support and are exposed to positive role models, they often develop interests and skills leading to satisfying career options. Conversely, when people lack support or are misinformed, they often disregard good options because they lack confidence or adhere to beliefs—"I must decide now what I will do for the rest of my life"—that keep them stuck. In these cases, people need help developing more useful beliefs. John Kramholz's work provides a framework for helping practitioners foster career development in their clients (we discuss Kramholz's theory in the final section of this chapter). In Chapter 3, we will focus on emerging theories that promise to provide effective descriptions of career development processes and practices. Table 2.1 summarizes the theories discussed in Chapters 2 and 3.

**Super's Life-Span, Life-Space Theory**

The leading developmental approach is Donald Super's life-span, life-space theory (Super, 1990; Super, Savickas, & Super, 1996), which evolved over 40 years as he and his colleagues refined and elaborated on its various aspects (Super et al., 1996). Although it is primarily developmental, Super labeled it as a "differential-developmental-social-phenomenological career theory" (Super, 1969). This communicates Super's efforts to synthesize and extend extant developmental and career theories. He understood that describing a process as complex as career development requires synthesizing interdisciplinary research (psychology and sociology). Super synthesized work by Buehler (1933), Havighurst (1951), Kelly (1955), Miller and Form (1951), and Ragen (1951) in conceptualizing aspects of his theory.

Super extended career theories by addressing shortcomings he perceived in those propounded by both his predecessors and contemporaries. For example, Super's contemporaries Ginzberg, Ginsburg, Axelrad, and Herma (1951) proposed a theory asserting that career choice is a developmental process rather than a single decision in which compromises are made to accommodate a person's wishes and occupational possibilities. They viewed the developmental process as spanning three stages: (a) fantasy (birth to age 11), (b) tentative (ages 11 to 17), and (c) realistic (ages 17 to early 20s). They theorized that four factors (individual values, emotional factors, amount and kind of education, and effect of reality through environmental pressures) converged to shape a person's career decisions.

Super argued that the theory proposed by Ginzberg et al. (1951) was deficient in that it (a) did not take into account research related to the role of interests in career decision making, (b) failed to operationally describe choice, (c) made a sharp distinction between choice and adjustment, and (d) lacked a clear articulation of the process of compromise as it relates to career choice. Responding to conditions such as these, Super developed his differential-developmental-social-phenomenological career theory.

Rather than developing a unified theory, however, Super (1990) developed a segmental one. He noted that "there is no 'Super's theory'; there is just the assemblage of theories that I have sought to synthesize. In another sense, the synthesis is a theory" (p. 199). The result is really a segmental theory describing three key aspects of career development: (a) life span, (b) life space and (c) self-concept. The theory culminates in an intervention called the Career Development Assessment and Counseling (C-DAC) model (Super, Osborne, Walsh, Brown, & Niles, 1992). We provide an updated version of the C-DAC model in this chapter. The C-DAC model translates the three theory segments into career practice to help people articulate their career concerns, examine their life-role salience, and clarify their self-concepts.
Table 2.1
Brief Overview of Career Theories

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<th>Key Constructs</th>
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<td>Life-Space</td>
<td>Donald Super</td>
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<td>Personality</td>
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<td>Theory of Career</td>
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<th>Theory</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social Cognitive Career Theory</td>
<td>Robert Lent, Steven Brown, Gail Hackett</td>
<td>Social cognitive career choice development</td>
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<td>Cognitive Information Processing Approach</td>
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<td>Moderate</td>
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<td>Career Construction Theory</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chaos Theory of Careers</td>
<td>Robert Pryor and Jim Bright</td>
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<td>Attractors, Patterns, Patterns and Fractals</td>
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Life-span life-space theory builds on key assumptions proposed by Super (1953, 1960; Super & Bachrach, 1957). These assumptions contend that people differ in their important self-characteristics and self-concepts; that their respective self-characteristics make them suitable for a number of occupations; that each occupation requires specific worker traits and that these requirements are flexible enough to allow for a variety of persons within specific occupations; and that self-concepts evolve over time, making choice and adjustment continuous processes for everyone. Further assumptions are that the change process for each person may be categorized according to life stages (growth, exploration, establishment, maintenance, and decline or disengagement); that a person's occupational level and career pattern are influenced by contextual (family, socioeconomic status, educational opportunities, community) and personal (skills, personality, needs, values, interests) factors; and that people's readiness to cope with career development tasks (career maturity) is influenced by how well they coped with previous ones.

The life-span, life-space theory also builds on other factors, including the proposition that a person's career development can be facilitated by providing developmentally appropriate interventions across the life span; that choosing a career requires people to develop and implement their self-concept; and involves a synthesizing and compromising process as they develop, interact with, and learn from their surroundings; that a person's life satisfaction depends on finding life-role opportunities that are congruent with his or her self-characteristics; and that it is important for each person to structure life-role involvements that reflect his or her preferences, values, and self-concept.

These propositions incorporate diverse theoretical perspectives (trait-and-factor, developmental, social learning, and psychodynamic), supporting Super's contention that his theory is not merely developmental. Super's propositions also introduce some novel concepts to career development literature, notably by proposing the notion that there is intraoccupational variability among workers; that multiple life-role development is an important consideration in career development, and that self-concepts evolve over time, making choice and adjustment a continuous process. Thus, when Super's propositions are placed in historical context, they provide the impetus for shifting the paradigm from one that focuses on vocation to one that focuses on career, and from one that emphasizes the content of a career choice to one that emphasizes the process of career development over the life span.

Life Span

Career development, like physical development, is a lifelong process; yet it differs in that it is not ontogenetic. Rather, careers develop within the context of psychosocial development and societal expectations and against the backdrop of the occupational opportunity structure. Early in life, career development is relatively homogeneous and age related. Most young people are enrolled in schools that require them to make decisions at each grade level: eighth-graders must select a high school curriculum, students leaving high school must decide what they will do after graduation. Thus, we use the term career maturity to refer to the career decision-making readiness of children and adolescents. Career development in adulthood, however, is heterogeneous and not as directly connected to age. Adult careers develop in response to changes in occupational opportunities and life-role participation. Accordingly, we use the term career adaptability rather than career maturity when referring to an adult's decision-making readiness. Career adaptability reflects the idea that "as adults cope with their changing work and working conditions, adults make an impact on their environments and their environments make an impact on them" (Niles, Anderson, & Goodnough, 1998, p. 273). Just as a person's self-concept evolves over time,
making choosing and adjusting continuous processes, so do educational and work environments change over time, making choosing and adjusting continuous requirements. Complacency is the enemy of effective career self-management. In this sense, career adaptability parallels Piaget's model of adaptation based on assimilation and accommodation. Career adaptability also supports the view that adults are "responsible agents acting within dynamic environmental settings" to find ways to effectively manage their career development (Super & Knasel, 1981, p. 198). Others (Savickas, 2005) have elaborated on Super's use of the career adaptability construct. As Hurtung (2013) notes, "recent research has advanced and supported career adaptability along the dimensions of planning, exploring, and deciding" (p. 97).

Although Super originally applied adaptability to adult career development, we believe career adaptability can also be applied to children and adolescents. Despite their relative homogeneity in career development when compared with adults, young people experience differences in their readiness to cope with career development tasks. Some young people encounter environmental obstacles (poverty, racism, sexism) that sabotage career development, whereas others receive environmental opportunities (enrollment in good schools, engaging in recreational and co-curricular activities) that enhance it. Differences in contextual "affordances" (Vondracek, Lerner, & Schulenberg, 1986) have implications for career development. Thus, career adaptability seems a more fitting term for young people than does career maturity. Savickas (1997) agrees and states that "career adaptability should replace career maturity as the critical construct in the developmental perspective" (p. 247). We concur. The development of an adaptability scale within the Career Maturity Inventory is an example of an effective measure of this construct for school populations up to grade 12 (Savickas & Porfeli, 2011).

Describing the process of career development over the life span, Super drew on the research of Buerkle (1933), Havighurst (1953), and Miller and Form (1951). Super conceptualized career as "the life course of a person encountering a series of developmental tasks and attempting to handle them in such a way as to become the kind of person he or she wants to become" (Super, 1990, pp. 225–226). Super identified a sequence of developmental tasks that people typically encounter and related them to stages and substages of career development, as follows: growth (childhood), exploration (adolescence), establishment (early adulthood), maintenance (middle adulthood), and disengagement (late adulthood).

**Growth (Childhood)**

Children ages 4 to 13 are confronted with the tasks of developing a sense of self and basic understanding of the world of work. In so doing, they progress through the substages of fantasy, interest, and capacity by using their innate sense of curiosity, first to engage in occupational fantasies, and then through exploring their environment (home, school, parental and peer relationships). Their curiosity leads them to acquire information about work and their interests and capacities. When things go well, children develop a sense of mastery and control over their environment and their ability to make decisions. Moving through the growth stage, they grasp that their behavior now affects their future lives. Moreover, they are increasingly able to use what they have learned about themselves and work to measure the viability of various educational and occupational opportunities.

**Exploration (Adolescence)**

Combining what they have learned about the work world and themselves with growing awareness that the present influences what happens next, 14- to 24-year-olds start planning for the future.
Within the career development domain, this involves crystallizing and specifying occupational preferences. When a young person specifies a preference, she or he implements the choice. These tasks occur within the substages of tentative, transition, and trial (with little commitment), respectively.

In the crystallization stage, young people use occupational and self-information acquired in the growth stage to learn more about the world of work and determine what kinds of work they might enjoy. Thus, accurate self-understanding is essential for identifying appropriate occupational preferences.

Specifying preferences requires an ability to choose among different occupations. The process of implementing a choice varies, depending on what choice has been made. Some choices require further training and education. Others provide opportunities for direct entry into a field. Regardless of what people choose, implementing the choice requires that they get started, one way or another.

**Establishment (Early Adulthood)**
Getting established in a career generally occurs from ages 25 to 45. The career development tasks associated with this stage are stabilizing, consolidating, and advancing. Stabilizing begins immediately after entering an occupation as a person evaluates whether the occupational preference she or he has implemented provides adequate opportunity for self-concept expression. Specifically, one must assess the organizational culture and determine whether she or he possesses the skills and interests to succeed there.

As one stabilizes in an occupation, he or she turns away from wondering whether the choice was a good one and turns toward becoming a dependable producer and creating a solid reputation in the occupation (consolidating). Focusing on becoming a dependable producer often leads to a chance to move up and gain more responsibility, more money, or both (advancing).

At any time in this process, however, a person may decide that the job or field he or she chose is no longer the right one. If this occurs, he or she will revisit the exploration stage and eventually crystallize, specify, and implement a different choice.

**Maintenance (Middle Adulthood)**
During maintenance (ages 45 to 65), workers encounter the tasks of holding, updating, and innovating. Many must choose either to improve their performance by keeping up with advancements in their field or to change fields altogether. In the latter instance, workers must recycle through exploration- and establishment-stage tasks to find new occupations. In the former, workers must update their skills and apply them innovatively in their current occupations. Those who decide to stay without updating their skills often stagnate and become poor performers (they are "stuck" in the holding task). In these instances, interventions addressing career renewal are required. Those who update and innovate often become excellent mentors to less experienced workers.

**Disengagement (Late Adulthood)**
Toward the end of the maintenance stage, when physical capacities begin to decline (which, interestingly, was the original name Super assigned to this stage), interest in work activities begins to wane. Most workers become concerned with planning for retirement. Thus, as the disengagement stage begins (currently around age 65), people turn to tasks of deceleration, retirement planning, and retirement living, with emphasis on physical, spiritual, and financial well-being. A current trend for many people at this stage involves pursuing what some refer to as "encore
careers.” Encore careers are second-half-of-life career choices in which people emphasize using their passions, abilities, interests, and previous experiences to pursue work that provides a strong sense of life purpose (see encore.org).

Although career development stage theory originally represented a more linear vision of a person’s work life, Super (1996) acknowledged that people recycle through career stages and tasks throughout their lives. We propose further refinement and make two recommendations for using Super’s stage theory in career counseling. First, we suggest that career practitioners acknowledge that people may be confronted with multiple career development tasks and stage issues simultaneously. It is not hard to imagine, for instance, that a recently laid-off 55-year-old newspaper reporter may be uncertain about deciding what she might do next in her career (i.e., exploration) while also fretting about whether she will have enough money to retire in ten years (i.e., disengagement). Such a person is likely to explore more narrowly than another person who may only be concerned with exploration-stage tasks. Second, we recommend that career practitioners conceptualize stages in a fashion that is similar to the notion of “status.” Status in this instance refers to the need to understand the total constellation of career concerns the person is experiencing at any point in time. Similar to a physician assessing a person’s health status during an annual exam, career practitioners need to understand the career status of each of their clients in order to help them most effectively. We think that understanding the constellation of career concerns a client or student experiences at any point in time provides important information regarding the sort of support and resources the client will find useful. Viewing the client’s career concerns from the perspective of status moves away from linear notions of career stage theory and helps reinforce the point that career tasks present themselves to persons in ways that are not always restricted by chronological age. Thus, Super’s stages and tasks provide important information regarding the potential array of career concerns, or societal expectations, that a person may be attempting to cope with at any point in his or her life. Understanding the life-span segment of Super’s theory in this way will foster a greater understanding of a person’s career development experience.

Life Space

While people are busy earning a living, they are also busy living a life (Super et al., 1996). The “simultaneous combination of life roles we play constitutes the lifestyle; their sequential combination structures the life space and constitutes the life cycle. The total structure is the career pattern” (Super, 1980, p. 288). Life roles interact so that the same job holds different meanings for people living in different situations. The meaning and purpose your psychology professor derives from his or her job is influenced by previous life roles he or she has played (child, high school athlete, college student, part-time restaurant server, graduate assistant) as well as roles he or she is currently playing (adult child, parent, soccer coach, department chair, friend). Your psychology professor’s life roles—his or her dedication to family, career, and community—are different from those of your other professors, as is the meaning he or she derives from work.

The salience people attach to their constellation of life roles defines what Super referred to as the life structure. The life-space segment of Super’s theory acknowledges that people differ in the degree of importance they attach to work. As we mentioned in Chapter 1, many people link work with self-worth in a way that devalues other life roles that might be a boon to their sense of self-esteem and self-efficacy (not to mention society). Many models of career counseling have
CHAPTER 2  Understanding and Applying Theories of Career Development

disregarded the effects of life-role interactions and the fact that engaging in multiple life roles maximizes a person’s opportunities to express his or her values.

Super noted that people tend to play nine major roles during their lives: (1) son or daughter; (2) student; (3) leisure; (4) citizen; (5) worker; (6) spouse or partner; (7) homemaker; (8) parent; and (9) pensioner. A person’s career comprises a constellation of life roles played over his or her lifetime (Super, 1980). Life roles are generally played out in specific theaters. These theaters are: (1) home, (2) school, (3) workplace, and (4) community.

Effective life-role participation is difficult to achieve because conflicting demands make it hard to fulfill several at once. We must prioritize our life roles. Sometimes it’s easy (putting work first when your children are old enough to look after themselves), sometimes not (when your six-year-old wakes up with a fever the morning of your big presentation). Sometimes roles usually played in one theater spill over into another and create conflict (Eagle, Miles, & Leenagle, 1997; Lesocco, 1997; Perrone, 2005). When work spills over into home life, the roles of worker, partner, and parent become enmeshed and none receives enough attention. Thus, life roles interact in ways that can be extensive or minimal: supportive, supplementary, compensatory, or neutral. Life flows well when the roles we play nurture one another and offer opportunities to express our values. Life is stressful when the roles we play are in conflict and we cannot express our values.

Many career counseling clients appear seeking assistance in coping more effectively with changing life-role demands. Interventions that address only the role of work are inadequate for them. Super’s theory embraces this by focusing on how clients structure the roles of work, play, friendship, and family into a satisfying life (Super et al., 1996).

Self-Concepts

Super (1963) defined self-concept as a “picture of the self in some role, situation, or position, performing some set of functions, or in some web of relationships” (p. 18). Super (1980) uses the Archway model and the Life-Career Rainbow to depict various personal (aptitudes, values, needs) and situational (the family, the community, the economy, society) determinants that shape the constellation of life roles that individuals play and that interact to influence the person’s self-concepts. In these models, Super delineates both the longitudinal processes of career development and the more situation-specific content of career decision making. Career decisions reflect our attempts to translate our self-understanding—self-concepts—into career terms (Super, 1984).

Self-concepts contain both objective and subjective elements. Objectively, we develop self-understanding by comparing ourselves to others: “I am like an accountant because I’m good with numbers” or “I am in the ninety-fifth percentile in mechanical ability.” Subjectively, we develop understanding from the life stories we construct to confer meaning on our life experiences. There is relative homogeneity in our objective career experience (almost everyone reading this book is focused on acquiring the occupational title of counselor or counseling psychologist). There is tremendous heterogeneity in our subjective career experience (everyone reading this book has a unique history that has led him or her to wanting to work in a helping profession). We use our objective and subjective understanding to identify appropriate career goals. Such understanding guides us as we make choices about the extent and nature of our life-role participation. Because self-concepts develop over time, the need to make choices and the process of adjusting to these choices are lifelong tasks.
Applying Super’s Theory

Toward the end of his career, Super increasingly focused on translating his theory into practice (Super et al., 1992) and labeled his approach the Career Development Assessment and Counseling (C-DAC) model. Like other theorists (Holland, Krambelz), Super translated his theory into practice partly through systematic application of career assessment instruments emanating from his theory segments. Although these assessment instruments are key elements in the C-DAC model, they are not required for addressing Super’s theory segments in career counseling (many C-DAC assessment instruments are available at no cost at vocophere.com).

The primary emphasis of the C-DAC model (and the traditional focus of career counseling) is on helping clients cope with concerns in the exploration stage of the life-span theory segment (Super, 1957; Super et al., 1996). Many people associate exploration exclusively with adolescents at the preimplementation stage of career development; however, exploration continues throughout life: “Exploration has come to be expected not only in adults who are changing career direction, but also in adults who are responding to the demands of progressing in the career they have chosen and in which they wish to remain” (Phillips, 1982, p. 130).

Persons entering the exploration stage for the first time focus on clarifying their values, skills, and interests and on connecting these attributes to initial occupational options. Formal standardized assessments can be useful in providing initial career explorers with foundational self-information required for coping effectively with exploration stage tasks. However, persons recycling through the exploration stage use exploratory behavior to resolve a wide variety of career issues (Niles et al., 1998). For example, some people use exploratory behavior to maintain their current positions while they focus on retirement living. Others use exploration to start over in new occupations, whereas still others use exploratory behavior to become more innovative in their current positions. It is not uncommon for people to experience career concerns across multiple career stages concurrently. Therefore, understanding the full range of a client’s career concerns provides important information regarding the career tasks with which the client is attempting to cope. Although exploration always involves learning more about our situation or ourselves, what needs to be learned depends on our developmental status and salient life roles (Super, 1983). Career development rarely occurs in a linear fashion. Thus, identifying each client’s constellation of developmental task concerns is the crucial first step in constructing appropriate career interventions.

Juana, the high school student you met earlier, is an initial career explorer, confronting the tasks of crystallizing and specifying occupational preferences for the first time. To cope effectively, Juana will need to acquire more information about herself—her values, interests, and abilities—and about the world of work. She will also need to learn about the career decision-making process and get help translating the information into a career plan. Ideally, Juana will also be able to see the connection between her school activities and her future and will become more motivated at school. As Juana crystallizes her occupational self-concept, she will need to reality-test her choices. Role playing, joining school clubs, job shadowing, volunteering, and part-time employment will augment her knowledge of both the work world and herself.

To calibrate career development issues facing mature clients, Super and his colleagues developed the Adult Career Concerns Inventory (ACCI) (Super, Thompson, & Lindeman, 1988). The ACCI measures adult clients’ concerns at each stage of life-span, life-space theory: exploration, establishment, maintenance, and disengagement (Super et al., 1988). Each stage comprises three tasks, which respondents rate using a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (no concern) to 5.
(great concern). For example, the exploration stage comprises the tasks of crystallization, specification, and implementation. Each stage’s tasks are divided into five substages, yielding 60 items. Summing each set of three-task substage scores yields a total for the corresponding career stage.

The ACCT is useful at the outset of counseling to identify clients’ developmental task concerns as well as resources to help them cope. Clients concerned with the maintenance substage task of updating can be encouraged to attend seminars on new methods in their fields, visit places where they can see these methods in action, conduct information interviews with knowledgeable people, and take refresher training (items 36 to 40, respectively, on the Updating Scale of the ACCT). Counselors can use ACCT scores to identify a client’s status in his or her constellation of career concerns.

Some clients, however, may be unable to make career choices because they lack the resources necessary for choosing (adolescents may lack career maturity, whereas adults may lack adaptability). Individuals who are not ready to make good choices need to (a) develop positive attitudes toward career exploration and planning, (b) learn how to gather information about themselves and occupational options, and (c) learn how to make career decisions.

The Career Development Inventory (CDI) (Thompson, Lindeman, Super, Jorda, & Myers, 1984) assesses whether high school and college students are ready to make career decisions. Specifically, the CDI assesses career planning, career exploration, world-of-work information, and knowledge of career decision-making principles. CDI scores can be used to answer questions such as these: Does the respondent know how to make career decisions? Is the respondent aware of the need to make career plans? Does the respondent possess both general information about the world of work and specific information about the preferred occupation? Does the respondent know how to make use of exploratory resources relevant to the career decision-making process?

High scores on the CDI indicate affirmative answers to these questions. In such instances, clients are often able to proceed with career decision making. Low scores on the CDI indicate deficiencies that must be remediated. For example, a low CDI score suggests that the client is not aware of the need to make a career choice and is not involved in planning for the future. Using the CDI with Juanita will help identify areas in which she needs assistance—in developing career maturity, for instance.

The next step in applying the C-DAC model involves determining the priority clients attach to their life roles. This step distinguishes Super’s approach from other models because it helps clients understand how they “structure the basic roles of work, play, friendship, and family into a life” (Super et al., 1996, p. 128).

Achieving this involves exploring the importance, or salience, clients attach to their life roles. It also means realizing that the problems clients present in career counseling cannot be neatly categorized as reflecting either personal or career concerns. Because few issues are more personal than those related to career choice and adjustment, career and noncareer concerns overlap substantially (Bez & Corning, 1993; Krumboltz, 1993; Subich, 1993; Super, 1993). Research indicates that clients experience high levels of psychological stress and discuss concerns related to nonwork roles throughout the career counseling process (Anderson & Niles, 1995; Lucas, 1993; Niles & Anderson, 1993). Such findings point to the importance of attending to the emotional issues clients encounter as they cope with problems in their unique life structures.

Counselors can encourage clients to examine the meaning they attach to their life roles by asking them these questions: How do you spend your time during a typical week? How important are your different life roles to you? What do you like about each life role you play? What life roles do
you think will be important to you in the future, and what do you hope to accomplish in each of them? What do your family members expect you to accomplish in each of your life roles? What life roles do they play? What helpful (and not so helpful) lessons have you learned about playing each role? It would be important to ask Juanita questions like these to help her consider what life roles will be important to her in the future and what she can do now to prepare for them. Asking clients to describe how they spend time during the week and to consider the values reflected therein is also a useful strategy for inviting them to examine life structure issues. Counselors can also encourage clients to describe how they would prefer to spend their time, say, five years in the future. The counselor can then help them develop strategies for increasing the odds that it will happen.

Counselors can also use the Salience Inventory (Super & Nevill, 1986) as a starting point for discussing life-role salience. The Salience Inventory measures the relative importance of five life roles (student, worker, citizen, homemaker, and leisure) in three dimensions, one behavioral and two affective. The behavioral component—participation—assesses what the respondent does or has done recently in each life role. The first affective component—commitment—requires the respondent to indicate how he or she feels about each life role. The second affective component—values expectations—requires the respondent to indicate the degree to which there will be opportunities now or in the future to express values in each life role.

Finally, life-role activities can be examined using the Pie of Life exercise, in which clients divide a circle into slices symbolizing the amount of time they spend doing different things during a typical week. They then identify the values they think are reflected in their life pie and discuss them with their counselor. The counselor focuses on reinforcing the time spent on activities that clients feel good about and reducing time spent on activities that they don’t feel good about. The counselor can also discuss with clients what they would like to accomplish in each important life role and can focus on how they might do this.

To further guide the self-concept crystallization process, career counselors can use the Values Scale (VS) (Nevill & Super, 1986). The VS measures 21 intrinsic (creativity, altruism) and extrinsic (economic rewards) values that people hope to express in their life roles. The VS is a useful supplement to measures of interests and abilities, and counselors can use VS results to help clients focus on the exploration of life roles and occupational options.

With information provided by the Salience Inventory and the Values Scale, counselors help clients identify the life roles that take most of their time, those to which they are emotionally committed, the values they hope to express in these roles, and the roles they expect to be important to them in the future.

With regard to the latter, counselors can help clients construct strategies to prepare for their salient life roles. For example, if Juanita expects the life role of worker to be salient in her future, she can discuss ways to plan and prepare for it by, for instance, identifying activities to help her develop her readiness to hold down a job. Special attention can be given to helping Juanita make connections between her current life role of student and her future role of worker. Information from the Salience Inventory can also be used to encourage Juanita to think about areas of potential role conflict and to discuss strategies for coping with excessive demands from multiple life roles.

**Contextual Factors Influencing Life-Role Salience**

Super’s Archway model suggests that life-role self-concepts are shaped by our contexts (personal and situational determinants). However, many people lack awareness of how contextual factors
(dominant culture, culture of origin) interact with identity development to shape life-role salience (Blustein, 1994).

**Dominant Culture**

People often inherit patterns of life-role salience from the dominant or popular culture. Such inheritances can be problematic when they are embedded in beliefs based on gender, racial, and other stereotypes. Researchers have consistently found gender bias in life-role salience and occupational sex-role stereotyping in portrayals of workers in popular culture. With regard to the former, Niles and Goodnough (1996) reported in a literature review that researchers have consistently found gender differences in role salience that coincide with traditional sex-role expectations (women involved more in home and family than men and expecting more from the home life role than men). Women with high worker-role salience put themselves at a disadvantage in the workforce by such expectations. Also, men limit their involvement in home and family when they adhere to traditional expectations for life-role salience. Coltrane and Adams (1997) found that women are typically portrayed in popular culture as unemployed or employed in service or clerical occupations, perpetuating sex-role stereotyping and workplace gender inequality. Raising clients' awareness of how the dominant culture influences life-role salience helps them dismantle their own racist and sexist attitudes as they make career decisions.

**Culture of Origin**

Discussing the influence of the dominant culture on life-role salience can lead to discussions of how clients' cultural backgrounds influence their career development. Counselors and clients can explore how cultures of origin influence the values expressed in life roles (seeking self-actualization through work for a person of Eurocentric cultural background, or seeking to express cultural identity through work for a person of Asian heritage). When these discussions occur in small groups, they stimulate increased awareness of, and sensitivity to, cultural diversity in life-role salience.

This can also lead to exploring various cultural prescriptions (Eurocentric men are good providers and upwardly mobile in their occupations) that are assigned to certain life roles. In these discussions, counselors can encourage clients to identify how they perceive and interpret role expectations emanating from their cultures of origin and how these expectations affect the importance they attach to different life roles. Counselors may pay special attention to exploring how these expectations influence the client's understanding of the behaviors required for effective role performance (men who define their parenting role primarily as being a good provider may consider whether this alone constitutes good parenting).

Borodovsky and Penterotto (1994) suggest the family genogram as useful for exploring interactions between family background, cultural prescriptions, and career planning. The genogram provides a tool for tracking career decisions across generations and identifying sources of a person's career beliefs and life themes.

This technique can be expanded to address the same topics for other life roles. By using the genogram, counselors can help clients identify beliefs and life themes pertaining to specific life roles that they have acquired from their families. Counselors can also contrast the influences on clients' life-role salience emanating from group-oriented cultures with influences emanating from individualistic cultures. The counselor may introduce terms such as cultural assimilation and cultural accommodation in these discussions, and examine the effects of sex-role stereotyping on life-role salience. The goal of these interventions is to increase clients' awareness of the influences
shaping their beliefs about their primary life roles so they can make informed decisions about their future life-role participation.

Although examining life-role participation holistically is important, the central concern in career development interventions is helping clients clarify their occupational self-concepts. In the C-DAC model, clients use their understanding of life-role salience as the foundation on which they base the clarification and articulation of their vocational identities.

Vocational identities are clarified using two methods: the actuarial method (Super, 1954, 1957) and the developmental method (Super, 1954, 1961). The actuarial method relates to the trait-and-factor approach of using test scores to predict future occupational performance and satisfaction. For instance, Juana might complete the Strong Interest Inventory (SII) (Harmon, Hansen, Borgen, & Hammer, 1994) to compare her interests with those of people employed in various occupations. Using the actuarial method, the counselor "acts like an actuary, consults tables, graphs, and formulas seeking the optimal prediction, in probability terms, based on the observed correlations with similar performances of other people" (Jepsen, 1994, p. 45). Juana’s pattern of interests would be related to the patterns of workers within a variety of occupations. The counselor would focus on similar patterns (as starting points for further exploration) and dissimilar patterns (to identify types of occupations Juana is not likely to find satisfying). Ability tests could be used in the same way: to compare Juana’s abilities to those required for successful performance in specific occupations. Occupations for which her interests and abilities merge to predict satisfying and successful performance could then be identified for further consideration.

Values inventory results or values card sorts can then be used to guide further exploration. Some occupations might be appropriate for a client’s interests and abilities but may not provide sufficient opportunities for values expression. For clients like Juana who are attempting to crystallize occupational preferences, values inventories or values card sorts may be helpful supplements to measures of interests and abilities (Super et al., 1996).

Using the developmental method (which Super also described as the Thematic-Extrapolation Method), counselors act more like historians than actuaries by inviting clients to construct autobiographical chronologies of what they did in the past. These chronologies are then examined for recurrent themes or threads of continuity that are used to “make sense of the past, explain the present, and draw a blueprint for the future” (Super et al., 1996, p. 157). Whereas the actuarial method is based on traits (How do my traits compare with the traits of others? In what occupations do my traits predict success?), the developmental method is based on life patterns (What patterns are revealed in my life history? Which of these patterns and themes are important to incorporate in my future planning?). Jepsen (1994) has noted that the developmental or thematic-extrapolation method contains three steps:

1. Analyze past behavior and development for recurring themes and underlying trends;
2. Summarize each theme and trend, taking into account the other themes and trends;
3. Project the modified themes and trends into the future by extrapolation. (p. 45)

Inviting a client to envisage his or her life as a book and then asking the client to identify the chapters of his or her life is a strategy for identifying recurring themes and underlying trends. The future can then be envisioned as chapters that must be lived for the client to feel as if his or her life is complete, and the focus can shift toward identifying future goals and aspirations.

The actuarial and developmental methods may be incorporated into career counseling by using Super’s (1957) cyclical model of nondirective and directive methods. Super noted that “Since vocational development consists of implementing a self-concept, and since self-concepts
often need modification before they can be implemented; it is important that the student, client, or patient put his self-concept into words early in the counseling process. The client needs to do this for himself, to clarify his actual role and his role aspirations; he needs to do it for the counselor, so that the counselor may understand the nature of the vocational problem confronting him." (p. 308). Specifically, Super (1957) described the cycles of career counseling as follows:

1. Nondirective problem exploration and self-concept portrayal (the client tells his or her story);
2. Directive topic setting, for further exploring (the counselor and client clarify career concerns and identify which ones they will focus on first);
3. Nondirective reflection and clarification of feeling for self-acceptance and insight (the counselor uses empathic responding and basic counseling skills to help the client clarify his or her situation, feelings, and thoughts);
4. Directive exploration for factual data from tests, occupational pamphlets, extracurricular experiences, grades, and so forth, for reality testing (the counselor and client collect relevant information regarding the client's characteristics and potential occupational options; they also identify options for reality testing or trying out potential options via job shadowing, occupational information interviewing, volunteering, and externships);
5. Nondirective exploration and working through of attitudes and feelings aroused by reality testing (the client tries out potential options and reflects on the experiences with the counselor, focusing on thoughts and feelings and how the experiences may inform the client's next step); and
6. Nondirective consideration of possible actions, for help in decision making (the client identifies what she or he will do next to move forward in her or his career development). (p. 308)

Essentially, the career counseling model articulated by Super emphasizes helping clients to clarify and articulate their self-concepts and implement them in life-role activity. Specific career counseling interventions, such as the C-DAC model and the thematic extrapolation method, may be incorporated into Super's cyclical model (most likely at steps 3 through 5).

Evaluating Super's Theory

Super's theory has been key to the evolution of career development theory and practice. Numerous researchers have relied on Super's work for their own investigations of career development processes. Lewis, Savickas, and Jones (1996) used the Career Development Inventory (Super, Thompson, Lindeman, Jordann, & Myers, 1981) to predict success in medical school. Their results supported Super's (1981) contention that thinking about the future and planning for it are necessary for achieving career maturity and adaptability.

Reviewing literature pertaining to Super's Work Importance Study led Niles and Goodmough (1996) to three conclusions. First, life-role salience and values must be viewed within specific developmental and cultural contexts. Second, in diverse settings and with different groups, women and men ranked the importance of various life roles and values differently. Third, in order to facilitate their clients' career development, practitioners must attend to life-role salience and values issues in career counseling (see also Parasuraman, Purhott, Godshalk, & Benetell, 1996).

Salomone (1996) provided a historical perspective by tracing the evolution of three key segments of Super's theory over a 40-year period: (a) theoretical propositions, (b) conceptualization of the career stages, and (c) definition of career. Salomone's review led him to three conclusions. First, Super's theoretical propositions have not changed substantially in 40 years. Second, there is the need for more research related to Super's propositions and career stage model. Third, Super's
contributions represent an unparalleled legacy in developmental career theory. Super's theory segments provide a framework for helping clients clarify their life-role identities and the values they seek to express therein as well as for researchers investigating life-role identity development.

Journal articles provide examples of the systematic application of the C-DAC assessment instrument. For example, articles by Nevill and Kruse (1996) (Values Scale), Nevill and Galvin (1996) (Salience Inventory), Savickas and Hartung (1998) (Career Development Inventory), and Cairo, Kritas, and Myers (1996) (Adult Career Concerns Inventory) provide literature reviews, test descriptions, and information concerning the practical application of each assessment. Hartung et al. (1998) describe strategies for appraising a client's cultural identity in the initial stages of the C-DAC model and offer techniques for considering cultural factors throughout the C-DAC process, thereby making the model more applicable to clients representing diverse contexts.

The large number of research studies using Super's theory has declined since his death in 1994. Osipow and Fitzgerald (1996) noted that it "has the virtue of building upon aspects of the mainstream of developmental psychology and personality theory and has considerable utility for practice and research" (p. 143). They also noted that "most of the research reported on Super's theory generally supports his model" (p. 143). Borgen (1991) noted that it "has splendidly stood the test of time" (p. 278); Brown (1996) wrote that it "will forever be the segmental legacy of a brilliant thinker" (p. 522).

**Anne Roe's Personality Theory of Career Choice**

Anne Roe (1904–1991), a clinical psychologist, initially became interested in career behavior by investigating personality factors related to artists' creative expression. Later, she expanded her research to include eminent scientists. Roe (1956, 1957) suggested that early childhood experiences influence career behavior. As Brown, Lums, and Voyle (1997) emphasize, however, from Roe's perspective the relationship between early childhood experiences and subsequent career behavior is mediated by the "structure of psychological needs that develop due to the pattern of frustrations and satisfactions experienced in childhood" (p. 284). Specifically, the resultant need structure orients a person either toward people or away from people. Drawing on Maslow's (1954) needs theory, Roe contended that unsatisfied needs are strong motivators for people making career choices.

The environment in which a child is reared shapes his or her early experiences. Roe (1956) identified three main kinds of child-rearing environments: emotional concentration, avoidance, and acceptance. Emotional concentration on the child ranges from overprotection to overly demanding behaviors. Whereas physical needs are met, psychological needs may be withheld as parents place conditions on their love and approval. Children reared in overly protective environments learn that conforming elicits rewards, and they subsequently develop a dependence on others for approval and self-esteem. Children reared in overly demanding environments develop perfectionist tendencies and embrace their caretakers' all-or-nothing standards. Avoidance of the child ranges from neglecting the child's physical needs to rejecting the child's emotional needs. Acceptance of the child involves environments in which the child's physical and psychological needs are met. Independence and self-reliance are encouraged in either an unconcerned, noninvolved way or an active, supportive one.

Each of these environments affects how well the child's needs are met, which in turn influences the adult child's choice of occupational field. Adults working in service occupations are