of job performance depend more on mental ability and certain personality traits. Based on a literature review of personality and work, Tokar, Fischer, and Subich (1998) concluded that personality traits such as conscientiousness and extroversion are important in job performance. Furthermore, individuals with an internal locus of control fare better in transitions and in initiating social support when they encounter problems. Individuals who demonstrate autonomy, self-esteem, and a future orientation, not only plan their careers more successfully, they also become more satisfactory and satisfied workers.

8. Congruence between the worker and the job improves performance.

The goal of career interventions is to help individuals move to increasing congruence in their interactions with the environment, as operationally defined by job satisfaction, commitment, and productivity as opposed to turnover, absence, tardiness, and interpersonal conflicts. Career development specialists know from an extensive

literature that person-environment fit should be an important value, not only in career interventions, but also in public policy about work and workers. Based on a literature review, Edwards (1991, p. 328) concluded that "across a variety of measures, samples, job content areas, and operationalizations, Person-Job fit has demonstrated the expected relationships with outcomes."

Congruence is also important from an employer's perspective, especially in terms of productivity. Variability in employee performance can be measured with a dollar value, using a minimum of 40% as of the mean salary as the standard deviation (Schmidt & Hunter, in press). For example, if the mean salary is $50,000 then the standard deviation in employee performance is at least $20,000. Assuming a normal distribution, workers at the 84th percentile produce $20,000 more per year than the average worker– $40,000 more per year than a worker at the 16th percentile. This variability in employee productivity influences the economics of an organization, and even a country. Employers who can select more congruent employees from a better applicant pool certainly have an advantage over their competitors. After conducting a meta-analysis of 85 years of research on personnel selection, Schmidt and Hunter (in press) concluded that "the cumulative findings show that the research knowledge we now have makes it possible for employers today to substantially increase their productivity, output, and learning ability of their work-forces by using procedures that work well and avoiding those that do not." In short, person-job congruence benefits the worker, the company, and the nation.

9. The transition from school to work can be smoothed.

Unemployment rates for youth just out of high school are high, usually three to four times higher than the rates for adult workers. For example, the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth showed that youth between the ages of 18 and 27, who graduated from high school yet did not enter post-secondary training, held about six different jobs and had four or five spells of unemployment. (Veum & Weiss, 1993). Public policy could benefit youth and society by forging tighter links between schooling, adolescent employment, and adult careers. When linkages are made-- particularly apprenticeships, magnet schools, internships, cooperative work-education, and shadowing experiences-- they appear to be quite successful in fostering the school-to-work transition. The programs are most successful when work and training are complementary, rather than making training and schooling preparatory for work. Because work habits and attitudes strongly influence early adult earnings, training programs should emphasize these work behaviors as much as they emphasize job skills.

10. Organizational socialization of new employees promotes satisfaction and performance

Companies can use realistic job previews and systematic socialization to provide information that reduces uncertainty and anxiety in new employees. Providing new employees with an interpretive schema or cognitive map of their organization and work context has been show to increase performance, satisfaction, and retention (Saks & Ashforth, 1997). With increasingly diverse workforces, it is even more important to impart an overarching set of norms, attitudes, and beliefs.

11. Work can be structured to foster emotional well-being.

Good jobs foster mental health whereas poor jobs cause distress (Loscocco & Roschelle, 1991). Good jobs usually provide substantive complexity, challenge, feedback, variety, and autonomy. Jobs are even better in this regard if they include significant tasks with which workers can identity. In contrast, poor jobs involve excessive workload or responsibility, role ambiguity, forced overtime, conflicting roles, tasks more complex than ability, and lack of control over job demands. Of course the context in which work is performed also influences mental health. Poor working conditions caused by noise and noxious stimuli cause distress. As jobs are being redesigned to emphasize process over content, public policy has an opportunity to reinforce the importance of including intrinsic rewards and importance into new jobs. If particular jobs cannot be redesigned to promote health, then employers can be prodded to provide workers with training in coping with occupational stress.

12. Workers can learn to cope more effectively with occupational stress.

Stressors include the dimensions of poor jobs noted previously-- role overload, insufficient resources do the tasks, excessive responsibility, and noxious physical environment. These elements cause stress, but how much of the occupational stress becomes personal strain depends on a worker's coping resources. Workers experience less strain if they cope with stress by recreation, self-care, social support, and rational problem solving. These four types of coping behaviors have direct effects on strain, but they do not have direct link to job satisfaction (Fogarty et.al, 1999). Public policy can encourage employers and career specialists to increase their efforts at teaching these commonsense and empirically-validated coping techniques.

13. Work-family connections can be made less conflictual and more integrative.

Conflicts between work responsibilities and family obligations can cause significant personal strain and lower productivity. Problems can be bi-directional, with work problems contaminating family life and family

responsibilities (e.g., child care, care of elders) distracting work concentration. Research on work-family conflict has accelerated during the last 25 years prompted by the increasing number of dual-earner partners or single parents. Legislative and employer initiatives that enact "family-friendly" work policies such as flexibility in work scheduling can alleviate some of this conflict (Loscocco & Roschelle, 1991). After reviewing 59 empirical studies on work-family conflict, Greenhaus and Parasuraman (in press) suggested work-family integration as a possible new paradigm, one which focuses on opportunities wherein multiple roles can expand rather than deplete resources. Positive spillover (enhancement) can be made to outweigh negative depletion (conflict). Two examples of positive spillover are "status enhancement" and "personality enrichment." Status enhancement means using money, connections, and other work resources to promote family well-being. Personality enrichment means transferring skills and attitudes from one domain to the role. Public policies that reduce conflict and increase integration will be good for families, as well as organizations and individual workers.

14. Individual difference among aging workers can be used to retain and retrain productive workers.

An often overlooked problem is that the workforces in Western societies are aging rapidly. Moreover, restructuring and downsizing of industries have had disproportionate negative effects on older workers. We know from empirical research that as workers age, individual differences increase, with some workers maintaining and even improving their skills while others loss their initiative and let their skills deteriorate (Hansson, DeKoekkoek, Neece, &, Patterson, 1997) . We need to design policies to retain productive older workers and encourage the use of enabling technologies. Now, more than ever, society must recognize and affirm the contributions of older workers while reducing ageist stereotypes and pressures to retire. Training opportunities must be provided with regard to functional ability and interest, not chronological age.

Conclusions

In conclusion, career professionals can offer their values, theory, and empirical knowledge as a descriptive base from which to devise principles and construct social policy regarding workforce development and career guidance. We envision public policies that fund a comprehensive set of core career services provided in centralized locations such as libraries. These policies should reflect normative age-graded, generational, and traumatic influences on career concerns across the entire life-span, with equal attention to socializing children,

preparing adolescents, encouraging adults, and retaining aging workers. The career services should help individuals develop a strategic expertise in managing their own careers so that, on the one hand, they invest their talents wisely, make fitting choices, adapt quickly to changing circumstances and, on the other hand, contribute to their organizations and cooperate with their communities.

In addition to advocating for sound workforce development and career guidance policies, career development specialists must innovate their theories, use more technology in service provision, link counseling to training and adjustment as well as career choice, effectively coordinate core services, become accountable for outcomes, attend to aging workers, increase our credibility in industry settings, and market career services by informing those who do not know about them and attracting sponsors (Herr, 1991; Hoyt & Lester, 1995; Pryor, 1991; Watts, 1996). In short, it is time for career development specialists to become more proactive in revitalizing our values, theory, and research as well as become policy actors who help to develop and guide our national workforces.

References

Baker, S. B., & Taylor, J. G. (1998). Effects of career education interventions: A meta-analysis. *Career Development Quarterly, 46,* 376-385.

Blustein, D. L. (1992). Applying current theory and research in career exploration to practice. *Career Development Quarterly, 41,* 174-184.

Bynner, J. M. (1997). Basic skills in adolescents' occupational preparation. *Career Development Quarterly, 45,* 305-321.

Burstein, P. & Bricher, M. (1997). Problem definition and public policy: Congressional committees confront work, family, and gender, 1945-1990. *Social Forces, 75,* 135-169.

Carlsen, M. B. (1988). *Meaning-making: Therapeutic processes in adult development.* New York: Norton.

Cascio, W. F. (1995). Whither industrial and organizational psychology in a changing world of work? *American Psychologist, 50,* 928-939.

Considine, M. (1994). *Public policy: A critical approach.* Melbourne, Australia: MacMillan.

Clausen, J. S. (1991). Adolescent competence and the shaping of the life course. *American Journal of Sociology, 96,* 805-842.

Dawis, R. V. (1996). Vocational psychology, vocational adjustment, and the workforce: Some familiar and unanticipated consequences. *Psychology, Public Policy, and Law, 2, 229-248.*

Edwards, J. R. (1991). Person-job fit: A conceptual integration, literature review, and methodological critique. In C. L. Cooper & I. T. Robertson (eds.) *International Review of Industrial and Organizational Psychology 1991, Volume 6.* London: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.

Fogarty, G. J., Machin, M. A., Albion, M. J., Sutherland, L. F., Lalor, G. I., & Revitt, S. (In press). Predicting occupational strain and job satisfaction: The role of stress, coping, personality, and affectivity variables. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 54.*

Hansson, R. O., DeKoekkoek, P. D., Neece, W. M., & Patterson, D. W. (1997). Successful aging at work: Annual review, 1992-1996: The older worker and transitions to retirement. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 51,* 202-233.

Herr, E. L. (1991). Multiple agendas in a changing society: Policy challenges confronting career guidance in the USA. *British journal of Guidance and Counselling, 19,* 267-282.

Holland, J. L. (1997). *Making vocational choices: A theory of vocational personalities and work environments*, 3rd edition. Odessa, FL: Psychological Assessment Resources.

Hoyt, K. B., & Lester, J. N. (1995). *Learning to work: the NCDA Gallup survey.* Alexandria, VA: National Career Development Association.

Greenhaus, J. H., & Parasuraman, S. (in press). Research on work, family, and gender: Current status and future directions. In G. N. Powell (Ed.) *Handbook of gender in organizations.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Grubb, W. N. (1989). Preparing youth for work: The dilemmas of education and training programs. In D. Stern & D. Eichorn (Eds.) *Adolescence and work: Influences of social structure, labor markets, and culture* (pp. 13-48). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Loscocco, K. A., & Roschelle, A. R. (1991). Influences on the quality of work and non-work life: Two decades in review. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 39,* 182-225.

Kalimo, R. & Vuori, J. (1991). Work factors and health: The predictive role of pre-employment experiences. *Journal of Occupational Psychology, 64,* 97-115.

Killeen, J. (1996). The learning and economic outcomes of guidance. In A.Watts, B. Law, J. Killeen, J. Kidd, & R. Hawthorn (Eds). *Rethinking careers education and guidance* (pp. 72-91). London: Routledge.

Miller-Tiedeman, A., & Tiedeman, D. (1985). Educating to advance the human career during the 1980's and beyond. *Vocational Guidance Quarterly, 34*, 15-30.

Parsons, F. (1909). Choosing a vocation. New York: Agathon Press.

Peterson, N. G., Mumford, M. D., Borman, W. C., Jeanneret, P. R., & Fleishman, E. A. (1999). *An occupational information system for the 21st century: The development of O*NET.* Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Pffefer, J. (1994). *Competitive advantage through people.* Boston: Harvard Business School Press.

Oliver, L. W., & Spokane, A. R. (1988). Career- intervention outcome: What contributes to client gain? *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 35,* 447-462.

Pryor, R. G. L. (1991). When luck runs out: Policy challenges confronting careers guidance in Australia. *British Journal of Guidance and Counselling, 19,*283-297.

Richardson, M. S. (1993). Work in people's lives: A location for counseling psychologists. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 40,* 425-433.

Saks, A. M., & Ashforth, B. E. (1997). Organizational socialization: Making sense of the past and present as a prologue for the future. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 51,* 234-279.

Savickas, M. L. (1993). The predictive validity of career development measures. *Journal of Career Assessment, 1,* 93-104.

Savickas, M. L. (1996). A framework for linking career theory and practice. In M. L. Savickas & W. B. Walsh (Eds.), *Handbook of career counseling theory and practice*. Palo Alto: Davies-Black.

Savickas, M. L. (in press). Renovating the psychology of careers for the 21st century. A. Collin & R. Young (Eds.), The future of career. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Savickas, M. L., Spokane, A. R. (Eds.) (1999). *Vocational interests: Meaning, measurement, and counseling use.* Palo Alto, CA: Davies-Black Press.

Smith, F. L., & Hunter, J. E. (in press). The validity and utility of selection methods in personnel psychology: Practical and theoretical implications of 85 years of research findings. *Psychological Bulletin.*

Stone, J. R., III, & Mortimer, J. T. (1998). The effect of adolescent employment on vocational development: Public and educational policy implications. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 53,* 184-214.

Super, D. E. (1957). *The psychology of careers.* New York: Harper.

Tokar, D. M., Fischer, A. R., & Subich, L. M. (1998). Personality and vocational behavior: A selective review of the literature, 1993-1997. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 53,*115-153.

Valliant, G. E., & Valliant, C. O. (1981). Natural history of male psychological health, X: Work as a predictor of positive mental health. *American Journal of Psychiatry, 138,* 1433-1440.

Veum, J. R., & Weiss, A. B. (1993). Education and the work histories of young adults. *Monthly Labor Review, April,* pp 11-20.

Watts, A. G. (1996). Careers guidance and public policy. In A. Watts, B. Law, J. Killeen, J. Kidd, & R.

Hawthorn (Eds). *Rethinking careers education and guidance* (pp. 380-391). London: Routledge.

Whiston, S. C., Sexton, T. L., & Lasoff, D. L. (1998). Career-intervention outcome: A replication and extension of Oliver and Spokane (1988). *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 45,* 150-165.

Young, R. A., & Valach, L. (1996). Interpretation and action in career counseling. In M. L. Savickas, & W. B. Walsh (Eds.), *Handbook of career counseling theory and practice* (pp. 361-375). Palo Alto, CA: Davies-Black.