



XIX

DESIGNING CULTURALLY RESPONSIVE SCHOOL COUNSELING CAREER DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMING FOR YOUTH

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[AQ1]

The focus and scope of school counseling has expanded in recent years from a primary focus on work transition to include a comprehensive range of developmental services that address academic, interpersonal, and vocational readiness. Currently, the design of most school counseling programs is on the provision of “comprehensive” services that include a developmental guidance curriculum, individual services to children, youth, and their families, and responsive services (American School Counselor Association [ASCA], 2003; Gysbers, 2001). Recent large-scale evaluations indicate that programs offering comprehensive services result in positive outcomes for youth (Lapan, Gysbers, & Petroski, 2003; Lapan, Gysbers, & Sun, 1997; Sink & Stroh, 2003). Youth attending schools that implement a comprehensive school counseling model reported higher grades and higher achievement test scores; they believed that more career information was available to them and could see the relevance of their current school work to their future endeavors; and perceived a more positive school environment, in terms of feeling safe in school and feeling connected to their teachers (Lapan et al., 1997, 2003; Sink & Stroh, 2003). One such study also examined student outcomes by various types of student characteristics, including race/ethnicity and socioeconomic indicators (Lapan et al., 1997). The researchers discovered that, overall, students of color reported lower grades on average than White students did. While comprehensive guidance programs were found to positively influence grades for all students, these programs did not reduce the achievement gap between youth from racially and ethnically diverse backgrounds and White youth or between youth from lower income and higher income backgrounds.

This achievement gap is troubling, and deserves immediate attention, for we know that youth from low-income

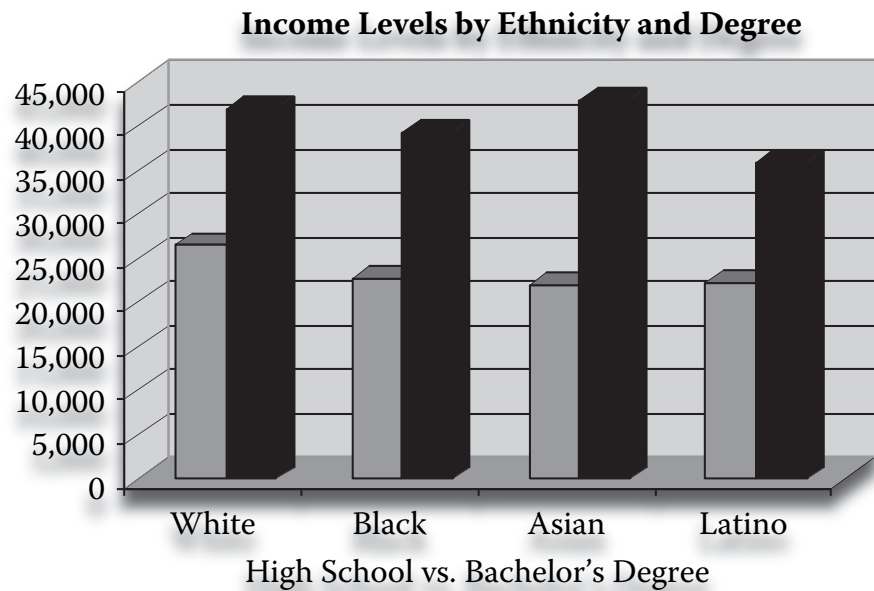
and diverse backgrounds are three times more likely to leave high school prior to gaining a degree, and that growing up in poverty is the strongest predictor of future unemployment (National Research Council, 1993). Reducing the achievement gap refers not only to increasing high school graduation rates, but also to providing youth from racially and ethnically diverse backgrounds and youth from lower income backgrounds with the skills needed to successfully enter and graduate from 2- and 4-year colleges. Adults with a 4-year college degree earn a median income of \$41,800 while those who do not graduate from high school earn a median income of \$18,300—a difference of \$23,500 per year (U.S. Census Bureau, 2005). When considered over a 45-year work life, this totals more than 1 million dollars. Figure 19.1 breaks down the economic implications of a college degree by racial and ethnic background. While individuals from African American and Latino backgrounds continue to earn less than individuals from White and Asian American backgrounds, the relative income differences that result from a college degree across all groups is quite staggering.

[AQ2]

At the same time, however, we must also keep in mind that economic success is not solely reflected by one’s annual income, but also entails avoiding periods of unemployment and poverty. As we would expect, unemployment and poverty rates are closely tied to level of education. In 2003 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2005), 12.5% of Americans lived in poverty. When considering just those individuals who did not complete high school, we see a jump in poverty rates to 21.3%. This rate steadily declines with additional education; high school degree or GED: 11.3%; some college: 8.5%; and a 4-year degree or more: 4.2%. So, too, does the unemployment rate. Individuals 25 years and older who did not have a high school diploma were almost



Figure 19.1 Income levels by ethnicity and degree.



twice as likely as high school graduates and over three times more likely than those with a 4-year college degree to be unemployed (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2005). Figure 19.2 examines poverty rates by racial/ethnic group. Even among individuals possessing the same educational degree, lower levels of education translate into higher poverty rates for individuals from African American and Latino backgrounds.

[AQ3]

In short, unless the achievement gap is addressed, serious economic inequities are likely to continue in the United States. One of the most serious signs of the severe inequities occurring in the United States is that the median net

worth for individuals from White backgrounds has been estimated at \$120,000 compared to \$17,000 for individuals from non-White backgrounds (Aizcorbe, Kennickell, & Moore, 2003). By establishing culturally responsive comprehensive school-counseling programs that narrow the achievement gap, school counselors are promoting a more socially just society. While some critics of the multicultural movement believe that good practice should work equally for everyone (an assertion with which we disagree), the Lapan et al. (1997) investigation suggested that “working equally well” with all groups, in fact, serves to maintain the status quo of unequal outcomes for culturally diverse

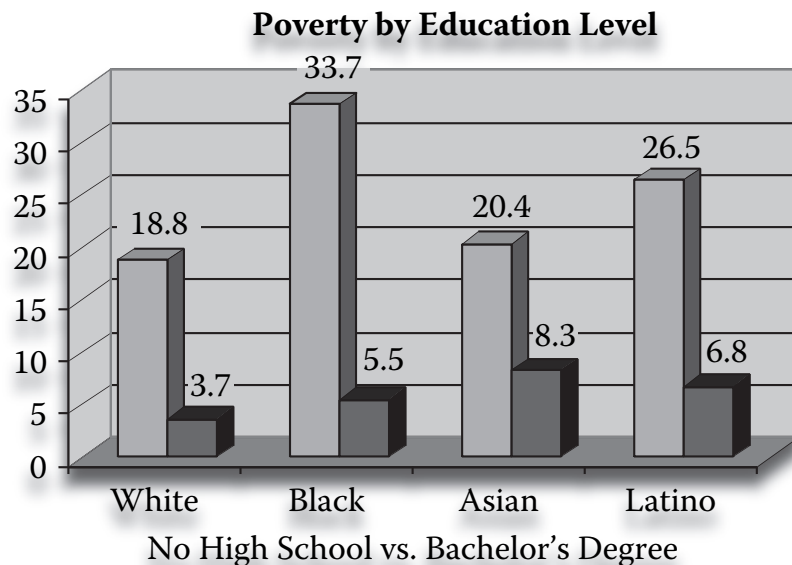


Figure 19.2 Poverty by education level.

and low-income youth. Instead of focusing on strategies that work equally well across groups, we must, instead, turn our attention to strategies that provide opportunities for youth to experience *equal levels of success*, both in school and in their postsecondary plans.

Where, then, do we begin when aiming to provide culturally responsive programs of career development for children and youth? One logical place to start is consulting the ASCA National Model of comprehensive school counseling (ASCA, 2003). This model includes four main components: (a) the theoretical foundation underlying the profession, (b) a management system for the school counseling program, (c) a services delivery system, and (d) accountability methods (ASCA, 2003). It was designed to support school counselors' efforts to develop and implement a comprehensive, developmentally appropriate program of school counseling. The ASCA National Model clearly describes the importance of disaggregating outcome data in order to evaluate whether services are effectively impacting all youth. It does not, however, provide adequate discussion with regard to "how" to design such services in a manner that makes these services responsive to youth from culturally diverse or low-income backgrounds. We agree with the many advocates who have argued that a culturally appropriate school-counseling program begins with both preservice training and professional development opportunities in multiculturally competent counseling (Coleman & Baskin, 2003; Constantine & Yeh, 2001; Hobson & Kanitz, 1996; Schwallie-Giddis, Anstrom, Sánchez, Sardi, & Granato, 2004).

In the remainder of this chapter, we will discuss the topic of culturally appropriate, school-based career interventions for youth. We concur with scholars and practitioners in the field that the application of counseling knowledge and skills to the career domain, as in the academic and personal/social domains, requires an integration of multicultural competence (Arbona, 2000; Hargrove, Creagh, & Kelly, 2003) and a social justice perspective (Vera & Speight, 2003). It requires knowledge of major career theories and contemporary developmental perspectives that are relevant to school-age children and youth. It requires familiarity with the current state of research knowledge in career interventions with youth in school settings, as well as with exemplars of well-developed and effective school-based career intervention programs. Thus, after reviewing the literature on multiculturally competent career counseling and interventions, we will describe a social justice perspective to school counseling, and then will review relevant theory, summarize the current state of research in school-based career interventions, and describe two examples of career interventions designed for culturally diverse youth. Let us now turn our attention to the role of multicultural counseling competence in school counseling.

Multicultural Competence

Each year the United States' population becomes more and more diverse. It is projected that by the year 2050 people of color will comprise roughly 50% of the national population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2005). With the growing diversity in our nation's population comes an increased recognition regarding the importance of working in ways that are knowledgeable, respectful, and affirming of other cultures' ways of being (Carey & Reinat, 1990; Hobson & Kanitz, 1996). D. W. Sue and D. Sue (2003) explained that multicultural counseling competence has historically been conceived of as including three core dimensions: (a) an awareness of one's own cultural self, (b) knowledge of the history, values, and worldviews of various racial, ethnic, and cultural groups, and (c) skills to create and implement culturally responsive interventions. Holcomb-McCoy (2003) explained that for school counselors, practicing in a culturally competent manner demands a "paradigm shift" in how one conceptualizes students and student issues. This shift requires one to understand the influence of a number of factors on students' academic and social functioning at school. These factors include students' racial and/or ethnic identity, language status, and country of origin; their socioeconomic status, social resources, and family status; and their cultural expectations of school counseling. Further, practicing in a multiculturally competent way requires that school counselors appreciate the ways that a student's home, community, and cultural contexts shape how they perceive schooling and their roles as students. Indeed, for Coleman and Baskin (2003), it is the ability to naturally incorporate an understanding of these contexts into the therapeutic process and method of service delivery that captures the "essence" of being a multiculturally competent school counselor.

Previous research found that practicing school counselors recognized the need to become more skilled at working with culturally diverse students (Carey & Reinat, 1990). Specifically, school counselors reported a need for becoming more aware of their own cultural background, more effective in interacting and working with culturally diverse youth, and more aware of how their actions were being perceived by students (Carey & Reinat, 1990). More recent research has found that for school counselors, multicultural counseling knowledge and awareness is related to the number of multicultural courses taken previously, a commitment to interacting with culturally diverse individuals, and an appreciation for and a valuing of the ways that we are all similar as well as different (Constantine et al., 2001). Thus, establishing multicultural competence as a school counselor includes maintaining an appreciation for the diverse ways of being and thinking found across racial and ethnic groups and actively seeking out cultural experiences and new learning opportunities.

Scholars within the field of career development, too, have called for multiculturally competent approaches to the generation and application of career theory, research, and practice (e.g., Betz, 1993; Swanson & Fouad, 1999). Hargrove and colleagues (2003) explained that three foci have emerged in the area of studying multiculturally competent career counseling. These foci include (a) attempts to articulate racial/ethnic group-specific career-counseling guidelines; (b) the identification of culturally appropriate principles of career counseling that may be used with all clients; and (c) the creation of multicultural career-counseling competencies. Seeing the need for a model of multiculturally competent career counseling to guide the work of practitioners and scholars, Hargrove et al. (2003) proposed a three-part framework based, to some extent, on the multicultural counseling competencies of the American Counseling Association (ACA). Consistent with D. W. Sue and D. Sue (2003), this framework includes the importance of career counselor self-awareness, awareness of the client's worldview, and the development and use of culturally appropriate interventions and strategies.

It is hard not to recognize that becoming multiculturally competent is critical for success as a school counselor. At the same time, however, we argue that multicultural competence is a necessary, but not a sufficient condition for working in optimal ways with culturally diverse and low-income youth. The disparities apparent in high school graduation rates, college attendance, incomes, poverty rates, and unemployment rates make it clear that a more proactive stance is needed to address the differential life outcomes experienced by our young people. We concur with Vera and Speight (2003) who argued that multiculturally competent practice will be limited in its impact without a focus on promoting a more socially just world. It is our contention that in order to be well prepared to provide appropriate and culturally relevant career development services, one must adopt a social justice perspective.

Social Justice Perspective

While the multicultural competencies (American Psychological Association, 2003) describe the characteristics and qualities necessary for working with individuals from diverse cultural backgrounds, a social justice perspective expands the role of school counselors to include efforts to change the school context in ways that promote academic, interpersonal, and vocational success for youth. From a school-based social justice perspective, the primary goal is for youth to experience power and the ability to influence their academic and life outcomes in self-determined ways (Howard & Solberg, in press). According to Prilleltensky (1997), traditional service delivery methods focus on working with individual clients in ways that encourage them

to take ownership of the problem and establish a plan for ameliorating it. Traditional methods assume that problems lie within the individual, and that the individual possesses the ability to address the problems that he or she may have in a relatively independent manner. Cognitive therapeutic methods, for example, focus on the beliefs of the individual as the source of the problem; treatment consists of helping the individual learn to become aware of the problematic thoughts and to actively challenge and replace them with more effective thoughts.

Prilleltensky (1997) articulated an Emancipatory Communitarian (EC) framework that is notably different from traditional service delivery methods. The EC framework identifies problems as being relational, such that both the individual and the context in which one finds one's self-share responsibility for the development of the problem as well as its solutions. In school settings, the EC framework seems particularly applicable because school counselors can work with youth and the school context. For example, one of the authors helped a school decrease its truancy rate by working with the administration to establish a new late-arrival policy. Rather than having tardy youth wait in an atrium outside of school until they were processed one at a time, a new procedure was enacted whereby all youth who were late to school entered the cafeteria. Two things occurred when they entered: First, opera music playing, creating a situation that these youth found to be "unpleasant." Second, the students completed a short survey about the reasons for their tardiness. A paradox was created by the school whereby youth avoided being late so they did not have to listen to the opera music. As a result, the number of students late for school dropped substantially within 2 months time from approximately 100 per day to less than 25.

At the same time, an examination of youths' written statements regarding their tardiness revealed that many of them had legitimate reasons for being late. The administrators realized that it was not uncommon for these students to be responsible for dropping off siblings at elementary school in the morning making them late as a result. Now the administrators knew that many of these students wanted to arrive on time, but had family responsibilities that prevented them from doing so. Armed with this knowledge, they began to work with these students differently to address their tardiness. Such an intervention is consistent with an EC framework, because the context that contributed to the problem was being addressed in ways that prevented the problem of late arrival from occurring while simultaneously empowering youth to influence the perceptions of administrators by writing down their reasons for being late.

A social justice perspective in school settings defines the problematic behavior of a student as an interpersonal problem between the individual and the context within

which the problem occurs. As such, solutions to problem behaviors must involve changing both the individual and the context. From this perspective, youth are perceived of as having potential, while the context is perceived of as either facilitating the development of or subverting this potential. Rogers' (1961) argued that at the root of one's problems are interpersonal relations that provide conditional regard. Within such contexts, one is challenged to actualize one's true potential. These types of contexts are deemed "oppressive" in nature. Currently, large populations of youth from diverse cultural and economic backgrounds are not achieving to their true potential, as indicated by persistent achievement gaps in standardized and college entrance examinations, differential dropout rates, and lower college participation rates (National Center for Education Statistics, 2001). This suggests that, at best many schools are failing to facilitate equal levels of achievement across students, and, at worst, that they are contributing to oppressive conditions experienced by youth. Oppression occurs through policies and procedures that result in differential educational and economic outcomes for specific groups of individuals in our society. In the truancy example just discussed, administrators initially felt at some level that students were late for school because they did not value the importance of being on time and were not interested in learning. Waiting outside in the building atrium on a cold morning communicated to the students that the school did not care about their well-being. The school policy that required youth to wait outside and enter one at a time only contributed to the problem because any student anger was interpreted by school administrators as further evidence that they were not interested in school. Reorganizing the rules for being late facilitated more positive patterns of behavior in three ways: First, moving the youth inside to the cafeteria was appreciated by the students. Second, the opera music that was played created a different motivation for arriving on time. And, finally, students' written explanations for their chronic tardiness challenged the administrators' assumptions as to why students were late for school.

While changing the rules and resources that contribute to maintaining oppression is certainly important, according to Freire (1970), oppression operates most significantly at the psychological level. He argued that individuals in the oppressed category and individuals in positions of power share common beliefs that maintain the status quo. From this perspective, battling oppression is accomplished when both individuals—the oppressed and oppressor—become aware of their own unconscious beliefs and how the rules and resources within the context contributed to the problem. Friere's position allows schools to move away from attributing blame to focus instead of becoming aware of the shared responsibility that the school context has in

maintaining differences in academic achievement. There is no doubt that youth from culturally diverse and lower economic backgrounds enter school with different levels of readiness. And there is no doubt that many families from lower income communities are working in jobs that do not allow them to participate as fully in their child's education as they would like. School counselors engage in EC when they work with their school to identify ways to address these challenges so that all youth achieve to their highest potential.

In multicultural counseling, research has identified a number of models for understanding how unconscious belief patterns—worldviews—impact behavior. Four lines of research drawn from the multicultural literature are described here, including false versus critical consciousness, racial identity development models, White racial identity development models, and collectivism versus individualism. Each of these models offers school counselors useful tools for assessing how both students and educators approach their racial identity and their understanding of racial issues. Thus, an understanding of these models is important for the provision of culturally responsive career programs in schools.

False versus critical consciousness. Recently, Quintana and Segura-Herrera (2003) catalogued the unconscious beliefs that influence one's racial identity into two categories. They described false consciousness as being marked by an internalized inferiority and mental colonization—a situation in which the oppressed have been convinced of the legitimacy of their oppression. Alternatively, critical consciousness is described as "contesting the legitimacy of the oppression . . . without reifying negative in-group stereotypes" (p. 275). Quintana and Segura-Herrera also described the conditions necessary for the development of critical consciousness. They explained that engaging in a critical examination of oppression and of the claims of "truth" used to justify it requires a certain level of sophistication of social cognitive abilities. They explained, "Being able to formulate a generalized group perspective for other racial groups provides an important development in the ability to contest the legitimacy of oppression as well as the truth claims attempting to justify the oppression" (p. 279).

Racial identity development models. Other models of identity development attend to the degree to which individuals from diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds share in majority culture perspectives and practices, react against the majority culture, or have established integrated perspectives that allow them to participate in society in a self-determined manner (Ponterotto & Pederson, 1993). Although several models have dominated that multicultural literature over

the past several decades, the Minority Identity Model developed by Atkinson, Morten, and Sue (1998) includes many of the characteristics of these models. One shared feature is that these models consist of different worldview orientations (initially referred to as developmental stages). The first worldview orientation of the Atkinson et al., model is related to conformity to the majority culture. This worldview is characterized by the individual from a culturally diverse background maintaining a clear preference for the majority cultural values over their own cultural values. The second worldview orientation is labeled Dissonance and Appreciation. This worldview is characterized by the individual questioning and challenging of one's own beliefs and values, specifically those related to the assumptions regarding majority culture values. The third worldview orientation is titled Resistance and Immersion. Individuals within this orientation actively challenge their beliefs and tend toward endorsing views and beliefs from their culture of origin while rejecting the majority culture values and beliefs. The fourth worldview orientation is Introspection. Individuals within this orientation begin to evaluate the efficacy of values and beliefs from both their culture of origin as well as the majority culture. Finally, the Integrative Awareness worldview orientation occurs when individuals develop an inner sense of security and an appreciation of both one's cultural values and beliefs as well as the dominant culture's values and beliefs (Atkinson et al., 1998).

White racial identity development models. A social justice perspective involves consciousness raising on the part of the individuals within the oppressed position *as well as* individuals within positions of power. The White Racial Identity Development model was established for individuals from White cultural backgrounds to evaluate the degree of conscious awareness they have developed regarding race and factors that maintain oppression (Helms, 1984, 1995). Helms (1995) described the worldview orientations as ego statuses and elaborated on the dynamic process involved in racial identity. According to Helms, the first ego status is called Contact Status. A person who possesses a Contact Status worldview orientation is one who lacks complete awareness of racism and factors within his or her community that contribute to racial differences. The Disintegration worldview orientation is characterized as an existential conflict the individual experiences whereby they begin to understand that differences do exist in how people from different racial/ethnic groups are treated, but simultaneously want to believe that their values and beliefs do not contribute to these differences. The Reintegration worldview orientation often evolves from the Disintegration orientation whereby the individual regresses to a pro-White values orientation and perception of inferiority as the main cause for perceived racial differences. The Pseudoindepen-

dence worldview orientation often occurs when a person is finally faced with an experience of injustice that cannot be accounted for by inferiority attributions. Such an orientation may involve renewed efforts at helping individuals from culturally diverse backgrounds to understand the White values and beliefs in order to avoid future injustice. The Immersion/Emersion worldview orientation involves becoming aware of White privilege and the ways that one contributes to racism. As a result, the individual is likely to become involved in efforts to educate other individuals from White backgrounds about privilege and work to actively intervene against racism. The Autonomy worldview orientation involves the strengthening of one's own understanding of their White privilege and increasing understanding of the role one plays in supporting the continuation of racism.

Collectivism versus individualism. Another identity model evaluates whether the society in which a person lives operates according to an individualist or collectivist worldview orientation (Triandis, 1995). Individualist societies are those that value autonomy and perceive normal human development in terms of separating from the family through the articulation of unique and personal goals and attributes. Societies that value individualism are characterized as highly competitive and support meritocracy based on individuals competing for status, recognition, and achievement.

Other societies rely on a collectivist orientation that values family over individual goals and cooperative versus competitive work environments. Collectivist cultures often have an interdependent nature, placing the needs and interests of the larger group over the desires of individuals (Triandis, 1995). This is clearly displayed within the family, when individuals in the family are expected to work together to fulfill needs and goals. Individuals with a collectivistic orientation often consider the benefits for everyone in the group not just individual needs. Thus, when they compete, they work to gain status, recognition, and achievement for their group as a whole. This orientation is sometimes hard for individuals in the mainstream U.S. culture to understand and is often overlooked when working with clients. Many times over, certain clients have been described as "dependent" without a thorough examination of their cultural background (D. W. Sue & D. Sue, 2003). From this perspective, oppression can also occur when someone whose culture of origin is collectivist is living within a society that values individualism. Oppression occurs when the individual in the oppressed position values a collectivist worldview while the person in the position of power values and judges others from an individualist worldview.

Social justice and school counseling. In order for school counselors to effectively address the academic, interpersonal,

Sample Characteristics of a Social Justice Perspective

- School counseling must contribute to achieving social equality and economic inequity by establishing culturally relevant strategies for narrowing the achievement gap.
- The achievement gap results from oppression operating in school settings and communities that contribute to youth from culturally diverse and low incomes from performing below their true potential.
- Intervention strategies battle against oppression when they help educators challenge prevailing worldviews that contribute to educational inequity.
- Intervention strategies battle against oppression when they establish intervention strategies that help youth experience power to influence their academic, interpersonal, and vocational outcomes.
- Problems youth experience are perceived as emerging from interpersonal problems between the individual and the context.

Figure 19.3 Social justice perspective.

and vocational development needs of youth from diverse cultural and low-income backgrounds, they must maintain a social justice perspective that incorporates multicultural competence and an understanding of the complex individual and context interactions that maintain differential rates in achievement and life success (Figure 19.3). As such, school counselors must perceive their role as intervening both with youth and with the school context in order to eradicate the achievement gap, lower dropout rates, and increase the number of youth from diverse and low-income backgrounds participating in postsecondary education. At

the core of these interventions are unconscious beliefs that are held by both youth and educators. Many of these beliefs consist of patterns, or worldview orientations, that can be understood in terms of the degree to which they possess a critical consciousness of their racial and ethnic background, their level of identity development, and/or the collectivist versus individualist perspective they hold (Figure 19.4).

In sum, the unequal academic, career, and economic outcomes of diverse and low-income youth require that school counselors develop and provide culturally respon-

Worldview Conceptualizations

False versus Critical Consciousness (Quintana and Segura-Herrera, 2003)

For individuals from culturally diverse backgrounds, false consciousness is characterized by internalized inferiority beliefs that result from sensing legitimacy of prevailing oppressive forces existing in one's community. Critical consciousness is achieved by challenging sources of oppression and claims of "truth."

Racial Identity Models (Pederson & Ponterotto, YEAR)

For individuals from culturally diverse backgrounds, these models describe a number of worldview orientations associated with the degree of conformity to majority culture values and beliefs versus movement toward appreciation and value for one's own culture of origin.

White Racial Identity Models (Helms, 1995)

For individuals from White ethnic backgrounds, this model describes worldview orientations associated with becoming aware of racism and oppression. Worldviews range from a complete lack of awareness of racism to possessing an understanding of how one's personal privilege status contributes to racism.

Individualism versus Collectivism (Triandis, 1995)

Describes how cultures vary according to worldview orientations associated with individual, personal goals versus family, collective goals. Collectivist worldview orientations are associated with valuing cooperation versus competition, down playing personal achievements for the collective efforts, and maintaining group harmony versus striving for individual goals.

Figure 19.4 Worldview conceptualizations.

sive programs of career development. Such an undertaking necessitates the development of multicultural competencies and an adoption of a social justice perspective on the part of school counselors. It also requires school counselors to be knowledgeable of both common and contemporary theoretical approaches to understanding the career development of youth. The next section of this chapter will briefly summarize relevant career theories and models of development.

Vocational and Career Development: Past and Present

Vocational guidance traces its roots to the beginning of the 20th century. During this time, the United States was experiencing frequent waves of immigration, an increasing industrialization of the work world, and a growing number of individuals and families moving from rural to urban areas. It was in this time that Frank Parsons (1909) established the Vocations Bureau in Boston, Massachusetts. The purpose of this bureau was to help youth and adults assess their interests and skills, learn about the world of work, and identify work opportunities that would allow them to utilize their skills while providing enjoyable work activities. Parsons argued that choosing a vocation involves the following three conditions:

First, a clear understanding of yourself, aptitudes, abilities, interests, resources, limitations, and other qualities. Second, a knowledge of the requirements and conditions of success, advantages and disadvantages, compensation, opportunities and prospects in different lines of work. Third, true reasoning on the relations of these two groups of facts. (p. 5)

Parsons' early vocational work laid the foundation for the later person-environment fit models of vocational development (Baker & Gerler, 2004; Schmidt, 1999). [AQ7]

At the same time that Parsons was establishing the Vocations Bureau, early pioneers in this field were establishing vocational guidance programs in schools (Baker, 2000; Schmidt, 1999). Individuals such as Anna Reed, Jesse Davis, and Eli Weaver (Gibson & Mitchell, 2003) were designing and implementing programs to assist youth in transitioning into the world of work. In 1910 Boston Public Schools became the first school district in the United States to begin assigning vocational counselors to elementary and secondary schools (Gysbers, 1997). [AQ8]

Beginning in the 1920s, Western countries saw the rise of the psychometric movement—a movement that was fueled by the development of intelligence testing by Binet in France. During World War I, the American military developed and began using the Army Alpha Test—an

assessment designed to quickly determine the best placement for recruits. Soon, vocational guidance counselors began using testing techniques to determine the interests, personality characteristics, and relative strengths and weaknesses of their clients, and, in school settings, youth (Baker & Gerler, 2004; Gibson & Mitchell 1990; Schmidt 1999). The decades of the 1950s and 1960s were intense periods of theory development in vocational psychology. During this period, theorists such as Ginzburg, Holland, Roe, Super, and Tiedeman provided professionals of career development with conceptual frameworks in which to ground their work (Schmidt, 1999). [AQ9]

Alarmed by the Soviet Union's successful launch of the Sputnik I satellite in 1957, the U.S. Congress passed the National Defense Education Act of 1958 (Public Law 85-846, U.S. Congress, 1958). Among other things, this act provided funding to high schools to identify and guide talented students into careers deemed as critical to the national good. It also improved and expanded school counselor-preparation programs to meet the guidance needs created by the new NDEA funding. As a result, within the next 10 years the number of counselors in schools increased four-fold (Baker & Gerler, 2004; U.S. Congress, 1958; Schmidt 1999). [AQ10] Whereas traditional vocational guidance focused on helping youth transition into the world of work, the NDEA shifted the focus of the field to include the identification of individuals with math and science aptitude. These youth were often tracked into special course offerings to further develop their math and science skills.

Recent changes in the world of work and the advent of standards-based education (e.g., No Child Left Behind) have changed the role of vocational guidance, and with that has come a change in title from vocational guidance to school counselor. Current conceptualizations of the role of school counselors organize the foci of their work into three developmental domains: (a) academic, (b) interpersonal, and (c) vocational (ASCA, 2003). It is not uncommon for today's school counselors to feel pulled in multiple directions. Schools need school counselors to support their school improvement efforts to meet grade-level expectations as mandated under new federal legislation. Yet, youth will not be prepared to enter the world of work without requisite readiness skills. The Secretary's Commission for Achieving Necessary Skills (SCANS, 1991; Resnick & Wirt, 1996) provides a template of academic, social, technology, and related readiness skills that youth will need to be competitive in today's world of work. While it appears that school counselors are being faced with a multitude of responsibilities, the methods needed for being effective in each task are not mutually exclusive. For school counselors working with youth from culturally diverse and low-income backgrounds, their support of efforts to increase youth literacy and numeracy test scores, for example, can [AQ11]

also result in improvements in academic achievement as well as better postsecondary readiness skills. Both of these outcomes position youth better for their post-high-school plans. In other words, school success is the foundation for career development.

Traditional Career Development Perspectives

Presently, vocational psychology and career development theory can be divided into three categories: (a) person-environment fit theories, (b) developmental theories, and (c) social cognitive theories.

Person-environment fit. The rise of survey assessment methods in the early and mid-1900s brought about an emphasis in personality measurement. Assuming that personality consists of stable “traits,” it was possible to identify the traits a person possessed and then match the individual to the types of work environments that effectively use those traits (Chartrand, Strong, & Weitzman, 1995). Holland’s theory of vocational types and work environments is one of the best known person-environment fit theories. His Self-Directed Search (SDS) instrument allows youth to select from a variety of interests, skills, and occupations in order to generate scores that vary along six personality types: (a) realistic, (b) investigative, (c) artistic, (d) social, (e) enterprising, and (f) conventional. According to Holland (1996), the six personality types emerge as dispositions within complex family contexts. While genetics plays a role in the formation of these types, interactions within the family and community shape their development. From a social justice perspective, the issue is whether youth from culturally diverse or low-income backgrounds receive the same range of opportunities for developing their personality type. While a family from a low-income background may expose their child to realistic-type experiences, corresponding assessment evaluations may confirm a realistic personality type, but one must wonder if there is a range of other dispositions that could emerge if the learning contexts offered other experiences. With art, music, and theater programs being cut from many schools in lower income areas, it is possible that youth may have a disposition for artistic-related career interests but may not be provided the opportunity to develop this part of their personality.

Holland recognized that personality does not consist of hard-wired traits. As dispositions, these types can be modified and will change through interactions with the environment (Holland, 1996). As a consequence, school counselors should consider waiting to use interest assessments until after they have provided youth with opportunities to explore different interests. The caution against interest assessment is advised especially for youth who have experienced lower academic achievement. Interest

assessments designed to help these youth explore how their personality types may fit within the world of work and postsecondary opportunities should occur after they have experienced school success and have developed the confidence that they can succeed in school. Otherwise, their results will be more indicative of their low academic self-efficacy than their true interests or potential.

Developmental theories. Developmental theories of vocational psychology focus on helping youth develop a healthy self-concept. Super’s Life-Span, Life Space theory is the best known of these theories (D. E. Super, 1953, 1990; D. E. Super, Savickas, & C. M. Super, 1996). Similar to person/environment fit models, this theory views career choice as an extension of one’s self-hood processes. Super posited that each individual carries with him or her a unique set of interests, abilities, goals, and values. Work settings, too, have unique combinations of values, abilities required, etc. Individuals, by virtue of their constellation of interests, values, and abilities, can “fit” well within various types of work settings (D. E. Super, 1953, 1990; D. E. Super et al., 1996).

According to Super, individuals construct self-concepts (e.g., of self as worker) through feedback from themselves and important others. Self-concepts develop throughout childhood and adolescence and become relatively stable as an individual matures. Super et al. (1996) defined self-concept as “a product of the interaction of inherited aptitudes, physical makeup, opportunity to observe and play various roles, and evaluations of the extent to which the results of role-playing meet with the approval of supervisors and peers” (p. 125). Occupational choice is one instance of the implementation of self-concepts. Thus, this theory posits that career choices are influenced by one’s natural abilities and acquired skills, one’s occupationally related experiences, vicarious learning, and feedback from significant others such as parents, authority figures, siblings, and peers. School counselors can support the development of a healthy self-concept by providing elementary and middle school youth with world-of-work experiences. By visiting various work environments and meeting individuals from similar cultural or socioeconomic backgrounds, youth have the opportunity to meet important role models. During adolescence and into young adulthood, school counselors should offer experiences that help youth explore career options, learn how to secure selected career options, and develop a plan of action with regard to how they will begin realizing these career options (D. E. Super, 1953, 1990; D. E. Super et al., 1996).

Social cognitive theory. Social cognitive theories of career development make up the third general category of career theories. Emerging from the application of Bandu-

ra's (1986) social cognitive theory to vocational development (Betz & Hackett, 1981), social cognitive career theory (SCCT) is a model of vocational development that focuses on how one's occupational self-efficacy beliefs determine the direction of one's career interests (Lent, Brown, & Hackett, 1994). According to Bandura, self-efficacy is defined as the confidence one feels in one's ability to successfully perform a specific task. Occupational self-efficacy refers to one's confidence in his or her ability to perform tasks associated with specific occupations. Betz and Hackett's seminal application of Bandura's work found that women who were confident in their ability to complete math and science related tasks expressed stronger career interests in those fields. In the context of 1981, women were facing a number of challenges with regard to entering what at that time were termed "nontraditional" careers.

Bandura (1986) has empirically validated four ways in which the learning context could be designed to promote self-efficacy. An individual's confidence beliefs associated with a given occupation increase when he or she is provided with learning opportunities that offer mastery experiences, modeling (vicarious) experiences, verbal persuasion, and anxiety management (Bandura, 1986). Mastery experiences involve the successful performance of the targeted skill, while modeling refers to watching someone successfully perform the skill. Verbal persuasion involves someone such as a school counselor or teacher expressing a belief in the person's ability to successfully perform the task by pointing out other related skills the person possesses. The final source refers to developing the skills needed to manage the anxiety often associated with learning new tasks. Breathing and relaxation exercises are two avenues for helping in this regard.

Fouad and Smith (1996) tested the social cognitive career theory with a diverse population of predominately Latino and African American, urban middle school youth. Consistent with social cognitive career theory, results indicated that self-efficacy expectations related to math-science, decision-making, and outcome expectations were associated with career interests in math and science. Also, interest in math-science careers was related to intentions to complete math and science courses and, unexpectedly, self-efficacy was also directly related to these intentions. Fouad and Smith also found a strong relationship between self-efficacy and outcome expectations; that is, youth who felt able to successfully perform math and science tasks also believed that math and science pursuits would help them achieve desirable outcomes.

Bandura's social cognitive theory has also been applied to "career search self-efficacy" (V. S. Solberg, 1998) and academic self-efficacy (Multon, Brown, & Lent, 1991). Career search self-efficacy refers to an individual's confidence in his or her ability to successfully perform career search tasks

such as exploring career values and interests, conducting job interviews, seeking out information about possible careers, and networking with peers and others who may offer job leads. Career search self-efficacy has been found to be linked to a number of interpersonal and vocational outcomes. Individuals with high career search self-efficacy have indicated higher assertiveness and more career readiness, and they have engaged in more career exploration (V. S. Solberg, 1998). Academic self-efficacy refers to one's confidence for performing specific classroom learning tasks such as reading textbooks, asking questions, relating to peers, etc. This type of self-efficacy has been found to be an important determinant of school success. In a meta-analysis of the literature, Multon et al. found that academic self-efficacy yielded a medium effect size with regard to school outcomes. This means that academic self-efficacy should be considered a central contributing factor in school performance. Youth with higher academic self-efficacy expectations are more likely to perform better, persist longer when performing challenging tasks, and approach challenging tasks rather than avoiding them.

The SCCT model has also been extended to the study of school engagement. Recently, Wettersten et al. (2005) successfully created and tested such a model with rural high school youth. Specifically, they found that students' academic self-efficacy and outcome expectations, career outcome expectations, perceived level of social support, and parents' involvement in their education accounted for 40% of the variance in their school engagement attitudes. While not as strong, results also indicated that this model successfully predicts a significant amount of the variance in school engagement behaviors, such as time spent on various academic courses. In sum, the SCCT model is a useful tool for school counselors wishing to create programs that support youths' school engagement as well as their academic and career development.

Social justice and traditional career theory. Person-environment fit approaches were initially used with adult populations in order to help match personality traits to occupations that were deemed to support those traits. As mentioned earlier, we caution the use of interest assessments with youth for a number of reasons. First, with regard to youth development, personality is in formation during childhood and adolescence and there are differences of opinion with regard to whether personality consists of traits or modifiable dispositions (Lerner, 2002). Consistent with life-span, life-space theory, it is essential that all youth receive a full range of opportunities to explore the world of work and become aware of the relevance and value of education to one's developing identity. Moreover, school counselors should focus their efforts on collaborating with educators in schools to establish the conditions for optimal

growth and development. Social cognitive applications to career development describe four sources of self-efficacy beliefs that can be used to design such experiences. In addition, a number of contemporary developmental perspectives are described here that offer additional ideas in regard to designing school experiences in ways that maximize youth development (Figure 19.5).

[AQ12]

Contemporary Developmental Perspectives

Developmental contextualism. Developmental contextualism (DC; Lerner, 1995) is a metatheory that describes how academic, interpersonal, and career development emerge

from complex interactions between youth and the various systems in which youth are embedded. Drawing from Bronfenbrenner (1979), three interrelated systems include (a) microsystems, (b) exosystems, and (c) macrosystems. Microsystems involve direct interactions youth encounter in school, home, and community. Exosystemic factors indirectly impact youth development through their influence on microsystems. For example, the quality of work available to a parent or guardian impacts youth through the amount of financial resources available to the home and the energy and enthusiasm the parent or guardian may have when at home. Differential school resources impact youth in relation to quality of textbooks, access to technology, and the

Traditional Career Development and Contemporary Developmental Theory

Person-Environment Fit (Chartrand, Strong & Weitzman, 199?)

Successful transitions into work are expected when individuals make career decisions that represent a fit between personality traits and skills and occupations that need those traits and skills. Assessment tools are often used to evaluate personality traits, interests, and skills and then offers individuals with a fit index with regard to a range of occupational possibilities.

Life-Span, Life Space (Super, Savickas & Super, 1996)

Evaluates the role of work as one role within the person's self-concept. Developmental in nature, this theory encourages exposure to various occupational settings in order to help individuals develop an understanding of different opportunities.

Social Cognitive Theory (Bandura, 1986)

From social cognitive theory, the concept of self-efficacy has been applied to career development through the Social Cognitive Career Theory (Lent, Brown & Hackett, 1994), academic self-efficacy (Multon, Brown, & Lent, 1991), and career search self-efficacy (Solberg, 1999). Theory provides four developmental sources of self-efficacy which has been defined as one's confidence to successfully perform a targeted task.

Developmental Contextualism (Lerner, 2000)

A meta-theory that conceptualizes development in terms of human potential being realized only through supportive contexts that effectively promote growth. As such, the context – such as the school or classroom – becomes the focus of interventions rather than the individual.

Developmental Assets (Search Institute, 2002)

The Search Institute has identified 40 individual and contextual factors that promote optimal development. Divided into 20 external (i.e., contextual) and 20 individual characteristics, youth possessing more assets and who are embedded in environments that offer more assets demonstrate better academic outcomes.

SOC Model (Baltes, 1997)

Research indicates that helping individuals make better life transitions when they learn how to select a few goals, optimize their chances of achieving a goal by taking advantage of opportunities to develop the skills, and are able to compensate by selecting back-up goals when challenges are too great.

Self-Determination Theory (Deci & Ryan, 1986)

Individuals who are learning in environments in which they feel connected to adults in authority and peers will perform the activities because they are enjoyable and meaningful. In school settings, youth will become motivated to engage in school when interventions focuses on building stronger relational connections between youth and their teachers and peers.

Figure 19.5 Traditional career development and contemporary developmental theory.

quality of the school environment. McLoyd (1998) described in detail how living in lower income communities severely impacts one's ability to actualize his or her true potential. Macrosystems involve the cultural context and history of the community and society. One primary assertion in DC is that the various systems in which youth interact are interconnected such that change in one area can impact other areas. While it is clearly understood that what happens in students' home lives can seriously impact their school performance, from a DC perspective, the school counselor can still promote development even though he or she may not be able to intervene directly in the family system. Instead, school counselors can provide opportunities for youth to learn how to cope with these home pressures, and thus indirectly support the well-being and continued academic success of their students. In severe situations, school counselors can mobilize social service providers in the community to provide support and intervention. As the home becomes more stable, youth will be better able to focus on learning. As such, positive development and change that occurs in school impacts home and vice versa. DC also emphasizes that the impact of school-based interventions that help at-risk youth generate conceptions of self as a "competent learner" can extend beyond the school walls. This new conception of self can serve to encourage youth to seek out experiences both at home and in the community that support and reinforce the belief that one is a skilled and curious seeker of knowledge (Ford & Lerner, 1992). With regard to school counseling, DC conceptualizes education as a powerful learning context that can positively shape youth development, regardless of income levels and home situations. Consistent with the ASCA National Model (ASCA, 2003), DC challenges school counselors to examine the types and quality of the learning experiences they offer to youth and to design such experiences so as to facilitate youths' realization of their true potential with regard to academic, interpersonal, and vocational development.

Developmental assets. The Search Institute in Minnesota has been studying the individual and contextual variables—called developmental assets—that support positive youth development. They have identified 40 developmental assets that include 20 external and 20 internal assets. The 20 external assets are organized into four categories that include (a) support, (b) empowerment, (c) boundaries and expectations, and (d) constructive use of time. Similarly, the 20 internal assets are also grouped into four categories: (a) commitment to learning, (b) positive values, (c) social competencies, and (d) positive identity. Research indicates that youth who reported possessing more assets are found to experience better life and academic outcomes

[AQ13] (Figure 19.6). In a longitudinal study conducted by Scales

and Roehlkepartain (2003), it was found that the level of developmental assets present in youths' lives during the 9th grade was significantly correlated with their 9th-grade GPA. This relationship continues to exist even after controlling for gender, family composition, socioeconomic status, and race/ethnicity (Scales & Roehlkepartain, 2003; Sesma & Roehlkepartain, 2003).

Selection, optimization, and compensation model. The selection, optimization, and compensation (SOC) model developed by Paul Baltes and colleagues (Baltes, 1997; Freund & Baltes, 1998) contends that there are three sets of strategies that individuals use in their strivings to be successful. Individuals are more likely to achieve their desired goals when they (1) selectively choose future goals, (2) develop methods to optimize their chances for success, and (3) utilize compensatory strategies when faced with barriers or losses. Thus far, this model has effectively predicted positive health outcomes among aging (Freund & Baltes, 1998) and adult populations (Wiese, Freund, & Baltes, 2000). Application of the SOC model to youth populations seems especially relevant to youth career interventions, because it focuses not just on selecting an occupational choice, but also on how youth maximize the skills and opportunities available to them in order to achieve the occupational choice, as well as how they manage when the path to that occupational choice is particularly challenging or potentially blocked.

Self-determination theory. Self-determination theory describes a model of motivation that focuses on four reasons why youth will perform a task, such as attending school. Whereas social cognitive theory focuses on youth's belief in their ability to perform a task, self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan, 1986) is concerned with *why* youth [AQ14] are motivated to perform the task. While social cognitive theory is concerned with whether "I think I can" perform the task, self-determination theory is concerned with "why do I want to" perform the task. According to self-determination theory, there are four types of motivation involved in performing a task—two external and two internal. The two external reasons include performing the task so that others will not be let down or feeling forced to perform the task. The two internal reasons include performing the task because it is enjoyable or because it is perceived as meaningful. Self-determination theory also prescribes the conditions within which youth will be more likely to perform the tasks because it is enjoyable or meaningful. These include learning contexts in which youth feel strong connections to their teachers and peers.

A study by Close (2002) integrated social cognitive and self-determination theories in a study of predominately Latino urban high school youth. She found that students reporting stronger connections with teachers and peers

Search Institute's Developmental Assets

External Assets

Support

Family support, positive family communication, other adult relationships, caring neighborhood, caring school climate, and parent involvement in schooling

Empowerment

Community values youth, youth as resources, service to others, safety

Boundaries and Expectations

Family boundaries, school boundaries, neighborhood boundaries, adult role models, positive peer influence, and high expectations

Constructive Use of Time

Creative activities, youth programs, religious community, and time at home

Internal Assets

Commitment to Learning

Achievement motivation, school engagement, homework, bonding to school, and reading for pleasure

Positive Values

Caring, equality and social justice, integrity, honesty, responsibility, and restraint

Social Competencies

Planning and decision-making, interpersonal competence, cultural competence, resistance skills, and peaceful conflict resolution

Positive Identity

Personal power, self-esteem, sense of purpose, and positive view of personal future

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Figure 19.6 Search institute's developmental assets.

were more likely to report that they attend school because it is meaningful and enjoyable (internal motivation). She also found that students who were confident in their ability to perform the academic tasks (academic self-efficacy) and were attending school because it was enjoyable and meaningful recorded higher attendance and grades. The implication of this research is that the sources of self-efficacy and internal motivation can be found in the classroom context. Armed with an understanding of how to promote the development of academic self-efficacy and internal motivation, school counselors can work with teachers in classroom settings to create optimal learning contexts (V. S. Solberg, Howard, Blustein, & Close, 2002).

Career Interventions Research

Career development research with youth has not enjoyed the same level of interest as research on career development

of adults, especially college-age adults (Whiston, Sexton, & Lasoff, 1998). Similarly, research assessing the impact of career *interventions* is not conducted as readily as research that examines aspects of career development more generally. Nevertheless, there is much to be learned from a review of the small body of available career intervention research with youth. This research has covered such diverse topics as personal definitions of occupational success and career decision-making self-efficacy and has focused primarily on interventions with middle school and high school youth.

Sample research. As explained earlier, one important area of focus in the field of vocational development is the confidence that individuals feel for performing various career-related tasks. Several researchers have explored the ability of various interventions to improve youths' career self-efficacy. Through a series of activities, discussions, and observations of role models, O'Brien and her

colleagues were able to raise middle school youths' beliefs that they had the skills necessary to engage in career planning and exploration activities and that they had the academic skills necessary to pursue career paths of interest to them (O'Brien, Dukstein, Jackson, Tomlinson, & Kamataka, 1999). Turner and Lapan (2005) were also able to successfully improve these same areas of career self-efficacy by utilizing a computer-based program that includes two exploration and career development activities as well as an interpretation and discussion session with a counselor. Kraus and Hughey (1999) targeted career decision making self-efficacy specifically and found that their eight-session course assisted female students to become more confident.

Along with feeling confident in one's ability to engage in career development tasks, one must also be able to use a range of career exploration activities so as to capitalize upon the exploration opportunities that are presented.

[AQ16] Jones (2000) found that, while there is some variation from instrument to instrument, interest inventories can encourage youth to use various approaches to career exploration. Engagement in career planning and exploration activities, active decision making, and pursuing and using occupational information can be successfully fostered by parent-student activities (Palmer & Cochran, 1988). Further, engagement in exploration behaviors is also impacted by the importance one assigns to making a career choice [AQ17] (Jones, 2000). Thus, timing of interventions designed to teach exploration behaviors may be important to consider. During times when youth are being asked to make decisions for their future plans (e.g., 8th graders choosing high school courses; high school students planning for post-high-school), they may be particularly ready to learn career exploration strategies.

Just as important as the confidence one has for engaging in the process and tasks of career development and the actual career exploration behaviors one uses is the number of occupations one considers. As Gottfredson (1981) asserted, youth narrow the range of occupations that they believe are appropriate for them by a number of variables including gender typing. Thus, for many interventionists and practitioners, the focus of their work is to stall and hopefully reverse this trend of circumscription. Programs of career development (e.g., O'Brien et al., 1999), and even career interest inventories (Jones, 2000) can help youth to increase the number of occupations they consider as possibilities for themselves, as well as the congruence between one's personal characteristics (e.g., skills, interests, and abilities) and occupations considered (O'Brien et al., 1999). Further, programs that actively engage youth in identifying and challenging traditional notions of career gender typing encourage both males and females to consider a broader range of nontraditional careers (Turner & Lapan, 2005).

Similarly, a four-session curriculum designed to help youth explore and reflect on what they value in life and translate those values into a thoughtful definition of life success assisted youth to define success in broader, more holistic terms that de-emphasized material goods and emphasized enjoyment, satisfaction, and overall quality of life (Mosconi & Emmett, 2003).

Lapan and colleagues (Lapan, Tucker, Kim, & Kosciulek, 2003) investigated the impact that school-to-work partnership programs have on the career development of rural youth. Results indicated that the career guidance curricula used in the school-to-work programs and the level of teacher and counselor support perceived by youth positively impacted youth outcomes such as career-related self-efficacy, engagement in career exploration activities, and work-readiness skills. Youth who experienced improvements in their level of career development were more likely to aspire to continue their education and/or training after high school and were more likely to feel satisfied with the preparation they had received. Perceived support and the guidance curricula also had small, but important effects on both post-high-school plans as well as satisfaction with preparation (Lapan et al., 2003).

Further, both Schlossberg (2001) and Lapan and Gys- [AQ18] bers, Hughey, and Arni (1993) explored the impact of classroom-based career interventions on various career development competencies. Specifically, it was found that such programs improved students' knowledge of careers, their ability to explore and plan for careers, their ability to make decisions about post-high plans, and to understand how gender relates to jobs and careers (Lapan et al., 1993). Students reported high levels of satisfaction with the intervention. Youth who made progress on the competencies also demonstrated higher postintervention vocational identity scores (Lapan et al., 1993).

Meta-analyses related to career interventions. Also important to our summary of relevant school-based career intervention research is a review of several important meta-analyses (Brown & Ryan Krane, 2000; Whiston, Sexton, & [AQ19] Lasoff, 1998) of career intervention efficacy conducted over the past 10 years. Both the Whiston, Sexton, and Lasoff (1998) and Brown and Ryan Krane (2000) meta-analyses [AQ20] were undertaken to update and expand upon previously published meta-analyses (i.e., Oliver & Spokane, 1988; Spokane & Oliver, 1983). Whiston et al. (1998) found an average effect size of .45, indicating that career interventions, in general, demonstrate a moderate level of effectiveness. [AQ21] Stated another way, career interventions produce meaningful and moderately strong improvements in career development. School-based career interventions, too, were found to be effective, especially those at the middle school level. In fact, of all age groups included in this study, middle

school students appeared to benefit the most from career interventions. Intuitively it makes sense that middle school students are a particularly impressionable group. For many youth, middle school (and 8th grade in particular) is the first time that they are asked to make decisions based upon their career interests. They are confronted with the task of needing to choose courses for high school, and thus to consider what types of courses would best prepare them for potential career paths.

Both meta-analyses also examined the impact of various types of career interventions. While results varied some between the two analyses, they both consistently found that individual and group career counseling activities as well as classroom-based interventions were more powerful than self-directed and counselor-free activities (Brown & Ryan Krane, 2000; Whiston et al., 1998). However, when examined by level of impact of the intervention by cost per individual, classroom-based and computer-based interventions surpass individual and group counseling activities in their usefulness and their efficiency (Whiston et al., 1998).

The impact of an intervention also varied by the number of sessions included. Specifically, it was found that effect sizes rose steadily across sessions until reaching the 4–6 sessions mark (Brown & Ryan Krane, 2000; Whiston et al., 1998), and again at 9–10 sessions (Whiston et al., 1998). This is important information for school counselors to have as they are planning their career development curriculum.

Finally, Brown and Ryan Krane (2000) also coded studies not just by intervention type and number, but also by components of interventions. They found that out of 18 possible treatment components, five components were most influential. These included written exercises, individualized interpretations and feedback, world of work information, modeling opportunities, and attention to building support for choices within one's social network. Studies that included one component had average effect sizes of .45 (moderate effect); those with two components had effect sizes of .61; and those with three components had large effect sizes of .99. No studies were found that included 4 or 5 of these components. This information is particularly useful to school counselors and other interventionists as it provides clear guidance as to the types of activities and program elements that should be included in career development curricula.

Practice

Having reviewed traditional theories of career development and contemporary developmental models as well as research on career interventions, it is now time to focus our attention on the practice of culturally responsive career programming for youth. The literature previously reviewed provides guidance as to key aspects of such work. In the

remainder of this chapter, we will offer practice recommendations for school counselors and describe two examples of career development programs for youth that were designed to be culturally responsive in nature.

First, the growing diversity in our nation's population makes it clear that multicultural competence is necessary for effective, respectful school counseling practice. Research by Lapan and colleagues (1997) demonstrated that even very effective school counseling programs may not provide opportunities for low-income and diverse youth to experience the same levels of success as their White, middle-class peers. Efforts to create career development programming for culturally diverse and low-income youth must be based upon a solid knowledge of diverse cultural practices and beliefs, models of acculturation and racial identity development, and worldview orientations.

A multicultural perspective is not, however, sufficient on its own. Vera and Speight (2003) have articulated well the need to expand our professional work to include a commitment to promoting a more socially just world. School counselors cannot ignore the serious economic consequences of the achievement gap that impact the life outcomes of this nation's culturally diverse and low-income youth. Embracing a social justice perspective expands the role of school counselor from solely engaging in one-on-one treatment strategies to focusing on creating a school context that promotes youth development academically, interpersonally, and vocationally. Thus, by incorporating a social justice perspective into one's work, school counselors commit themselves to intervening at the system's level within (and perhaps outside of) the school to shape policies and create programs that are designed to support optimal development for all youth.

Third, youth will benefit both immediately and in the long term from opportunities to develop the competence and skills necessary to enter *and succeed* in postsecondary settings, such as 2-year and 4-year colleges. Career interventions should be designed with this purpose in mind. The Secretary's Commission for Achieving Necessary Skills (SCANS, 1991; Resnick & Wirt, 1996) describes the range of skills and dispositions necessary to be effective in transitioning into the world of work. The SCANS report is consistent with the ASCA National Model (ASCA, 2003), which identifies the role of school counselors as promoting development in three domains: (a) academic, (b) interpersonal, and (c) career. SCANS clearly articulate that one's ability to transition into the world of work is predicated upon an integration of all three of these areas. According to this report, in order for youth to make effective work transitions, they must possess basic literacy and numeracy skills, be able to think critically, and possess personal qualities such as honesty and integrity. In addition to the basic skills, a number of competencies were also outlined

in the SCANS report. These competencies include managing time effectively, interpersonal skills, the ability to gather and use information, understanding the relatedness of various systems, and use of technology (Figure 19.7). It is recommended that educators and interventions who work with youth from culturally diverse and lower income backgrounds should create career interventions that integrate the academic and interpersonal domains. The focus of intervention efforts should be on helping develop competent learners who understand how to navigate the world of work and possess the skills needed to make effective school to work-to-life transitions (V. S. Solberg, Howard, Blustein, & Close, 2002).

Next, academic, career, and life success is supported by a number of internal and external protective factors described in the resilience and developmental assets literature. Professionals can create interventions that help youth develop internal and interpersonal assets, such as academic self-efficacy, internalized motivation, stress and health management skills, and relational connections with family members, teachers, and peers. Further, they can work at the school level to create programs and policies that offer opportunities for youth empowerment, provide

supportive relationships, and allow youth a range of creative, enriching extracurricular options.

Finally, research indicates that the effectiveness of career interventions will be stronger when they are conducted in classroom or group settings (Whiston et al., 1998). Brown and Ryan Krane (2000) further espoused that career interventions will be more effective when the classroom or group methods incorporate a number key ingredients. These ingredients include the following: written exercises, individualized interpretations and feedback, world of work information, modeling opportunities, and attention to building support for choices within one's social network. Theory and research also suggest additional ingredients that should be considered. From social cognitive theory (Bandura, 1986), adding mastery, vicarious, and anxiety management experiences will increase youth's confidence for performing the tasks outlined in the intervention. From self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan, 1985), interventions that incorporate activities designed to establish stronger relational connections between youth and their teachers and peers will result in youth engaging in the career activities because they find it enjoyable and meaningful (Figure 19.8).

[AQ28]

Secretary's Commission for Achieving Necessary Skills

Basic Skills

Reading, writing, arithmetic, listening, and speaking

Thinking Skills

Creative thinking, decision-making, problem-solving, visualization, knowing how to learn, and reasoning

Personal Qualities

Responsibility, self-esteem, sociability, self-management, integrity/honesty

Competency Areas

Resources

Time management, money management, material and facilities, able to evaluate others

Interpersonal

Participates as member of a team, teaches skills to others, serves customer, exercises leadership, negotiates, and works well with diverse populations

Information

Acquires, evaluates, organizes, interprets information

Systems

Understands systems, monitors and corrects performance, improves based on feedback

Technology

Selects technology, applied technology to tasks, can problem-solve technology related issues

Figure 19.7 Secretary's commission for achieving necessary skills.

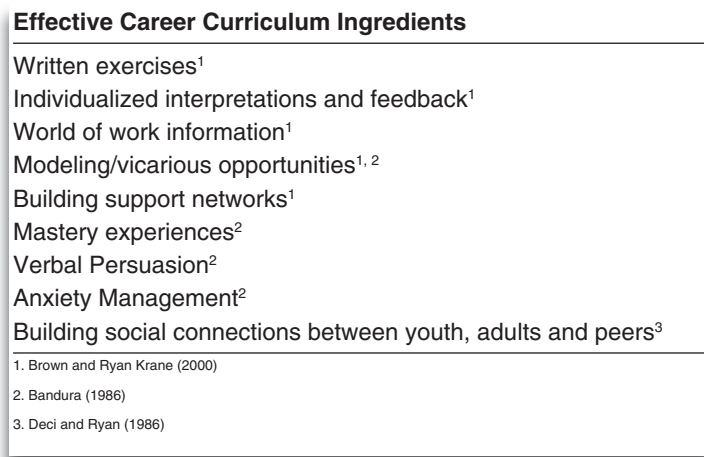


Figure 19.8 Effective career curriculum ingredients.

Sample programs. We will now turn our attention to two examples of culturally responsive career intervention programs that were derived from research and theory: the Career Horizons (O'Brien et al, 1999) and the Achieving Success Identity Pathways program (V. S. Solberg, Close, & Metz, 2002; V. A. Solberg et al., 1998).

Career horizons. The Career Horizons program was designed to increase career readiness skills among middle school youth from culturally diverse and lower income backgrounds (O'Brien et al., 1999). This summer transition program targeted youth who were deemed by their 6th-grade teachers as at risk for academic difficulties. Career Horizons was designed to increase student's confidence to explore and plan for careers, increase self-knowledge, improve student's perceived relevance with regard to the importance of math and science, and increase the range of career interests. A series of 20 classroom-based sessions were provided to youth (details of the curriculum may be obtained by contacting the first author: O'Brien et al., 1999). Throughout the intervention, the curricula incorporated exploration activities designed to increase youths' self-efficacy for performing the specific tasks. For example, in a class devoted to increasing math and science interests, role models not only discussed the range of career options related to their area of math and science and the importance of math and science in relation many career options, but also supervised an activity in which youth performed hands-on experiments. O'Brien et al. used measures drawn from the Missouri Comprehensive Guidance Evaluation Survey (Gysbers, Lapan, Multon, & Lukin, 1992) to evaluate whether exposure to the program was associated with increased career search self-efficacy. They reported significant differences between pre and posttest scores such that students exposed to Career Horizons reported more confidence in being able to engage in

career planning and career exploration, more awareness regarding the relevance of math and science to academic and career interests, and an increased number of career options.

Career Horizons attempts to increase youth's career readiness competence as a method for helping at-risk youth from culturally diverse and low-income backgrounds make more effective transitions into middle school. This program clearly incorporates a number of the practice strategies related to social justice. As part of its design, Career Horizons includes at least 11 of the developmental assets identified by the Search Institute as being related to competence. With regard to external assets, the program offers adult role models, promotes positive peer influences, maintains high expectations, and offers creative activities. With regard to internal assets, the program helps youth engage in planning and decision making; fosters school engagement, achievement motivation, and bonding to school; encourages the development of a sense of personal power and purpose as well as a positive view of one's future. With regard to the design of the curriculum, Career Horizons incorporated a number of processes identified by Brown and Ryan Krane (2000) as well as related research and theory as being influential in promoting youth competence. Specifically, the program offered mastery and vicarious experiences whereby youth are able to learn by doing and watching others perform various tasks. Youth received knowledge about the world of work, engaged in written exercises, and received individualized assessment information. Youth were also engaged in social support activities.

Achieving success identity pathways. The Achieving Success Identity Pathways (ASIP; formally titled the Academic Success Identity Plan) is a curriculum school counselors can use to challenge all students to improve academically (Solberg, Close, & Metz, 2002; Solberg et al.,

1998). The goal of the program is to help youth build “success identities” and the skills needed to make effective school to work-to-life transitions. The curriculum is implemented in classroom settings and consists of the ASIP Navigator, Hear My Story, and Action Theater. The ASIP Navigator provides youth with individualized feedback about how they perceive their academic self-efficacy, motivation, health, stress, and social support. Through classroom conversations about these topics, youth are provided the opportunity to share their life experiences, discuss career goals, and listen as the school counselor, teachers, and peers discuss their experiences as well. Youth complete a workbook that helps them articulate their challenges and develop self-determined plans of action. Hear My Story encourages youth, the school counselor, and their teacher to write about their lives according to any number of strategies including poetry and autobiographical short stories and then share their poetry or short story with the class. Action Theater uses sculpting exercises, short plays, and live improvisational techniques to help youth learn the nature of how problem and success behaviors evolve during their daily experiences.

The ASIP program was derived from theory and research (Solberg et al., 2002) in academic self-efficacy (e.g., Zimmerman, 1995; Zimmerman, Bandura, & Martinez-Ponz, 1992), vocational self-efficacy (e.g., Betz & Hackett, 1981; Lent, Brown, & Hackett, 1994), motivation (e.g., Deci & Ryan, 1985), and social support (e.g., Wentzel, 1998; Wickrama, Lorenz, & Conger, 1997), as well as best practices in vocational education (e.g., Brown & Ryan Krane, 2000) and group theory (e.g., Yalom, 1995). ASIP has been piloted in an urban high school that serves lower income youth of predominately Latino background. The student population consists of about 65% Latino youth and about half of these youth are classified as English language learners. African American youth comprise the second largest ethnic group (20%) and 90% of the youth receive free and reduced lunch. Due to the large number of Spanish-speaking youth and low-entering reading levels, the curriculum has been translated into Spanish and is written in both English and Spanish for a fourth-grade reading level. Evaluations of the program’s effectiveness indicate that youth who were exposed to three or more classroom experiences using the ASIP curricula recorded better grades, more credits; earned, and higher end of semester attendance (V. S. Solberg, 2001, 2005). Grade improvements were found to continue 2 years following intervention (Solberg, Carlstrom, & Kowalchuk, 2001). More importantly, the program has been credited with helping to transform a low-performing school by helping students establish stronger relationships with teachers and peers and helping teachers establish a more clear understanding of the challenges facing their lower income students.

ASIP attempts to increase youth’s competence to make effective transitions into high school. The program incorporates a number of the practice strategies related to social justice. Throughout the curriculum, students are encouraged to define for themselves the challenges they experience and to express their personal stories in their own terms through conversation, written exercises, and theater. ASIP incorporates at least 21 of the developmental assets identified by the Search Institute as being related to competence. With regard to external assets, the program encourages family support, positive family communication, relationships with adults, a caring school climate, and a community that values youth; it views youth as a resource, addresses safety in school and the community, reinforces school boundaries and clear consequences, provides adult role models, encourages positive peer influences, holds high expectations, and offers creative activities. With regard to internal assets, the program encourages planning and decision making, school engagement, achievement motivation, bonding to school, equality, and social justice, interpersonal competence, cultural competence, personal power, sense of purpose, and positive view of one’s future. With regard to the design of the curriculum, ASIP also incorporated a number of key ingredients identified by Brown and Ryan Krane (2000) as well as related research and theory as being influential in promoting youth competence. Specifically, the program offers mastery and vicarious experiences whereby youth are able to learn by doing and watching others perform various tasks. Youth receive knowledge about the world of work, engage in written exercises, and receive individualized assessment information. Youth also receive opportunities for establishing stronger connections with teachers and peers.

Conclusion

As our nation’s population continues to grow more diverse, school counselors will increasingly be challenged to create and provide culturally responsive comprehensive school counseling programs. By focusing on the provision of services that offer opportunities for all youth to realize their academic, career, and personal potential, school counselors are promoting a more socially just society for the youth with whom they work. Culturally responsive career development programming will rest on a base of cultural knowledge and competence, will incorporate a commitment to social justice, and will provide opportunities for youth to develop the academic and transitioning skills needed to pursue and excel in their postsecondary plans. Further, it will promote the development of the resilience characteristics and internal assets that support positive outcomes for youth and will incorporate a range of external assets

and protective factors as well. Finally, culturally appropriate career programming will be informed by research and theory of “best practices,” and will include aspects of interventions that have been found to contribute to positive career development outcomes.

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