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GRAVITIZING: THE SOCIAL-PSYCHOLOGICAL PROCESS OF MAKING CAREER DECISIONS

by

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DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

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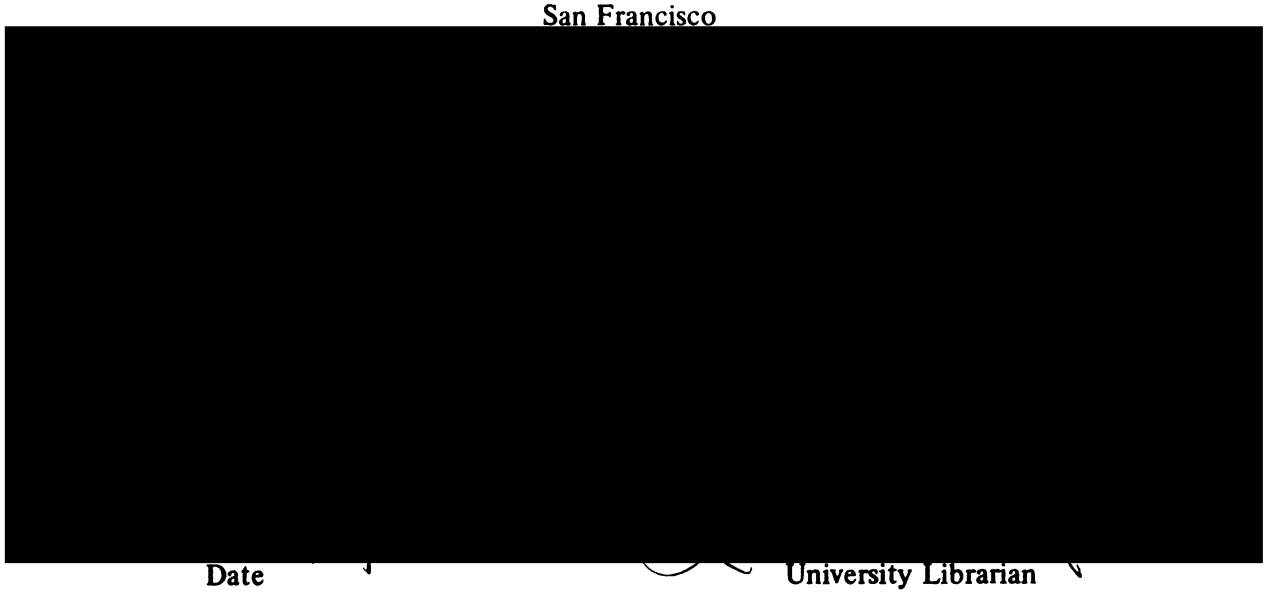

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ABSTRACT

Gravitizing as the core process of this study implies, and through imagery conveys, the developmental nature and movement involved in the subprocesses of making career decisions. The interaction unfolding within this context is continually a reflection of the interface between a person and his environment. The individual is characterized as an embodiment of tendencies and potentialities which may be thought of as personal resources. Being possessed of these resources does not commit a person to a predetermined career choice or destiny. Rather, the stage has merely been set for a number of external variables to impinge upon the person, and in turn be reacted to. This continual interaction sets in motion the subprocesses of gravitizing toward making career decisions.

The first subprocess and initial stage of gravitizing involves the continual funneling of information through various sources to be received by the person through interaction. The continual accumulation of information equips the person with an ongoing repository of knowledge in a number of given areas. This knowledge is further being conceptually organized into assumptions about oneself and the environment. Two basic assumptions

developed through this interaction include a self-assumption and work-assumption, each of which is comprised of qualitatively different types of information. These assumptions, cognitively generated and derived through the funneling process, become a basis upon which the world of work can be examined in relationship to oneself.

The status of information making up the self and work assumptions ranges from that which is known, variable unknown but potentially known, to residual unknown for which no information is conceivably available to make it known. The effect the status of information has upon one's work and self assumptions is further altered as they are tested by the individual. Testing is the second subprocess of gravitizing which further encompasses the development of work and self assumptions. The manner in which one tests his work and self assumptions is a reflection of the relationship between the known and unknown statuses of information within both assumptions. As these assumptions are tested the status of the known and variable unknown information is modified in keeping with what is learned about them while being tested. This further codifies the individual's work and self assumptions, ultimately reflecting the

structural conditions under which the person becomes involved in the engaging process.

Engaging is the third subprocess of gravitizing. At this point the individual merely implements the work and self assumptions through the formulation of a career decision. This decision can best be understood as a behavioral directive based on the processual development of the self and work assumptions. By forumulating a career decision the person has now established a guide-line for the approach he will take toward the world of work while in the engaging process.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
Chapter	
I. INTRODUCTION	1
WORK: THE INTERFACE OF SELF AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE	1
I. Work and the Social Structure	2
Some Assumptions About People Vis-A-Vis Work	3
Historical Development of Attitudes Toward Work	4
Basic Functions of Work	10
II. Work and the Self	13
II. METHODOLOGY	21
Pragmatism as a Conduct for Inquiry	21
DATA COLLECTION	28
Participant Observation	28
Interviewing	35
ORGANIZATION OF DATA	39
When to Record	39
How and What to Record	41
DATA ANALYSIS	43
Constant Comparative	43

TABLE OF CONTENTS (Continued)

Chapter		Page
	Theoretical Sampling	44
	Generating Categories and Their Properties	45
	Emergence of the Core Process	46
	SPECIFIC PROTOCOL	47
	CONCEPTUAL AND STYLISTIC CONSIDERATIONS .	59
III.	FUNNELING	63
	Funneling: Initial Subprocesses of Gravitizing	63
	Deciphering Sources: Biographical and Extant	73
	Self and Work Assumptions	80
	Information Statuses: Known, Variable Unknown, and Residual Unknown	82
IV.	TESTING	91
	Testing Arenas	92
	Commitment and Deflection	103
V.	ENGAGING	113
	'Choice' as a Directive for Action . .	114
	Career Paths: Implementing Through the 'Known; or Unknown	116
	Engaging Through the 'Known'	120
	Engaging Through the 'Unknown'	123

TABLE OF CONTENTS (Continued)

Chapter		Page
	Typical Career Patterns of the Known Career Path	128
	Typical Patterns of the 'Unknown' Career Path	138
VI.	THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS . .	149
	REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE	149
	Accident Theory	149
	Economic Theory	151
	Cultural and Sociological Theory . . .	156
	Psychological Theory	164
	Decision Theory	175
	THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS OF GRAVITIZING .	179
	IMPLICATIONS FOR FORMAL THEORY	186
	PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS	189
BIBLIOGRAPHY		195

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

> *It is undoubtedly the duty of every person that is blessed with the faculties of a sound body and mind, to apply themselves industriously to some honest calling for the benefit of themselves and society.*[1]

WORK: THE INTERFACE OF SELF AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE

The process of making career decisions is so problematic in the lives of most of us that we either take for granted the basis of our decisions or simply choose to ignore the importance of them. The consequence of our decisions, that it, our occupational field of endeavor is simply there, as sickness and smog and taxes are there, to be endured. Work looms so large and affects so many aspects of our lives that it seems worthwhile to trace the nature and meaning of work before discussing a substantive theory on career decisions. This introductory discussion will briefly develop two important theoretical perspectives: (1) Work and the social structure, and (2) Work and the self, as an approach to understanding the place of work in people's

lives and the arena within which career decisions are made.

I. Work and the Social Structure

If the average adult's twenty-four hour day is examined to ascertain how he spends his time, we note that occupation absorbs more time than does any other type of activity. To this must be added varying amounts of work-related activity, such as union, trade associations, or professional meetings, study, extra work done at home (e.g., the teacher's preparation of class materials and the accountant's computations which could not be finished at the office that day); and social activities which are work oriented (e.g., entertaining visiting clients or consultants). Work clearly envelops one more than anything else in the daily life of the average employed adult. In Middletown, the Lynds characterize occupations as the "most nearly dominant single influence in a man's life."[2]

Because work does exert a profound influence on us, R. A. MacIver called work groupings one of the "great associations," assemblages of men that by their ubiquitousness and their behavior form the very backbone of society.[3] He further emphasized, to know something about the work people do and how they approach it, apart

from the intuitive knowledge we gain from going about our own tasks, is to learn something about society itself and, in the process, about ourselves.

Some Assumptions About People Vis-A-Vis Work

Most social scientists argue that the human being is not an economic animal and that only, nor wholly psychological, political or cultural. The reality which is the human being cannot be split apart even for intellectual, analytical purposes without doing an injustice to this reality. If people are human at all, some scientists contend, this humanity stems from the necessary inclusion of individuals in groups and in the gamut of groups that make up society. All of us are born into and live out our lives in groups; this is perhaps the inescapable fact of human existence. Thus in the study of work we encounter the confrontation of individual with social structure, the ways in which people structure a major segment of their adult roles and perhaps most important, their adult identity. Many who study the nature of work take the view that such study becomes a stage on which society can perhaps be best observed, particularly as individuals come together and attempt to make some sense of the orderly but sometimes impersonal roles we find outselves.[4] Examining the

world of work situates us strategically for understanding part of the human condition. To further understand this condition should be the goal not only of doctoral candidates but of the educated layman who, whether he likes it or not, wills it or not, must engage in this aspect of the human condition in some manner. This is the rationale that will guide this discussion throughout the remainder of this paper.

Historical Development of Attitudes Toward Work

Much of the information concerning work related values is far from exhaustive, although beginning with the ancient Greeks it appears that work was regarded as a curse.[5] Physical work especially was drudgery imposed on people because the gods hated them. Agriculture was regarded more highly than other types of manual work, and it was customary for heavy work to be done by slaves.

The views of ancient Romans were quite similar to those of the Greeks and probably were derived, in part, from Grecian influences. Cicero, the Roman statesman and orator, considered that only two occupations were fit for a free man: agriculture and big business. All other occupations were looked down-upon as vulgar and dishonorable. Throughout history, it appears, there has always been an underlying element of tedium in work, as

judged from the terms applied to it. Labor derives from a Latin word signifying trouble or distress. Travail, the French word, originally denoted the tripalium a three-pronged instrument of torture employed by the Roman legions. Similarly, occupation emerges from the Latin and meant to seize, hold, or grapple with. In Greek, work and trouble are synonymous; in Hebrew, work and slavery are identical.

The distrust and disdain for work are further rooted in the beginnings of the Judaeo-Christian religious tradition. We are told that "man's first disobedience," resulted in the curse of work. "In sorrow thou shalt bring forth children . . . by the sweat of thy forhead thou shalt eat bread."[6] It has been argued that death and work were literally bestowed on man in the same Divine Breath. However distasteful work may be, the Jew felt it must be borne, for it is part of his design and will. The early Christians held views quite similar to those of the Hebrews; they too thought of work as punishment for sin.

Work was viewed with disdain until after the Reformation which occurred in the Middle Ages. Just as Protestantism profoundly transformed the Christian world view, so did it alter the Christian orientation toward work. The rise of industrial capitalism in western

Europe followed the Reformation. New sects sprang up and some of these, especially Calvinism, emphasized a new attitude toward work, namely that it is the will of God for people to work in order that the fruits of their labor may be used to help establish the Kingdom of God on earth. In this Protestant view, the individual did not have his work literally chosen for him by God, but once a person freely chooses a line of work he is not free to relax. People must work at their chosen field as intensively as possible--not simply to kill time, but because work is a part of life. It was in the eyes of the Protestant that work became the very focus of life.

Many social scientists have accepted the idea that this basic change in attitude toward work was responsible for the rise and development of capitalism in Western civilization. The leading exponent of this view was Max Weber, who considered Benjamin Franklin a prime example of the influence of the Protestant Ethic and quotes from the works of Franklin extensively in his own writings.[7] However, Weber's thesis that the Protestant ethic was a leading cause of the rise of capitalism has been challenged by other scholars.[8] For example, Wilensky suggests that ascetic Protestantism neither prohibited nor encouraged the rise of capitalism but that it did emphasize the importance of work.[9]

American colonists brought with them the work related culture prevalent in England. Although highest prestige was achieved by successful businessmen in early America, unusual prestige was apparently attributed to agriculture and to manual occupations.[10] Occupational prestige ratings prior to the 1920's do not exist, but the general literature reflects that manual occupations were widely regarded as the only wealth producing occupations, while intellectual occupations were not. Only within the past quarter of a century has there been general public acceptance of the idea that intellectual occupations are really productive. This acceptance rests chiefly upon the impressive and highly visible accomplishments of engineers and physicians, which, in turn are based upon lesser known achievements of physicists, chemists, and biologists. This early American attitudinal posture was probably due to the relative importance of the learned professions vis-a-vis the necessity for manual work among the settlers, and perhaps in part to the peasant and lower-class origins of most immigrants.

Work in contemporary America still occupies a central place in the lives of most people. The development of present day American attitudes toward work represents a long and gradual evolution. There is

evidence that, for some people in our own society, values other than those associated with work are achieving a higher place.[11] There appears to be a modification taking place of the traditional Protestant image. 'One must work, one must succeed,' ethic no longer reflects the importance of the order in which they are stated. Success rather than work has become the cardinal virtue.[12] It does not matter by what means one succeeds as long as one does so. To retrench, to admit defeat--that is the ultimate and unforgivable failure. Like the Greeks, modern man works in order to acquire the wherewithal to relax at leisure. The Puritan notion that sloth is evil, that "the devil finds work for idle hands," has been retained, but with it has come the apparently contradictory idea that work can be tailored to the individual and it can actually be fun as well as a rewarding enterprise! The distinction between "work" and "play" is less clear today than perhaps at any given point in history.[13] Work, like so many other areas of contemporary life, has become secular. It has shed the religious template as a framework that presumably provided a rationale linking work with the Divine. There is no such linkage now and scholars find strain in their ability to circumscribe the significance of work.

Although the meanings and values infused in work are going through some transition there is still a strong indication that young people from middle-class American families not only expect to work the major portion of their lives, but are also usually motivated to work hard and generally aspire to move upward toward higher level occupations than those held by their fathers.[14] There is evidence that even high school students regard work as desirable for its own sake rather than merely as a means to an end.[15]

There seems to be a general agreement that the current generation of American adults tends to regard work as central. However, there are many differences in the meaning of work and the attitudes toward work among the different occupations, different communities, and different ethnic groups. There are also differences between rural and urban residents and between those who live in different regions of the United States. The work imperative not only remains strong but is still regarded as the only honorable way of earning a livelihood. It is required of those who do not have sufficient means to live comfortably without it and "woe to the one who is conspicuous in laziness or loafing."

Basic Functions of Work

The meaning of work and the attendant attitudes people hold about work cannot fully be appreciated without an understanding of the basic functions of work in modern industrial society:[16]

1. Source of Substance--In a market economy where specie is needed for the exchange of food, clothing and other goods and services, successful participation in the economy requires a source of making money in order to provide purchasing power. This rudimentary function of work creates a livelihood for the individual and in turn precipitates the ingredients for a collective economic system. The need to earn a living is very obvious, and is often times stressed in popular writing and discussion at the expense of other reasons for working. The reasons for stressing it are clear enough; when one does not work and earn a living, or when one's earnings are at bare subsistence level, other needs lose some of their importance.[17] Once the basic needs of livelihood are met, human relations and the work itself begin to become more equivalent in importance. Some suggest that when the standard of living is truly adequate, work and the attendant earnings seem important more because of their psychological and social significance than for their material effects.[18]

2. Provides Patterns of Associations and Style of Living--The manner in which work is conducted and the type of work engaged in regulates the daily and seasonal routines of the worker, and to some degree establishes a pattern of social behavior. The rhythm of work, including such things as the sequence of activities during the day, week, and month affects not only the activities of the worker while employed on the job but also participation in nonwork activities. To a considerable extent, the patterns of activity of other members of the family are also affected. The occupational roles of a professional person have a different impact on the daily round of activities in the nonwork sphere than the roles of an unskilled laborer do on nonwork activities. For example, the manual worker gets home in time to see his children in the late afternoon and dinner, and rarely needs to leave home in the evening. Family, social, recreational and work activity is therefore easily engaged in.

Where one lives, another aspect of style of living, can be work determined. Some occupations can be pursued only in certain localities. The mining engineer must be near the mines and the airline pilot most often lives near a major terminal. The part of the country and even the community in which one lives may be

decided by one's work. This is also true of neighborhoods. In Elmtown, the upper-middle class lives in "the 400" while the lower-lower class lives "Below the Canal."[19] The close relationship between social class and occupation in this study makes it clear that occupation is related to neighborhood. While this correlation holds true in a static community like Elmtown, the relationship is reversed in more dynamic communities.[20] In a developing metropolitan area the tendency is for newcomers to select neighborhoods appropriate to their incomes, convenient to their work, and close to their friends or desired friends.

Friendships, as has just been indicated, are also work derived or determined in many instances. Corporations often regulate the social life and with it the friendships of its personnel.[21] Even when the process is not company imposed, it is still true that the people a worker gets to know best are generally those seen at work, and it is with them that the mutual interests and activities are most readily developed.

Implicit in the basic functions of work just described are a number of other interrelated functions which include: determination of social status, molding of values and attitudes, and stratification and mobility. Each of these properties is engaged or developed usually

in the context of the two functions discussed. Thus far we have considered a few of the dimensions of "work" and only occasionally discussed the "worker." The individual in the matrix of work is considered by many scholars the pivotal point for understanding the human condition.

II. Work and the Self

> A man's work is one of the more important parts of his social identity, of his self; indeed, of his fate in the one life he has to live.[23]

Ultimately, as suggested from the above quote, any consideration of work must focus on the relationship between work and the individual.[23] It is customary of discussions on identity to begin with a treatment of socialization. The inescapable process of socialization is characteristically viewed as the process by which the growing child develops a sense of self--i.e. the cumulative transformation from a nonbeing into a human being, a person in possession of the realization of his own distinctiveness, and who has gained an image of the sort of person he is. Finally, a process that follows one through life affording the maturing individual the ability to look objectively at himself and to regulate his own responses to the world in terms of others' perception of him.[24] Consequently, it becomes possible

to conceive of life itself as one long socialization experience.

Each of us tends to think of himself in many ways: I am skinny, I am intelligent, I am tall. In turn, these names evoke responses in us. In addition to the family name by which we are called, which in itself ties us to an entire social heritage along with a set of expectations and obligations implicit in that history, we are one sex or the other, and we work at particular tasks. Whatever the criteria or conditions may be, we tend to name ourselves in particular ways. This act of naming, precipitating the acquisition of identity results in the classification through symbols of ourselves, of the world, and the ways in which we come to terms with that world. All one need do is ask the question: Who am I? Answering the question inevitably produces the idea of identity. However elusive an identity may be, a central aspect is the individual's response to the appraisals he/she and others make of their conduct.[25] From what is observed of oneself in the mirror of others (including those situations where a person stands back and observes himself from the perspective of others) there emerges a kind of interpersonal mask through which he then presents himself to others in terms of attempting to anticipate how others will respond.[26]

In the development of an identity, the part of the self that emerges when we name ourself is often times linked with work. One of the most important names we provide for ourselves in this society derives from the work we do. Indeed, many have suggested that the shaping of one's work identity is the prototype of identity formation.[27]

Central to the development of identity derived through work are those critical junctures or "turning points" that not only serve to redirect ongoing activity but also force the person to realize that they in fact are not the same person they once were, that some redefinition of their situation is very much in order. This recognition necessitates new stances, new alignments, and laternations in one's perspectives of oneself and others. One must question the nature of the change both interpersonally and against the already familiar and traditional patterns of movement within one's work. This means that, like the airline pilot who periodically compares earth coordinates with celestial coordinates in order to note the direction and progress of the plane's trajectory, the worker compares ongoing progress with the progress of others and against the indicators of progress within the occupation. Thus, as medical students progress through their medical school training, they

attempt to develop a perspective that will both guide their learning (what to learn and how to learn it) as well as indicate their growth.[28] The in-vivo cues that are continually presented alter perspectives and so change peoples' identities throughout their association with the work world.

A change in identity further involves a change in status. The recognition of this status shift, like the shift itself, may be sudden or gradual. But the preparation for the change is frequently long and in addition to the acquisition of necessary skills, it involves what has been called "anticipatory socialization."[29] This suggests that those who aspire to a particular status will orient themselves toward the norms and perspectives of that collectivity and attempt to assimilate them, at the same time rejecting the values of the groupings of which they are presently members and their current position within that group. Essentially, the substitution of a new status for an old one began long before the actual formal shift in status. A status, a position, exists not as a material thing to be possessed and then displayed; it is a presentation of behaviors, usually coherent and well articulated, and to be sure the product of the investment of oneself actively engaged in the process of change.

It would seem reasonable to conclude, that the interface of self and social structure takes on a heightened meaning and complexity when examined in the context of work. Presumably, an examination of the process of making career decisions within this context can only enhance the understanding of this interface. The following quotation may serve to emphasize this point:

> Career is, in fact, a sort of running adjustment between a man and the various facts of life and his work world. It involves the running of risks, for his career is his ultimate enterprise, his laying of his bets on his one and only life.[30]

CHAPTER I NOTES

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[4]Erving Goffman, Asylums (New York: Doubleday, 1961), pp. 207-227.

[5]Information concerning the historical development of attitudes toward work is based primarily on Adriano Tilgher, Work: What it has Meant to Men Through the Ages (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1930).

[6]Alan Richardson, The Biblical Doctrine of Work (London: SCM Press, 1963), p. 86.

[7]Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism (New York: Scribners' Sons, 1930), see also Benjamin Franklin's Advice to a Young Tradesman, 1748.

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[23]Much of the discussion that follows is based on the works of Anselm L. Strauss, Mirrors and Masks: The Search for Identity (The Sociology Press, 1969).

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CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

If we can get our social life stated in terms of process, and of nothing else, we have not indeed succeeded in measuring it, but we have at least reached a foundation upon which a coherent system of measurements can be built up.

The methodology of this investigation was directed toward facilitating the discovery and generation of a grounded substantative theory. By approaching the subject matter with an insistance upon discovery and generation I was led to employ various methods throughout the investigation that yielded the highest amount of information. Such an approach as this has been criticized by some as being unsystematic and unscientific.[1] It is not my intention to argue in detail the intellectual postures behind such claims but to offer an explanation of the underlying attitude governing the conduct of this investigation. Following this discussion, the specific procedures used throughout the inquiry are developed.

Pragmatism as a Conduct for Inquiry

Pragmatism as a philosophy represents a collection of tendencies in thought that harmonize with many ancient

philosophical doctrines. As a philosophy, pragmatism poses itself not as a set of dogmas or doctrines, but only as an attitude of orientation.[2] The attitude of looking away from first things (causes), principles, supposed necessities, and of looking towards extant things and consequences. This attitude dismisses as unnecessary the habit of using abstractions, a priori reasons, fixed principles, closed systems, absolutes, and origins. Within this attitude there exists the notion of a universe as a thing wide open whose properties are forever in the process of change. This attitude further opposes the illusion of the finite and relative as properties inherent in any system. And finally, the attitude of pragmatism with its notion of a reality continually in the making employs its own methods for apprehending this reality. Although the methodology of the pragmatist is not delineated in the form of a research design (such being antithetical to its attitude) it nevertheless advocates substituting the template approach that ordinary empiricism labors under, for first, an active commerce between the researcher's mind and reality, that is, between his thoughts and the universe of other experiences in which they play their parts and have their uses. And second, in a universe imperfectly rational there is no absolute transcript of reality, and ultimately the

interpretation of reality must reside between the observed and observer who in his humanistic state of mind views data as only active and re-directing in function and not conforming to absolutes. The pragmatic attitude holds many methodological implications for the researcher while involved in the research act. A researcher who subscribes to the pragmatic attitude is 'naturalistic' in the sense that the social world is addressed with no preconceived design or underlying theoretical categories and is viewed as conducting field research in the sense that his area of inquiry is the empirical social world. His investigation proceeds without the extraneous controls or instruments for manipulation as is the case in a laboratory. Instead the researcher is viewed as partaking in an active rather than passive role. The researcher and not the research design becomes the pivotal point of science for the gathering of knowledge. The naturalistic researcher is confronted with an infinite reality which he must render sensible. Due to this complexity of the social world pragmatism opts for a naturalistic rather than mechanistic approach.[3] As a methodological imperative the naturalistic researcher remains less fearful and concerned with whether or not the techniques at his disposal are 'scientific.' Instead he focuses on the

efficacy of a technique from which the most meaningful information can be derived. In this sense, by putting the researcher in the driver's seat pragmatism affords the researcher the opportunity to be confident in his rationality and scientific attitude while performing field research.

For the majority of research methodologists a selected topic only becomes one that will (or can be made to) conform to the structure of their design.[4] Unlike most research methodologists, the naturalistic researcher doing field research remains relatively unfettered in his choice of researchable areas. He has no definite guide for the design of a research problem. Topics of inquiry are neither fixed or finite. The substance of an inquiry is viewed as an emergent phenomenon continually amenable to subsequent redefinition. The prefatory control process used by some researchers before their investigation becomes only instrumental to the field researcher during his inquiry. Thus the parameters of his research topic become defined in the emergent context of the research act.

While in the field and gathering data the field researcher is continually viewed as a methodological pragmatist. This attitude views any method of inquiry as consisting of a system of 'strategies' and 'tactics'

designed by the researcher while pursuing an understanding of questions and events. The developing of strategies and tactics becomes the directive for implementing one's field operations. Through 'observation' and 'intra-personal communication' with the data the researcher becomes sensitive to the adequacy of his methods. Every method is bound by certain limitations, it therefore becomes incumbent upon the researcher to develop a strategy calling for a variety of methods adequate for providing relevant information. To some schools of research methods, this seemingly liberal use of strategies, in the final analysis, amounts to a biased rendering of reality. Ultimately all methods of conducting research seek for the annihilation of individual bias and the achievement of a universal image of the way the world really is. But there is an important difference in the manner in which one's methods seek this goal. Reliance on the methods built into one's preconceived design offers control over individual bias by subjecting it to highly conventionalized criticism and subordinating it to a collective agreement. It thus seeks to overpower personal bias with shared bias. For the field researcher, bias becomes a question of whether or not one has remained faithful to his data. Realizing that there is no absolute control over the possibility of bias he seeks

to understand his data as it exists by simultaneously observing and analyzing. This process allows for relevant questions and alternative perspectives to come forth and be subsequently investigated. This juxtaposing of questions and perspectives allows the researcher to 'fit' both the anticipated and discovered properties of his data together, ultimately rendering the fullest possible view. By utilizing this leverage of maneuverability during the collection of data, the researcher is given an alternative approach to 'forcing' the data into the scheme of a design. He can justifiably substitute the extraneous controls of sampling and representativeness for the more contextual control of 'conceptual leverage.'

Analysis for the field researcher is a continuous process with a cumulative character and not a discrete stage within his research. He continually suffers over the phenomenological reality of the research act as a strategy for becoming more sensitive to his substantive area. Analysis becomes a sustained interaction between the researcher and his data which must be 'self-conscious,' 'systematic,' and 'organized.' Initially the field researcher becomes inundated with raw data, but by becoming systematic in the organization of his data, the data remain accessible for continuous analysis and

subsequent retrieval. With properties continually emerging from one's substantive area 'linkage' becomes a categorical imperative. Until the researcher discovers a 'key linkage' or 'story line' all classes of data must be given equal attention.[5] For some, the strategy of thinking metaphorically offers a fruitful entree' for conceptualizing a key linkage from which other categories and their properties can hang. Once conceptualized, this key linkage enables the researcher to determine the relative significance of his categories and more readily focus his research energies.

Within time the unavoidable question arises of when closure should be implemented. The pragmatic attitude views closure as becoming warranted when the researcher's substantive area becomes saturated to the extent that nothing of an informative nature begins to emerge, when conceptualization and data are complementary of one another to the degree that the researcher is comfortable with the reality he has created.

As in all schools of research methods there exists a great amount of variation among its practitioners. The remainder of this chapter will identify my methodological adaptation to the pragmatic attitude.

DATA COLLECTION

Data collection in this study vascillated back and forth between two methods most generally used by field researchers, participant observation and interviewing. Both participant observation and interviewing provide the researcher with a methodological posture conducive to yielding data of all types. The compatibility of these methods, in the sense that they can be used concomitantly, allows the researcher to use each one as a strategy for making the decision of when it would be the most appropriate to use the other method. That is, specific observations requiring further explanation can be pursued by interviewing, and statements recorded in an interview can be followed-up by subsequent observation. Although these two methods were used interchangeably throughout the study, they will be discussed here as independent methodological tools for purposes of clarification.

Participant Observation

We are all constantly observing, noticing what is going on around us. Observation is not only one of the most pervasive activities of daily life but has become a primary tool of scientific investigation.

Perhaps the greatest asset of participant observation is that it gives the researcher a point of depature, an initial directive for inquiry. Approaching a substantive area through a presuppositionless lense requires the researcher to 'take in' as much as possible while taking for granted as little as possible.[6] Using observational techniques as a prefatory stage in the exploration of a substantive area works to safeguard against the problems involved with data that are dependent entirely on peoples' retrospective or anticipatory reports of their own behavior. Such reports are, as a rule, made in a detached mood in which the respondent is somewhat remote from the stress and strains that influence what he does or says in the ordinary course of events. Many forms of behavior are so taken for granted by the subjects under investigation, are so much 'second nature,' that they escape awareness and resist translation into words. On many occasions throughout the study I noted an event or type of behavior which escaped my informants' attention in their reporting. In addition to its independence of a subject's ability to report, observation is also somewhat independent of his willingness to report. There are occasions when social research meets with resistance from the participants in the group being studied. People may not have the time, or they may not

be inclined to be interviewed. In one case, six different appointments for an interview were cancelled by a faculty member. Later I learned that the hedging was founded on a fear that I would detect an inconsistency between how I observed her as an instructor in a classroom situation and how she described her philosophy as an individual in an interview. After assuring her that I was only interested in teaching emphasis used in the presentation of subject material, her fear was alleviated. Participant observation can usually overcome individual respondent resistance to research and in most cases is less demanding of active cooperation on the part of the subjects. To be sure, people under observation may, if they know they are being observed, deliberately try to create a particular impression, but even so, it is probably more difficult for them to alter what they do or say in a life-situation than to distort their memory and reporting of what they have done and said.

Observation served a variety of purposes in this study. It was used in an exploratory fashion to gain insights that were later tested by other techniques; helped gather supplementary data that led to further qualification or interpretation of findings obtained by other techniques; and at times was used as an exclusive method of data collection for providing accurate

descriptions of events. The specific observational procedures I used ranged from complete flexibility, guided by only a limited exposure to the situation and some general ideas about aspects of probable importance, to the use of detailed formal instruments developed in advance. My participation as an observer ranged from being actively engaged and defined as such by the members of the group, to relative obscurity where my presence was unknown to some or all of the people being observed. The majority of observational situations where my presence went undetected existed at the onset of my research, at the time when my confusion was overwhelming but nevertheless blended in well with the expressions of entering students. In general, the degree of structure and the degree of participation tended to vary with my purpose for deciding to observe a group of people or event. In most instances, being intent on compiling as much data as fast as possible, I kept my observational procedures unstructured and was more likely to actively participate than remain unobtrusive.

Regardless of the purpose guiding my decision to observe a situation, I continually imposed three questions upon my observations as a strategy for maximizing on the amount and substance of information received: (1) What should be observed? (2) How do I assure accuracy?

(3) What relationship should exist between myself and the observed?

1. Decisions concerning the content of my observations during the initial phase of data collection were impossible to make because I could not anticipate in advance which aspects of the situation would prove to be the most relevant. In an attempt to dissipate the desire to forclose on what I thought to be significant elements of the social situation, I used a checklist of suggested directions for observations as a strategy for not missing properties of the situation that might have been otherwise overlooked. The checklist was compiled from suggestions made by a host of authors from their research experiences while using the method of participant observation.[7]

Participants:	who are they and how related demographic characteristics grouping identification by patterns of interaction
Setting:	type (appearance) behaviors encouraged, discouraged
Purpose:	official purpose and reactions to it other goals pursued
Behavior:	what, how, and with whom properties related to objective effects and consequences

As theoretical sampling (discussed later in this chapter) became more prevalent, the section and content of my observations took on a narrower focus with specific

attention to properties of situations more salient for my purpose. Nevertheless, I found it necessary to continually take cues from unanticipated events as a source for further observation throughout the study.

2. Becoming involved in a situation as a participant observer had a tendency to lessen the sharpness of my observations as a consequence of becoming accustomed to certain kinds of behaviors. In cases where I was trying to get access to intimate data, I found myself becoming absorbed into the situation I was observing and thereby taking for granted behavior of potential importance. Whyte reports that, as he began the investigation which he reported in STREET CORNER SOCIETY, everything he saw and heard was new and strange, and all sorts of questions arose in his mind. But at that point he did not know enough or have enough data to ask good questions and get any answers. As he became part of the community, the richness of the data increased, and yet he found in himself an increasing tendency to take for granted the sort of behavior that was taken for granted by the people he was observing.[8]

The observer can hardly avoid becoming accustomed to the setting he is studying and thus becoming blind to valuable data. In an attempt to minimize this observational myopia I employed two strategies at frequent

intervals. First, to simply remain aware of the tendency to take things for granted. Second, to check on the accuracy of observations using the people who were being observed, by having them read a transcript of my interpretation. Whyte reports, that in gathering material for STREET CORNER SOCIETY, he had innumerable research discussions with "Doc," and that Doc read every page of the first draft of his manuscript.[9] This strategy does not serve as a check on the validity of theoretical interpretations, but lends some verification of whether the observer has caught the meaning the situation and the behavior have for the participants.

3. Aside from the ethnical considerations involved between researcher and observed, there are practical considerations affecting both the quality and types of data the researcher can secure.[10] The approach I used to resolve the practical issue was to assess each observational situation in view of what was potentially gained or lost by fully disclosing my status and intent. The only instances of non-disclosure were in situations where there was no anticipated necessity of follow-up discussions or questions subsequent to observing. The majority of the time it seemed preferable to make known the fact I was doing research as well as engaging in various degrees of participation. Such an approach

served to open new avenues of understanding. Through intensive participation as a researcher with those being observed, the observer exposes himself to experiences that give him a firsthand knowledge of the more subtle meanings and dynamics to which those being observed are exposed. Moreover, active participation opens the door to sources of information that might otherwise remain closed. It is natural for a researcher as an active participant to enter into seemingly spontaneous and informal conversations through which he may learn a great deal that he might miss had he remained anonymous. While a lot can be learned through observation where the researcher opts not to disclose his status, there often times exists the need to collect supplementary data by getting people to explain what they are doing or why they are doing it. Questions of this type can be inferred by an observer or further pursued by interviewing once identification as an outsider has been established. Disclosure and participation as a researcher allows introspection about experiences which represents one of the most fruitful means of understanding the character of a setting.

Interviewing

Participant observation, as previously discussed, is primarily directed toward describing and understanding

behavior as it occurs. Interviewing as a methodological tool proves more effective for gaining information about a person's perceptions, beliefs, feelings, and past or private behavior which by their nature are unfeasible to observe. The types of interviews and questionnaires may vary widely.[11] Interviews range all the way from the rigidly standardized, in which both the questions and the alternative responses permitted the subject are pre-determined, to the completely unstructured, in which neither the questions to be asked nor the responses permitted the subject are determined before the interview. Questionnaire structure varies by phraseology, mode of administering, and type of response permitted the respondent. Throughout the data collection phase of the study, decisions concerning the type and use of interview techniques were determined by such considerations as: time, resources, and accessibility of data. For purposes of clarification I will give a brief description of the two interviewing techniques used within this study and the methodological reasoning governing their usage.

1. Unstructured interviewing offers a flexible approach to a research problem formulated around exploration and discovery. The flexibility of unstructured interviewing allows for the exploration of areas where there is little basis for knowing either what questions

to ask or how to formulate them. This type of interview puts the initiative in the hands of the respondent allowing the interviewer to elicit information of all types. Further, this approach not only permits the subject's definition of the interviewing situation to receive full and detailed expression, it also elicits the personal and social contexts of beliefs and attitudes.

The interviewer who subscribes to this technique has a primary function of simply encouraging the respondent to talk about a given topic with a minimum of direct questioning or guidance. The type of remarks made by an interviewer in an unstructured interview are: "Tell me more," or "Isn't that interesting," or simply "Uh huh." In this sense the interviewer encourages the respondent to talk fully and freely by offering only noncommittal verbal gestures in recognition of the subject's feelings. My strategy for fulfilling this function as an interviewer was to create a completely permissive atmosphere, in which the subject was free to express himself without fear of disapproving interjections.

In general, this type of interviewing technique achieves its purpose to the extent that the subject's responses are spontaneous rather than forced, are highly specific and concrete rather than diffuse and general, and are self-revealing rather than superficial.

2. The questionnaire as an interview technique was used in this study for its ability to provide respondent anonymity and time for respondent reflection.

A distinct advantage of questionnaires is that, unlike direct interviews, respondents may have greater confidence in their anonymity, and thus feel freer to express views they fear might be met with disapproval. If a questionnaire is presented as anonymous and there is no apparent identifying information on the schedule itself, the respondent may feel greater confidence that his replies will not be identified as coming from him. Studies that have used this technique have sometimes found marked differences between replies to a direct interview and those to this type of questionnaire.[12]

In an effort to maximize on time spent in the field as well as place less pressure on subjects for immediate responses, I used a mail questionnaire. When a subject is given ample time for filling out the questionnaire, which in some instances is considered desireable, he can consider each point carefully rather than replying with the first thought that comes to mind.

Each of the three methodological tools discussed, participant observation, interviewing, and the use of questionnaires offers a different vantage point for the collection of data. The advantage of integrating these

methodological tools is that they provide the researcher with rich experiential contexts which cause him to become aware of unexplained or incongruous data; he is more likely to be sensitive to their possible implication with other data, and thus he pushes continually to revise and adapt his theoretical categories in the direction of greater relevance to the processes under study.

ORGANIZATION OF DATA

In recording field notes, three questions require consideration: When should the researcher make notes? How should they be systematized? What should they consist of? Each of these questions has to be addressed fully if the researcher is to gain any kind of an edge in articulating and understanding the world of the participants he is studying. Without sustained recording of field notes in some systematic manner, the field researcher is in hardly a better position to analyze and understand the workings of a world than are the members themselves.

When to Record

The best time for recording is undoubtedly on location and during the time when the data is being collected. Such an ideal circumstance serves to maximize on time and minimize the potential for selective bias and

distortion through memory. In most situations that I encountered note-taking on the spot was unfeasible, because it would potentially disturb the ongoing nature of the situation or arouse an uneasiness among those being observed. Some researchers content, that during observation constant note-taking interferes with the quality of observation, that the observer may easily lose relevant aspects of the situation by having his attention divided between observing and writing.[13]

In situations where immediate, detailed note-taking was not deemed desireable, I used two strategies which enabled me to hold on to memory traces of the event. On some occasions simply jotting down key words in an imperceptible manner worked well, at other times, especially when the amount requiring immediate recording was more than a couple of words, I would momentarily retire from the situation to make more detailed notes.

However the data was recorded, an account of everything in the situation worthy of detailing should be written-up as soon as possible. The writing of field notes takes personal discipline and time, and I found it too easy or convenient to put off writing notes for a given day or to skip one or more days. To be sure, memory decays over time and the accumulation of new experiences confounds the problem even more. By avoiding

writing-up field notes and waiting too long, there is a tendency to reconstruct or forget the details of the experience, thus losing or inappropriate describing a massive amount of material.[14]

How and What to Record

In order to manage the amount and different types of information received and perceived, the researcher needs an efficient recording system. Any recording system, regardless of how simple or elaborately designed, must have provisions for classifying the different types of information that go into field notes. The classification of field notes in this study followed the scheme developed by Schatzman and Strauss: ON (observational note), TN (theoretical note), MN (methodological note), PN (personal note).[15]

Observational notes, for the most part, consist of a descriptive cataloguing of events, people, conversations among people, and conversations with people. Each new change, experience, or person encountered merits a description, thus earning the label of an observational note. The writing of observational notes should remain concrete and descriptive rather than summarizing or abstract, leave out judgments, imputation, and stay at the lowest possible level of inference.

Theoretical notes are ideas and conjecture of how things hang together, integrate, or pattern. These ideas can range from being obvious and trivial to far fetched and wild. Each of these notes represents a tentative direction for analysis, an ongoing osterization and juxtaposing of notions around which the data can be conceptually organized. By assembling such a compendium of analytical suppositions, the period of concerted analysis is greatly facilitated.

Methodological notes offer the researcher introspection into his own proceedings. Often times by reviewing my methodological notes I was reminded of questions to ask, particular people or things to look for, or leads to be followed-up. A given day's observational notes raise a series of questions to be contended with, sometimes calling for a different methodological strategy than previously used. By periodically making methodological notes, the researcher is in a better position to sustain operational directives for subsequent data collection.

Personal notes reflect self-imposed observations of oneself. As an observer, I had personal opinions of people, and emotional responses to being an observer and to the setting itself. In being at least privately honest with myself I was able, at times, to detect

personal biases which either made me see things through a distorted lense or kept me from pursuing potential lines of inquiry. Also, keeping a diary of personal notes acted as a device for venting many of my high-tempered emotional states, which in many instances could have handicapped my research efforts.

DATA ANALYSIS

This study focused on generating a substantive theory, which unlike studies that follow a logico-deductive research design, incorporated data analysis as an ongoing exercise throughout the investigation. This calculus provides a continual guide for increasing the scope and density of the researcher's emerging analytical framework. Data analysis is progamatic in that the steps followed are not arbitrary but integrated by design.[16] I will briefly describe the specific operations involved in the analytical process.

Constant Comparative

The constant comparative, as a method, facilitates the generation of conceptual categories and their properties by utilizing data collected from the comparison of similar groups. Further, this method sensitizes the researcher to generalized relations among the categories and their properties in the form of hypotheses, thus

suggesting an empirical relationship taken as a directive for further inquiry. The focus of these comparisons is directed toward illuminating differences and variations among corresponding features within a single substantive area. The possible comparisons that could be made within a substantive area are infinite, and so the selection of comparisons must be made according to some theoretical purpose. Beyond the limitations of time and resources, such decisions are based on what Glaser and Strauss call, criteria for theoretical sampling.

Theoretical Sampling

The control and direction of data collection and analysis are imperative for the researcher if his efforts are to reach a point of closure. Therefore, a fundamental assumption governing the selection of comparisons, is that,

> the researcher chooses any groups that will help generate, to the fullest extent, as many properties of the categories as possible, and that will help relate categories to each other and to their properties.[17]

After the initial stage of data collection, of detailing anything and everything of possible relevance, tentative hypotheses begin to emerge requiring the researcher to take an active role in finding data pertinent to developing and verifying his hypotheses. The activity of purposefully seeking relevant kinds of data is governed

by the criterion of theoretical sampling, which inevitably generates further hypothesizing and purposive follow-up.

Generating Categories and Their Properties

The mechanical procedures for generating categories and their properties reside in the province of coding. Coding of data in this study represented a two-tier process, substantive or open coding and theoretical coding, whereby data was systematically taken apart and put back together. Throughout the study, but predominately during the initial stage of data collection, substantive coding was used to compile in-vivo words that were used by the actors themselves, or conceptually low-level words that I ascribed to represent something described in the data. Taking the data apart by open coding made it possible for me to generate concepts and constructs whose indicators are actual episodes or events in the data. Thus, concepts earn their way into the final theoretical elaboration by virtue of being grounded in the data.

Theoretical codes serve as an integrative device for relating substantive codes and the data they represent. There are many ways of theoretically integrating substantive codes, depending on how the researcher is led

by the data. Included among some of the possible theoretical coding families are: contingencies, conditions, consequences, contexts, covariances, etc. Each of these coding families are ways of integrating variables theoretically. As theoretical codes begin to emerge, each incident in the data previously open coded is analytically related to each of the theoretical codes. This interchangeability of indicators in relation to theoretical codes sensitizes the researcher to new and varying dimensions or properties within his theoretical categories. Although this process would appear an endless enterprise, a point of saturation is reached when no new recurring interactional patterns emerge. The determination of saturation is an empirical question that is less difficult to answer if the researcher can clearly distinguish between new descriptive events and genuinely new conceptual dimensions.

Emergence of the Core Process

The core process is discovered by comparing each theoretical category and its properties with all others. Analytically the researcher is attempting to generate an overriding social-psychological or social-structural process that can integrate the variation existing among the theoretical categories. The core process can be one of the theoretical categories already discovered around

which the rest of the theoretical categories can integrate, or can be newly emergent.

My approach to discovering the core process was through the use of imagery. I engaged in a conceptual game of creating an animated pictorial image of my theoretical categories in relation to one another. By constantly addressing the question "What imagerically is going on between these categories?" I was able to conjur up an image of an interactional process relating the theoretical categories in conjunction with one another. The interactional process selected through imagery now only awaits a label. Once the core process is generated it serves as a central integrative scheme for writing the theory. In this study the emergent basic social-psychological process is GRAVITIZING. Presented in the next three chapters is a substantive theory that develops gravitizing as the process of making career decisions.

SPECIFIC PROTOCOL

In setting out to choose a dissertation topic I established as a number one consideration, that it be of sustaining interest to me. For a number of days I had my tenacles out for anything that caught my fancy. Casually a number of areas were being explored with no one of them producing a "Eureka" response. Finally I

heard about a person on campus (Ohlone Community College), who up until recently was considered the second best poker player in the country. That fascinated me as an area worthy of further investigation, whether anything came of it or not. Shortly thereafter I met the professional gambler at which time I introduced myself as an instructor of sociology with an interest in his chosen field. His immediate response was, "What type of interest?" I had the feeling that if my next response demonstrated some knowledge in his profession he would obligingly open-up and tell all. Lacking enough knowledge about gambling to be confident, instead I asked, "What goes into the making of a professional gambler?" He smiled and said, "Have you got a few hours?"

On four separate occasions, two hours each, I listened and taped his description of his career which he indicated was reflective of most professional gamblers of his caliber. He traced the roots of his gambling back to the age of four and described his development to the present. Upon completion of the interview and transcription of the tapes I had close to one-hundred pages of data.

With no presuppositions governing what I was looking for or what I was going to find I began to 'open-code' the data. Key in-vivo words were underlined

and descriptive codes were written in margins that served to disect the data. After going over the full transcript a number of times and finding no new descriptive or organizing codes emerging I began to conceptually play with the codes in a processual manner. By simply asking the question, "What is going on here?" I was able to arrange the data into a few tentative schemes, each inconclusive although suggestive and directing toward further lines of inquiry. A central theme that recurred no matter how I worked the data was one of movement (behavioral) based on information of various sorts, received by the persons, and then implemented toward becoming a gambler. Still not aware of what substantive focus was in the making, I was faced with the methodological question of whether I talk to other gamblers or pick a person in a different field. Because the manner in which the gambler arrived at his profession and not the profession itself was the most fascinating to me, I opted to talk with others in an effort to determine how "they got where they are." Also, this stance allowed me to talk with anyone and everyone regardless of their field of endeavor, ultimately affording a greater pool from which data could be gathered.

Over the course of two months data was compiled on twenty-six different people, continually coded and

compared for patterns. My first attempt to work the data theoretically led me to the notion of "career patterns." The idea that career patterns are an outgrowth of factors intervening in one'e life often times long before a "career" is formally contemplated. This theoretical focus led me to examine the logical antecedents associated with a career pattern. It was obvious that one prepares for, chooses, and then embarks upon a career which ultimately unfolds in a patterned manner. To follow-up on the 'preparation and choice' aspects of a career, my job setting offered itself as a natural and practical environment. The junior college setting provides a multitude of services that are career oriented. Gaining entré into the counseling department with no overall plan in mind other than observing and interviewing posed an initial problem. I found the counselors initially skeptical about my intentions. Here I was, 'teaching faculty', interested in counseling. To my amazement, expressing interest in a field outside one's own domain is tantamount to 'snooping'. After days of persistence, I finally discovered what the crux of the issue was: the counselors felt that I was a faculty representative examining 'their' area to find ways to cut back services (Proposition 13 paranoia), thereby saving money and keeping the administration off the

teaching faculty's backs. Putting that issue to rest proved easy (once it was discovered) and further entré was made easy. In fact, the idea that an outsider would, under no obligation, want to research and possibly contribute to their field made doors open up that I had assumed would have been off limits. The only bargaining involved amounted to promising them a chapter outlining the methodology used that governed my research. They were a little amazed that "research could be conducted without a formal design" to guide the researcher. Their only other concern was that I would wind up telling them what they already knew, especially "not knowing the field and wanting to look at it all."

Slowly at first, but with more confidence after a few days, I moved about the counseling department orienting myself to what was going on. I began to set up appointments with counselors to get their views and techniques related to vocational or career counseling. At first I found myself asking a lot of naive questions, which if nothing else, removed all my doubt as to my ignorance in the field. To supplement the counselor interviews, I began a review of the literature which in turn allowed for more focus on my part during the interviews.

While analyzing the data from these interviews the notion of 'deciphering sources' emerged as a construct around which this particular data integrated. From six independent interviews with counselors over a three week period I began to recognize the importance of 'different types of information' and the influence such information had on the formulation of assumptions about oneself vis-a-vis the world of work.

At this point my data collection was somewhat one-sided in that I was relying heavily on counselors' descriptions in accounting for students' recollection of events which contributed or dictated their career development. I became aware of this bias when the memos I was writing began to sound like the literature I was reading. I found myself beginning to force data into a scheme instead of finding a 'fit'. To countervail this tendency I decided to focus more attention on the students and their particular involvement in the process of career development with counselors.

Data gathered from the interaction of student with counselor came principally from observing career development and job-seeking skills classes. Initially, making observations in the classroom setting posed problems for the instructors (counselors) who taught the courses. They felt they were being evaluated even in

view of my insistence that names and specific classes or people would remain anonymous. Circumventing this potential obstacle involved a 'behavioristic' strategy. By consistently complimenting the instructors on their "insightful" use of examples or subject material, they became increasingly desensitized to my presence as an outsider. I had in effect become an "admirer" of their ability to present and utilize material effectively. Within a short time I became a resource for feedback being called upon to respond to frequent "what do you think about . . . " questions pertaining to classroom exercises.

Participant observation within the classroom persisted for a period of two months amounting to over twenty in-class hours. The data from these class visits provided a rich source of information about biographical and present factors felt by students to have contributed heavily to their future career goals. The data also made apparent the problems associated with pursuing a career when one's awareness of what he does not know is limited. Deciphering sources, status types of information, and work and self assumptions were all an out-growth of the data compiled from counselors and classroom visits. The actual concept of "funneling", which theoretically integrated the data dealing with information, was adopted

from discussions between myself and the chairman of my committee. The other two theoretical codes, testing and engaging, were also formulated in this manner.

Of concern to me at this point was the connection between the type of information within one's work and self assumptions and its subsequent consequences with reference to a career. One aspect of the data not addressed yet was the difference in intensity and assuredness among students with regard to what they wanted to be and do occupationally. I found references to this throughout the data but was immobilized in terms of finding a conceptual "fit" with the rest of the data. Now focusing on this problem I decided to interview those students from the classroom who seemed so sure of their career outcome and direction.

Before approaching these students I cleared my intent with the instructors of the classes and encountered no problem. At first I focused exclusively on those students who seemed to be the most motivated and directed in their career approach and attitude. The next few weeks were spent interviewing four students who fit my criteria and who were also representative of different occupational pursuits. Commitment as a major property surfaced overwhelmingly in each of the interviews with

some reference to the conditions under which it affects movement toward their career.

Methodologically, I was naturally led to inquire about the absence of commitment and its effect on one's career movement. Going back over the data collected during classroom visitations I was able to pick out a few students I had coded as "marking time", somewhat ambivalent about choosing or moving toward a career in a purposeful manner. I anticipated some difficulty in interviewing these people; my fear was one of inadvertently causing embarassment or defensiveness during the interview. The question became one of, "How do I talk with students about a sensitive and possibly disturbing part of their lives?" I could see from the earlier classroom visits that the students who were experiencing a lack of direction were uncomfortable about it and even somewhat desperate in their desire to find something occupationally worthwhile.

Instead of approaching these students with an unstructured interview, I decided to develop an instrument that asked questions in a more formal and "objective" way. Such an instrument would remove the personal and individual atmosphere associated with the more loose and flexible types of interviews. Whether my assumptions about the difference in types of interviews was correct

or not, I felt more comfortable during the interviewing process.

After only a few interviews it became apparent that 'risk' in the form of a calculus of deflection was associated with the apucity of known information in one's work and self assumptions. The analysis of risk further led to the development and identification of properties consistent with commitment. By theoretically searching for the opposites of risk in commitment and visa-versa I was able to densify the relationship between the two.

In attempting to discover other conditions under which commitment is developed, I found descriptions in the data of experiential arenas within the testing subprocess that further helped to establish its pre-decisional properties. The 'constraining' effect of commitment became visible in the data collected from students who lacked career direction but were approaching or anticipating making a choice in the near future. Not having the time to follow-up those students presently making their career choice I developed the post-decisional properties of commitment from the data collected at the onset of the study (26 case histories). The conceptual leverage acquired from the analysis of commitment assisted in the integration of Funneling with Testing and Testing with Engaging.

Commitment and deflection, both outgrowths of the information and utilization of information within one's work and self assumptions, established the basis for linking cognition with action. Both constructs served to impose a sense of structure upon the manner in which a career choice is arrived at and implemented. Inasmuch as commitment and risk of deflection appear in the pre-decisional stages, by implication they are involved in the structural designation of a career path. The data describing this connection came from the 'anticipated courses of action' described by students individually interviewed and selected from the earlier classroom visits and, those interviews (case histories) that relied on respondents' recollected behaviors associated with implementing their career choice.

The relationship between career paths and career patterns became present in the data when analysis was focused on the variability in the ways careers are engaged (chosen and acted upon). At first I could make no sense of many career patterns described in the data, particularly those patterns which seemed similar and yet the work and self assumptions among those connected with these patterns made use of different status types of information. When respondent descriptions of their career patterns were looked at with reference to a career

path, in conjunction with commitment and deflection, discrete patterns emerged within both career paths.

The theoretical progression of 'Gravitizing', from funneling to engaging, at this point took on a sense of closure. In trying to insure against premature closure I selectively interviewed a number of interesting people from a variety of occupational backgrounds. Finding no additional properties coming from these interviews I decided to subject my analysis to a further empirical test of validity. I distributed copies of my analysis chapters to the counselors who had contributed to the study. Their impressions and feedback were very positive, with responses such as, "that's it, it makes sense," to statements like, "we needed a way of seeing the whole picture." Subsequently, a number of weekly counselor meetings have been dedicated to discussing the practical implications of the theory. Also, Fall Quarter 1979, the counseling department has authorized a workshop on 'grounded theory' to "promote conceptual sensitivity" and gain insight into new ways of approaching evaluation research.

CONCEPTUAL AND STYLISTIC CONSIDERATIONS

The presentation of a theory in the form of a process immediately falls prey to the linear demands of writing. The problem becomes one of maintaining continuity of thought without compromising the fluidness of design. The progression of this study from funneling to engaging is but one alternative to the manner in which these subprocesses can unfold from person to person.

The conceptual level at which these subprocesses are formulated permits a transcendence from traditional explanatory variables. No single factor emerges as central or universal in its ability to account for variations among people within the process. Thus, differences among people in general may add to the complexity of the process but require no substantive changes of design within the process.

The limitations of conceptual leverage associated with gravitizing are bound to the conditions governing the social structure. The universality of this theory is affected by the opportunities of choice and social milieu within which choices are made. Therefore, transformations in how society views and addresses the constructs of self and social structure will serve to modify the interface in the career decision making process. In this sense, gravitizing must be understood

in relationship to the contextual factors of time and place. Either of these factors could substantively affect the direction governing the analysis of the choice process.

CHAPTER II NOTES

[1]Walter Wallace, The Logic of Science in Sociology (Chicago: Aldine-Atherton, Inc., 1971), pp. 16-25.

[2]For an in-depth discussion of Pragmatism and its link to other philosophical attitudes, see William James, Pragmatism, lecture I, pp. 17-37.

[3]A discussion of the properties governing a naturalistic researcher's choice of approach, refer to Schatzman and Strauss, Field Research: strategies for a natural sociology (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1973), pp. 4-5.

[4]Delbert Miller, Handbook of Research Design and Social Measurement (New York: David McKay Co., Inc., 1970), Second Edition, pp. 6-7.

[5]Schatzman and Strauss, Field Research, pp. 110-111.

[6]The researcher is viewed more as a phenomenologist than a traditional empiricist in approach to the social world, see S. Bruyn, The New Empiricist, pp. 283-287, in W. Filstead, Qualitative Methodology (Chicago: Markham Publishing Co., 1970).

[7]John Lofland, Analyzing Social Settings, (California: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1971), pp. 14-15. Also, A. Kaplan, The Conduct of Inquiry (California: Chandler Publishing Co., 1964), pp. 131-136.

[8]W. Whyte, Street Corner Society (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955), pp. 279-358.

[9]Ibid.

[10]Ethical considerations are discussed by K. Erikson, A Comment on Disguised Observation in Sociology, pp. 252-260, in W. Filstead, Qualitative Methodology (Chicago: Markham Publishing Co., 1970).

[11]Reference to construction and types outlined by A. Kornhauser, Questionnaire Construction and Interviewing Procedure, pp. 423-462, in Vol. II of Research Methods in Social Relations (Dryden Press, Inc., 1951).

[12]A. Edwards, Techniques of Attitude Scale Construction (Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1957). Refer to their survey of attitudes on residents of Seattle toward a proposed state bill.

[13]E. J. Lindgren, Field Work in Social Psychology, British J. of Psychology, 1935, Vol. 26, Part 2, pp. 174-182.

[14]The author contends that because of interference in memory there is a tendency to reconstruct an incident in a manner different than how it would have been recalled at the moment it took place, refer to F. C. Bartlett, Remembering (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1932).

[15]Scahtzman and Strauss, Field Research, pp. 99-101. PN (personal note) is a classification subsequently developed by the authors.

[16]For a detailed account of the logic and design governing the analysis of this study, refer to Glaser and Strauss, The Discovery of Grounded Theory (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1967).

[17]Ibid., pp. 49-55.

CHAPTER III

FUNNELING

Society and individuals are inseparable phases of a common whole, so that wherever we find an individual fact we may look for a social fact to go with it.[1]

Funneling: Initial Sub-processes of Gravitizing

A study of vocational development and career decisions would not be complete without focusing on their social-psychological dimensions. Neglecting the social-psychological dimensions is to view career decisions solely as movement through a series of regularized tasks, possibly bearing some relationship to one another, and hence having some degree of reproducibility and predictability. This ultimately casts the individual as a kind of passive reactor to social situations in which he finds himself. Central to the basic social-psychological process of gravitizing is the assumption that the individual initiates behavior as well as responds to the behavior of others. Therefore, when attempting to explicate the dimensions of making career decisions one must attend to not only the change and stability implicit in the concept of 'career decisions' but the impact of

temporal influences upon the person and how the person modifies and reinterprets these influences toward a decision leading potentially to a course of action.

Funneling as a preparatory and initial stage in the construction of career decisions emerges within a person's ongoing participation in social interaction. Conceptually, funneling appears as a process which serves to channel and focus information assumed to contribute to the construction of assumptions relevant to making career decisions. The construction of assumptions through funneling encompasses the formal and informal bringing together of data or information in a specific area acquired over the course of a person's life. The wealth of acquired information from which parts are funneled into specific assumptions is continually being developed through socialization. Decision making is therefore not viewed as a discrete exercise in time but a cumulative integration of processes over time. Funneling as a process for processing specific information into assumptions must first be understood in the context of the general pool of acquired knowledge derived through social interaction and group experience, that is, socialization.

A brief discussion of social interaction and group experience is first offered as a foundation upon which the

subprocess of funneling can be more clearly developed with regard to its cumulative nature. During the initial period of development, learning through social interaction is for the most part no different from learning about the properties of the physical world. The child has to learn what to expect from everything that surrounds him, what it will do in response to his own action, and how he can influence it in favor of his desires. Dependent as he is upon the tending of others, he soon learns to take a special interest in the people who provide for his wants and produce desireable changes in his environment. Thus one's earliest experience of social interaction is surcharged with the pressure of basic needs; a great deal of the feeling of security becomes attached to predicting and controlling what will happen in the immediate human environment. For a time the youngster is the smallest and most helpless member of the family circle. The human environment for the most part consists of people much larger, stronger, and more mobile that oneself. Shortly thereafter one learns to interact with younger people and people of his own age, but his first social experiences are not of this character. Social learning can be viewed as beginning in the relationship of the infant to his providers.

In the course of time the child learns the peculiar properties of human beings. In one sense they can be more readily influenced than physical objects: cries, gestures, and words can sometimes control them in dramatic fashion. But they are less predictable than inanimate objects; they prove to have wills of their own, and their attention is sometimes found straying to other human beings. One of the most difficult steps in social learning comes with the child's discovery that the members of his family are interested in each other, not simply and solely in him. Social interaction cannot be confined to single channels; there are cross currents of affection and devotion, of jealousy and hate, and there are unaccountable changes in the attitudes of the several characters as a result of their interaction with one another. Very early in life the child thus begins to operate as a member of a group, the primary group that is his family.[2] His first training in group membership occurs within the walls of his home. It is likely that some of the positive and negative emotional and behavioral undercurrents which effect adult life spring from the circumstances of this first training. The situation is unavoidably one-sided and autocratic. No matter how earnestly the parents attempt to create a democratic atmosphere in the home, they cannot cancel

the fact of their child's immaturity and dependence, nor can they set aside the obligations that are theirs by virtue of superior knowledge and experience. They can make their constraints as reasonable as possible, but they cannot force their child to a grasp of reasonableness that is beyond his years. Thus the first group experience is bound to take place in a situation characterized by tremendously high emotional stakes and by a sharply outlined hierarchy of age, competence, and authority. In competent hands this situation, well suited to the immature state of the youngster, results in fine basic training for membership in society.

It is among his playmates outside the family that a child carries on the society learning that best trains him for interaction with his peers. Here he encounters a somewhat different set of social shaping forces. There is less emphasis on good behavior and conformity to adult standards, more on individual prowess, adventuresomeness, and willingness to share in whatever is going on. At first interactions are apt to be tentative and discontinuous; each meeting with any other child has somewhat the character of a new experiment. In the course of time these fragmentary contacts build up into more lasting relationships. The child behaves with greater consistency toward each friend, and

he gradually learns to react to more than one friend at a time. Children's groups at first lack permanence and structure, but as time goes on they become increasingly important in the shaping of the individual personality. Positions as leader, right-hand man, follower, idea man, clown, and water-boy receive sharper definition and are occupied on longer intervals. At length the child finds himself moving into the more fixed group structure of athletic teams and school clubs. By the time he reaches adolescence he has been repeatedly exposed to the shaping influence of groups.

Group membership effects the individual in a variety of ways. Under favorable circumstances participation in a group may produce a notable increase in the sense of personal worth and personal strength. Pooling of initiative and sharing of responsibility enable the group to accomplish many purposes far beyond the resources of any individual member. They enable the group to resist pressures before which individual members would feel helpless. If a member successfully performs his part, he receives approval and esteem which far surpasses anything he would be likely to secure by playing a lone hand.

The formative influence of groups is all the stronger because of the benefits that go with membership.

The nature of this influence can best be indicated by saying that the group teaches the individual to operate within shared norms. It bestows approval on what it considers loyal and good, disapproval on what it rates as disloyal and bad. Furthermore, the group helps the individual to sort out the particular roles that it is practical for him to play. It rewards with approval those roles which the person can play well and which at the same time promote the harmony and purposes of the group. In social interaction he learns what it is possible for him to become and what is necessary for him to discard. He may withdraw from a group which allows him no gratifying roles, and he may show persistence in clinging to roles of his own imagining, but somewhere he will require the approval that comes only from other members of society.

The shaping of individual behavior and preferences by group membership is particularly well illustrated in street-corner gangs.[3] These groups are little influenced by tradition, parental standards, or the dictates of a larger society. Nevertheless, they are extremely effective in upholding group norms and shaping the behavior of individual members in the direction of appropriate roles. It is clear that individual behavior

is sharply affected by the expectations of the rest of the group.

The manner in which an individual will be affected by membership depends somewhat on the character and structure of the group. A number of experiments with democratic and autocratic group atmospheres show that this is true even under temporary experimental conditions.[4] The democratic groups provided members with more numerous and more significant roles, allowing them to display initiative, make plans, and find ways of getting the work done in a preferred manner. In contrast, the autocratic groups favored passive acquiescence and did little to encourage the development of spontaneous differentiated roles. When studying individual lives, it is often difficult to ascertain the character and precise shaping influence of past groups. When it is possible to study a child's group activities, there can be no doubt that the course of development is markedly affected by the character of his important group memberships.

The differences between group pressures at home and those encountered on the playground and at school are important in the child's education. At home he finds one set of norms and plays one set of roles; outside he meets a different set of norms and finds

opportunity to play a different set of roles. As a child's memberships multiply, he begins to discover that different groups take different attitudes toward him; he begins to realize that he himself behaves and feels differently as he moves from one company to another. This type experience is crucial for more complex social learning. Through it a child arrives at a relativity of perspectives, realizing how widely people differ in outlook and interest. Such insight is an essential ingredient of mature social behavior.[5] It is a necessary step in learning about the properties of human beings.

Social interaction and the varied pressures of different groups tend thus to diversity a person's understanding of both other people and of himself. The concept of SELF is extremely important in view of the diversity found in social interaction and group experience. It is an integrative concept, needed to account for the fact that unity is preserved even under the most diversifying social influences. The self-image has its point of reference in one body and cannot be separated from our enduring sense of personal identity. It is from social scientists such as Cooley and Mead that we have learned how the concept can best be developmentally elaborated.[6] These writers, devoted to the social view of man, considered that the self achieved

its development through social interaction. They were dealing not with the self as an active ego but with the person's idea of himself; as Mead put it, not with the agent called "I" but with the object called "me." A person builds up a conception of himself out of the ideas he perceives other people have about him. This perception is grounded in how they act toward him. Through social experience he has to learn whether he is brave or cowardly, leader or follower, painter or dentist. In short, one begins to construct purposes, preferences, assumptions about self in relation to others, and a realization of the sort of person he is. Thus even one's assumptions about self cannot be formulated without reference to social interaction and membership in groups.

This brief discussion of social interaction and group experience as a background for posturing funneling as a developmental process further illustrates that assumptions about oneself and aspects of society are not constructed through a simple averaging of the evaluations that are sensed to proceed from other people. It becomes important to consider the relative influence of other people and the significance of ongoing experiences as they contribute to one's assumptions about self and others. It must also be acknowledged that a person has inner information for evaluating and assessing the

formulation of particular assumptions. The development of assumptions about self and other properties of one's environment is undoubtedly dependent on social interaction, but it is also a product of internal selection and organization, and it includes not only of what the person has become today but of what he may become tomorrow.

Deciphering Sources: Biographical and Extant

The information being funneled for purposes of constructing assumptions comes from a variety of sources. These deciphering sources, each of which assists the overall composition of assumptions relevant for a particular decision, can complement or contradict one another. Even though their function is to help one 'figure out' what is relevant information for an assumption, often times each source will bestow different significance on what information they provide. A student remarked to a counselor during the course of a counseling session, "My dad told me that work, no matter what kind it is, will make me feel productive. And recently an instructor of mine said that work must be suited to the person to make them feel productive." In the case of mutually contradicting information being funneled into assumptions, the person must discriminate as to what will

be incorporated into the assumption, or further test the status of the information (discussed in Chapter IV).

The deciphering sources which contribute to ongoing assumptions can be localized into two categories. There are those sources whose influence on one's assumptions was principally in the past as well as those sources which are presently sought out as he more deliberately seeks information for the construction of assumptions in anticipation of making career decisions.

Biographical sources refer mainly to sources of information that have gained import into one's assumptions through informal and formal socialization experiences. School, parents, friends, church, etc. each fall into this category. With reference to a church related experience one person mentioned, "For years I was taught that it was honorable to have a high paying job because of the amount of money that could then be donated to the church." One young man recalled the strong image of his father as a model of a "real worker,"

> I can remember my dad's veins sticking out of his arms making them look big and powerful. He swung a hammer ever since I can recall. What a sense of accomplishment he felt after a days work . . . with his two hands he could build anything. From him I learned the importance of relying on myself as a resource.

In recalling and describing biographical sources of information many people alluded to general influences thought to affect their assumptions today.

> In my set [referring to the group he hung out with] nobody worked an eight-hour gig [job], cept' those that was ignorant and had to . . . we was all taught at an early age in my neighborhood how to make for oneself and it hasn't failed me yet.

Specific inroads into one's assumptions are made by biographical sources as well as those that can be attributed to generalized cultural expectations present in one's background. The consistency in reports among respondents with reference to individualized or generalized influences suggests that the specific deciphering sources frequently served to simply elaborate upon the general cultural expectations. Carper and Becker in their account of development of identification with an occupation further corroborate the relationship among specific and generalized career influences.[7] Family and friends tend to impart specific statements and directives which essentially translate general dicta. These specific interpretations of generalized cultural expectations are usually presented and received most forcefully when they are backed by the family's sanctioning power. As the sanctioning power of the family wanes in the latter years of a young person's development specific family interpretations of general cultural expectations can meet with the potential for more resistance in being received. If a son or daughter considers their family well-informed about the occupational

world then specific notions will be regarded more seriously. Conversely, if one perceives their family as unrealistic or limited in the area then the gravity of such interpretations becomes less influential. For example, one person commented,

> My parents have always pushed for me to be a teacher . . . my mom used to be a teacher and she was always telling me how it was. But I have a friend whose dad is a teacher and he said that "it isn't what it used to be, you have to fight to teach and it's appreciated by too few." I think my mom still sees it like it used to be.

Extant Sources. Aside from the sources affecting the funneling of information in one's past there are also those deciphering sources more deliberately sought-out in anticipation of making career decisions. Such sources include counselors, persons existing as role models within particular areas, friends, introspection, etc. Each of these act as potential resources to be tapped in assisting the further funneling of information into assumptions. Many aspects of the assumptions considered in making career decisions exist as unclear or contradictory. The general features governing a person's relationship to extant sources is the need for clarity, direction, and guidance in the further development of assumptions. For some, counselors exist as the most illuminating extant source of information and direction. A senior undergraduate student remarked,

> Confronted with the reality of graduating from college, I began to feel more apprehensive than excited. I knew it meant that I had to start making some decisions about a career. It's not that I hadn't thought about it, but the idea of being forced to make a decision raised some doubts and questions about myself and the type of occupation I should pursue. Luckily I had the foresight to 'seek-out' a counselor on campus. He really helped me to understand what was important in making my career decision. Actually, I knew a lot of what he said but he made it make sense for me.

A person seeking information from these sources usually is engaged in a more deliberate attempt to impose order upon the uncertainties within their assumptions. The tools used and the type services rendered by vocational counselors lend further evidence to the focused nature of the information funneled during counseling sessions. A junior college vocational counselor in describing her function stated,

> My typical response to someone requesting vocational guidance is to make an inventory of the individual, matching abilities with job requirements, and then helping the person make a survey of one or more appropriate occupations. Frequently I administer self-analysis questionnaires, aptitude tests, or interest inventories. In conjunction with this information the student's school record is reviewed, and then all of this data is analyzed and synthesized by me. After all that I am in a position to inform and direct the student.

Implicit in the use of such methods of vocational guidance is the view that career choices are made generally as the result of information about oneself and the world of work, and further, the best way to facilitate the career

decision process is to give people information about themselves and about occupations.[8]

This more directed approach, not only with counselors but with other extant sources, implies a greater urgency among those anticipating making career decisions in the immediate future. As the prospect of having to make a career decision draws nigh the deliberateness of 'seeking-out' specific sources becomes more apparent. A high school senior with two weeks left to graduation commented,

> For the longest time I wanted to talk to my dad about my future after graduating. It never seemed important until a few weeks ago. . . . I should say that I always found reasons not to, but when I did he really made me feel better. I still don't know what I want to be but he told me about things I could do to help me find out.

The manner in which deciphering sources are utilized varies from direct assistance, as described with reference to the previous cases cited, to indirect assistance where the source is often times unaware of their influence. Some sources of information exist as models to which people look toward for purposes of emulating in some way. A young woman graduating from college with a liberal arts background, still uncertain as to a career choice and skeptical of "professional assistance" exemplifies this indirect assistance approach to gaining information.

> I got tired of talking to people for guidance . . . most of them told me to choose what they would have liked to have been. My style is to check people out who I think have a neat life and then find out what they do for a living. I've come up with some pretty good ideas so far. . . . I saw this one woman walking in the financial district in San Francisco and she looked confident and energetic, basically someone who I would like to be like, so I followed her into this building to see if she worked there and what kind of work she did . . . it turned out that she was a project director for some state program. I was really impressed.

Among the most fruitful of the deciphering sources is 'self-inventorying.' Inventorying oneself is an attempt to generate information within a moving intra-communicative process.[9] The individual notes things, assesses them, and gives them a meaning. By virtue of indicating information to oneself, the person is then postured conceptually to accept, reject, or transform the information in accordance with the developing assumptions relevant for making a career decision. Such a deciphering source permits the individual to piece together an inventory of perceived significant properties that are combined with previous or subsequent funneled information from other sources.

> When I made my decision to become an electrical engineer I simply sat down and made a list of my strong and weak points as a person, then listed the occupations that I thought I would enjoy and develop with . . . and presto, here I am.

The assumptions constructed from the various sources which funnel information become formulated with reference to the decision to be made. Career decisions encompass the interface of two specific assumptions; work assumption and self-assumption. Both of these assumptions have been constructed through funneling which channeled the influx of information into one or both of these two assumptions. The roots of these assumptions are found in one's socialization, existing as an initial source of information, that later becomes funneled with other sources of information toward a codified formulation of work and self. In this regard funneling can be viewed as a codification of information into assumptions postured for potential career decisions. The extant deciphering sources further assist this process due to their more direct and deliberate influence on one's assumptions.

Self and Work Assumptions

The construction of work and self assumptions cannot be viewed solely as a process of finding out 'what goes' in the adult work world and then adopting those modes of behavior. As suggested in the discussion of deciphering sources, these assumptions are cumulative in nature starting with the young child and continuing through most of life. Also, these assumptions are developed independently or in combination with one

another, as in the case of the third grader who balked at mending his torn trousers because "that's women's work," but who learned through a field trip to a garment factory that men also sew. The confluence of these assumptions upon one another emerges directly from people's orientation toward social development. The young child, aspiring to be an adult, tends to identify with older persons and to engage in playing the roles one sees them take.

Since occupational roles are of central importance in our society, much of one's role playing and many of one's identifications are vocational in content. By the time boys and girls reach high school, where they may first encounter a formal unit of study devoted to occupations and self-analysis, they have already formed ideas about the nature and suitability of many kinds of work, and about their own abilities and interests. These ideas are still generally vague and ill-formulated and they remain subject to change with new experiences. Throughout this extended process people are continually incorporating information into assumptions about the world of work and one's relationship to it.

Information Statuses: Known, Variable Unknown, and Residual Unknown

Information funneled into one's work and self assumptions which is received consistently or acquired from a number of deciphering sources occupies the known status.

> My mom and dad never layed the trip on me to be a doctor or lawyer but I'll bet I've heard a hundred times to be something that will bring me respect. Even more important than how much I make, is RESPECT!

Common known factors within one's work assumption include type of work associated with specific occupations, compensation ranges within categories of occupations, formal requirements associated with entrance or recruitment, and status conferred upon one within occupation. Common known factors within one's self assumption include relative level of intelligence, strong and weak points in character, things which precipitate happiness or satisfaction, level of manual and physical skill, and expectations with reference to life-style.

Such information is primarily treated and perceived by an individual in rather absolute terms. The foundation of people's work and self assumptions becomes predicated on the known status of information and in turn commands the greatest amount of influence in the decision making process. Although information of

known status is treated as absolute, there are many factors which alter its status or serve to minimize it's relative import in the decision making process. When information achieves the status of known, this does not preclude other ways of assessing or evaluating the same data thereby altering its original status. One known aspect of a person's work assumption may include an understanding of what is required on the job in a specific line of work but not include the concomitants or outcomes of such work each of which when learned can potentially alter the status of his information within his work or self assumptions. When these assumptions are interfaced for purposes of arriving at a career decision the correlation of information can serve to modify the status of information within the respective assumptions. An industrial arts major at a four-year college described this modification of information status while involved in a work experience preceptorship,

> I have always thought of myself as being good with my hands and this was the most important consideration for choosing my occupation . . . but when I got assigned to a compressor manufacturing plant for my work study I realized it's not only how well you are capable of putting an engine together but how well you know how to put an engine together.

Some people's work and self assumptions are comprised of nothing more than known information, in cases

such as this other status categories of information are either systematically neglected, or denied as relevant for making career decisions. One rationale for ignoring such information is that,

> Why worry about what you can't control . . . I figure I'll get as many breaks from what I don't know as I will bumps. It's not as though I can't change my mind . . . everyone else would be affected as well.

Information which is variable unknown encompasses the potentially knowable, contradictory or questionable aspects of funneled information. The formulation of realistic and operational work and self assumptions to a great degree is dependent upon the conversion of information from variable unknown to known. Taking into account variable unknown information can appreciably minimize the unexpected influence of situational factors that ultimately can affect the outcome of career decisions. Emphasis upon variable unknown information is an acknowledgement of the fact that factors external or marginally associated with one's known information need to be taken into account. For the individual gravitizing toward making a career decision the implications are clear. One must not only tally their abilities, needs, values, interests and obvious aspects of the world of work (i.e. known status information) within the work and self assumptions but must account for the factors,

conditions, circumstances, and forces surrounding and potentially influencing such a decision. Typical variable unknown information in one's initial construction of work and self assumptions include managerial or supervision policies within occupations, exercising of independence, types of associates, timing of entry, fluidity of segments within profession, structural characteristics of work situation, and advancement paths or promotion prospects.[10]

Altering the status of information from variable unknown to known can be pursued in two manners; testing (discussed in Chapter IV) or further cultivation or utilization of deciphering sources. The extended or more calculating use of deciphering sources can be seen in the case of a second year graduate student attending a California university. With the full intention of becoming a state university professor, a graduate student decided to further examine some questions remaining about his prospective field. Instead of pursuing his line of inquiry with his counselor, which was usually the case, he took it upon himself to seek out a teaching professor at a four-year college.

> What I found out that I didn't know was that for a good number of years there would be no choice of classes for me. I would spend many years teaching what everyone else decided they didn't want to teach.

The transition in the status of this information from variable unknown to known subsequently redirected the student's work and self assumptions toward the more likely decision to teach in a junior college.

Residual unknowns govern the totality of influences and contingencies potentially affecting one's career decision that cannot be fully accounted for in the development of work and self assumptions. There are no deciphering sources capable of clearly and definitely explaining the possible interplay between this status of information and the consequences for career decisions. This category of information also encompasses variable unknown information which persists in one's work and self assumptions and whose status never becomes 'known'. One example of residual unknown information is the force of supply and demand. In our society the ratio of supply of workers of a given type to the demand for the service which they are able to render will be for the most part an incalculable factor effecting one's choice and adjustment. Occupational trends, which reflect business, industrial, and social trends show that these two factors often times vary unpredictably causing shortages and surpluses.[11] Some people's work and self assumptions that incorporate this status information view its influence rather philosophically, "Who knows

if my education to be a solar systems analyst won't be obsolete by the time I'm out . . . nothing ventured, nothing gained!"

Another factor, technological change and automation offers itself as a residual unknown in many fields of endeavor. These forces are generally thought of as operating solely in manufacturing and mechanical industries, but all proving consequential in other fields as well, both positively and negatively. Stenographers are slowly giving way to dictaphones and typists, and the latter may in time be abolished by dictaphone records which can be sent through the mail or placed in a transcription machine to be automatically typed up. Bookkeepers are being replaced by office machines and relatively smaller numbers of machine operators. Old occupations in the professional fields also are being modified and new ones created by technology. Thus practical nurses, instead of being displaced, play a more important part in the medical profession than in previous years, while special nurses, nursing supervisors, medical technologists, x-ray technicians, medical librarians, and other possessors of technical skills and knowledge who utilize special apparatus and methods are increasing in numbers and importance. Other residual unknowns include acts of God, depletion of natural

resources (shortages), public policy (legislation), unionization, and accidental disability. The list of possible residual unknowns becomes proportionate to the number of unanticipated or unexpected consequences of one's career decisions.

CHAPTER III NOTES

[1]C. H. Cooley, Human Nature and the Social Order (New York: Scribners' Sons, 1922).

[2]For a full discussion of primary and secondary groups with reference to socialization see, C. H. Cooley, Human Nature and the Social Order (New York, Scribners' Sons, 1922).

[3]W. F. Whyte, Street Corner Society (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943).

[4]Lewin, Lippit, and White. Patterns of Behavior in Experimentally Created "Social Climates," Journal of Psychology, 1939, Vol. 10, pp. 279-300.

[5]E. Lerner, The Problem of Perspective in Reasoning, American Journal of Sociology, 1937, Vol. 43, pp. 249-269.

[6]C. H. Cooley, Human Nature and the Social Order (New York: Scribners' Sons, 1092); G. H. Mead, Mind, Self, and Society (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934).

[7]J. W. Carper and H. S. Becker, Adjustments to Conflicting Expectations in the Development of Identification with an Occupation, Social Forces, XXXVI (October 1957), pp. 51-56.

[8]The approach described is not characteristic of the modus operandi of all vocational counselors. Some feel that exclusive emphasis on information-giving is to rely too heavily on the logical and rational tendencies of people. The idea here being that the problems of vocational choice are problems of personal adjustment calling for psychotherapeutic techniques. And so, in contrast with classical vocational counseling with emphasis on facts, there is personal counseling with an emphasis on emotion. For further discussion see C. R. Rogers and J. L. Wallen, Counseling with Returned Servicemen (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1946).

[9]For a discussion of the more general process of self-indication refer to H. Blumer, Symbolic Interactionism (Prentice-Hall, 1969), pp. 78-79.

[10]Many of the variable unknowns emerging from the structural aspects of a profession are discussed by A. Strauss, Professions, Work and Careers (Sociology Press, 1971), pp. 11-23.

[11]Further analysis of occupational trends is developed in, H. D. Anderson, Occupational Trends in the United States (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1960).

CHAPTER IV

TESTING

> *Man looks at his world through assumptions which he creates and then attempts to fit over the realities of which the world is composed. The fit is not always very good. Yet without such assumptions the world appears to be such an undifferentiated homogeneity that man is unable to make any sense out of it.*[1]

The initial stage of funneling, where information of various types is acquired and formulated into work and self assumptions, soon gives way to the more 'experience' oriented stage of testing. During the testing stage the adequacy of a person's work and self assumptions as well as their congruency is addressed in an attempt to make a more realistic commitment to a career decision. Testing as a subprocess of gravitizing encompasses the more realistic assessment and evaluation of the myriad factors influencing one's assumptions previously formulated. The use of the term 'realistic' does not imply that one's previously formulated work and self assumptions are naive or perfunctory to the subsequent stages of testing and engaging. Rather, the new and more focused awareness of factors affecting one's assumptions become more specific and definite when tested

through experience. Work and self assumptions begin to lose their amorphous quality when the information persisting in their formulation goes beyond the simple cognitive process of assessing multiple factors solely by weighing the pros and cons! Testing through a number of work experiences can help to increase and transform the number of variable unknowns to 'knowns', thereby contributing to a greater clarity and significance of one's work and self assumptions toward an identification and commitment to a career choice. A number of theorists have suggested, although in different terms, that the career decision making process could only be enhanced by the comprehensiveness and adequacy of the cognitive assumptions of work and self.[2] Thus, at this point in the examination of the interface between work and self, we are concerned not with the nature of information pertinent to one's work and self assumptions, but with the plan for further utilizing the information.

Testing Arenas

The home is not just a stage on which actors are observed in various roles on which the individual himself may try out roles of his own choosing as was indicated in the discussion of funneling. It is also a hotel, a restaurant, a recreation center, a carpenter shop, and a variety of other industrial, agricultural, business and

educational enterprises.[3] These preoccupational enterprises are carried on by the members of the household, and each one may have a part in many of them.

As an individual matures he himself has increasing opportunities, and feels increasing demands, to work in these enterprises himself. In theory, if not always in practice, he may put away his own clothes and make his own bed (hotel work); set the table, wash dishes, cook, and wait on table (restaurant work); help plan family entertainment and outings, and supervise the play of younger children (recreational center work); he may help his siblings with their school work, wash and iron clothes, repair furniture and appliances, work in the garden or in the fields, and so on. In the course of these activities, or whatever combination on them he engages in, he finds out about the nature of the work, observes that men do some things and women others, learns something about other places in which it is also done, finds out how well he likes it, and compares or hears his performance compared with those of others.[4]

Not being given to analyzing behavior and experience, lacking the techniques and tools of social scientists, an individual may not recognize this preoccupational testing process for what it is. One's work and self assumptions assume a more circumscribed

appearance, shedding continually their more nebulous original formulations. The kind of role one may play in life begins to emerge, even within the boundaries of the home. Some longitudinal studies have demonstrated a relationship between having suitable home experiences and making a satisfactory work adjustment in adulthood.[5] Not only are the roots of one's work and self assumptions grounded in the home, but tested within the same structural confines. However, testing in the home is not solely a process of reformulating one's work and self assumptions, but of developing a basis for 'finding out' what sort of outlets there are in society for a person who seeks to assume a given kind of role, and then of making modifications in the work and self assumptions to bring them into line with reality. The case of Mr. R. illustrates the utilization of one's household as a testing arena.

> Legend has it, according to my parents, that I began taking everything apart I could get my hands on by the age of four. It seemed that I had an insatiable urge to discover how things worked from clocks to my mother's washer. My dad to this day reminds me that I was never successful in getting things back together but brilliant at disassembling. When I got to the point of becoming inquisitive about my parents car, they decided to intervene and supervise my attraction to automobiles. For my tenth birthday I got my first complete tool set, everything I needed to do anything I wanted. The same day my dad turned over half the garage space to me and then proceeded

> to unveil an engine covered with a sheet that he bought for me to work on. Within two years all the neighbors were bringing their cars over whenever anything needed repair (within reason) . . . the Garage became known as Fred's garage. I loved those years working in the garage . . . so much I have six auto repair garages of my own now.

In today's society the school as a social institution has taken over many of the functions previously provided by the home. It has become for a number of people a testing arena 'par excellence'. The word education itself, means to lead forth, to develop, to assist the individual to emerge in the world as an effectively functioning adult. There are a number of structural and social properties of schools which lend themselves to enhancing the testing process.

The curriculum of the early years in high school and in college may legitimately be viewed as suitable for testing in much of its content and purpose. In fact, the original basis of the junior high school was to establish the opportunities to 'try out' a variety of subjects, ranging from the various shops to the theatre arts. These testing modules in junior high were to provide the insight for wiser choices of curricula on the high school level. The need for such exploration and testing was made clear by the presence of both humanistic and scientific college preparatory curricula, commercial

sequences, and trade courses, requiring different type interests and levels of ability. Similarly, the first two years of college are viewed as having not only general educational value, but also the value of orientation and direction through testing experiences. The student can 'test out', in survey courses in the natural sciences, social sciences, industrial arts, and humanities, in which of these fields his interest and abilities are most likely to find an appropriate outlet.

Schools offer orientation courses during the first year or two of each level of education beginning in junior high school, and including in some instances, the first year of graduate school. Such courses often include both a unit in self-analysis, in which the student makes a study of himself in order to better understand his abilities and interests, and a unit in which the educational and occupational opportunities are studied which may be open to and suitable for him. The outcome of such orientation courses is an enhanced awareness of how to make use of and maximize upon the opportunities available.[6] Many students even as late as graduate or professional school need a great deal of testing of themselves and their prospective field of work, both of which can and are sometimes accomplished through the efforts of orientation courses. The format

of such courses can range from field trips or site visits to laboratory simulated occupational situations. A recent recipient of an M.S. in counseling described her simulated work experience in this manner,

> Each student in our class was required to experience a counseling session with a client while being filmed and observed by fellow students. We were set-up in a room with two-way mirrors and microphone system for outside listening by observers. . . . I'd say that this testing experience more than any other graduate requirement had the effect of turning some to other fields.

Another means by which schools and colleges provide testing experiences is through their established activities.[7] Clubs make possible orientation to and try-outs in farming, science, journalism, drama and other fields of work without the ties of formal commitment. Assembly programs sometimes promote vocational activities and opportunities for further first-hand knowledge. Occasionally a group of students undertakes a special project which has direct testing value, such as providing a recreational program or volunteering time for members of a convalescent home, or participating in the construction of a recreation hall at a summer camp, school sponsored during summer vacation.

Testing of one's self and work assumptions goes on not only in formal activities such as those described above, but also in more formal situations. The comments

and responses of friends during "bull sessions," where one can command a stage and test properties of their assumptions ultimately helps the individual to clarify his picture of himself and of his roles in relation to others. A case in point is that of Mr. T who used school as a testing stage for the prospect of future professional performances.

> I was what people call the 'school clown' . . . always telling jokes and pulling stunts for attention and laughs. Even though my performances didn't always bring laughs, I began to realize that combinations of jokes suited to certain audiences worked well. For three years I used my fellow students as guinea pigs to test my jokes . . . and unknowing to myself, I was putting together the potential for an act. Since graduation I have been doing small club jogs from place to place. . . . I'll probably stay with it.

For a large portion of high school and college students part-time work and vacation jobs are primarily a means for exploration and testing. It provides individuals with an opportunity to develop an understanding of the daily regimen associated with a particular occupation, including responsibilities, punctuality and deadlines. It provides opportunity to mix with adults more or less as an equal, and to become oriented to the working subculture into which the person is eventually to move. The individual can try out numerous roles within the part-time work arena and test the reality and adequacy of their work and self assumptions. It is

because of these testing experiences that, when the employment records of those with preoccupational experiences were examined in relation to those without such experience, it was found that the former were better oriented to and integrated into the world of work.[8] Part-time work experience also has some bearing on the individual's opportunity to test his aptitudes, interests, and skills, to find out whether or not he likes a particular type of work and whether or not he can do it to the satisfaction of others and of himself. Furthermore, he learns about some of the kinds of situations in which that type of work is carried on, some of the kinds of people, equipment, activities, and problems associated with that type of work. He can find out whether or not the role he might take in that type of work is congenial with reference to his work and self assumptions.

The part-time or vacation employee is likely to get something of a 'bird's-eye view' of the occupation and of the enterprise in which he works. The credit department job the college student gets while regular employees are on vacation is likely to be that of assistant bookkeeper, making routine entries from sales records and credit reports and routing these forms on to the next clerk. The high school student who assists in

a hospital laboratory during her summer vacation is more likely to spend her time cleaning equipment and handing things to the technician than in getting blood samples from patients or studying specimens under a microscope. Both jobs in their own way helping to develop a more realistic perspective on the division of labor and the limitations and opportunities associated with a particular position. Equally as valuable as the actual working experience is the opportunity to make contacts with a variety of people who work in a variety of capacities. The assistant bookkeeper may see other types of record work going on around him, some of it hand work and some of it machine work. He may on occasion have business in other departments, when he has opportunity to observe and hear about some of their operations. He may eat lunch and go to and from work with people in still other jobs and departments. Similarly the hospital laboratory technician's helper may observe and assist not only the work of the technician, but to some extent also the work of receiving clerk, the business office clerks, the social workers, and the nurses. Thus, the enterprising individual can 'try his hand at' or gain insight into a number of fields of work in the course of a single part-time job.

The progressive differentiations and reintegrations within one's work and self assumptions, as experienced through testing, serves to increase one's awareness of what is relevant for purposes of making a career decision.[9] Differentiation is a matter of distinguishing by a specific difference; of separating an aspect from its larger whole. Reintegration is the reformation of the whole, organized around the congruencies derived through testing within and between one's assumptions. Properties of one's work and self assumptions are substructed and reconstructed continually within the testing process toward a further codification of each as independent from one another and dependent upon one another.

One of the most notable advances in the development of one's work and self assumptions through testing is in the sharpening of a person's time perspective. Time no longer is dismissed as a discrete variable, in a "not now--later" manner, but becomes recognized as a continuum which extends from the "right now" to the remote future. As a consequence, present behavior is perceived as directly affecting future actions and alternatives. Accordingly, the person strives to look ahead and to conceptualize a 'future self' (project of one's present work and self assumptions into a career image) as a guide to present courses of action.

The influence which reality has upon the course of one's vocational development becomes more apparent through testing, and so the individual assumes a more instrumental attitude toward career choice. Thus, testing not only alters the status of information within one's work and self assumptions, provides an arena within which the work and self assumptions can be interfaced, sensitizes one to 'time' as a relevant factor, but poises one's codified work and self assumptions as a constructive force toward making and pursuing a career choice.

A recapitulation at this point, of the relationship between funneling and testing, will enhance an understanding of the extraneous dimensions of testing; risk, commitment, and deflection, yet to be developed. The process of making career decisions involves the interface of two primary assumptions constructed through funneling; work assumption and self assumption. Through testing self assumptions are compared more realistically with work assumptions in determining their congruency. Based on the 'fit' between work and self assumptions when interfaced through testing, a structure of choice emerges allowing the individual to develop courses of action toward the implementing of such a choice.[10] It becomes apparent within this matrix that a career decision is a superordinate construct emerging from the interface of the

subordinate assumptions of work and self. Testing then becomes a sequence of successive approximations whereby adequacy and congruency are examined within and between assumptions. Career decisions then assume meaning (degree of commitment) based on the level of construction and congruence among the work and self assumptions. The 'meaning' or 'level of commitment' associated with a career decision reflects not only how one will engage (discussed in Chapter V) but the calculus of risk (probability of deflection from intended course) associated with one's career decision.

Commitment and Deflection

The development of a sense of commitment, which is here considered predominately to be an outgrowth of the 'testing' process, helps account for the variability observed between people with regard to the career decisions they make, and the changes in career decisions (deflections) by some at points throughout their working lives.

Commitment depends on all of the individual's previous funneling, but it is most directly related to the testing process whereby one can increasingly assess his proclivities toward a certain type of work. As a person's work and self assumptions are interfaced through testing the conflicts, inconsistencies, and congruencies

between their capacities, interests, values, and objective occupational realities become clearer and more visible.

At this point the individual not only becomes aware of what are promising occupational choices, but those types of work which he would not consider except under unusual circumstances. By narrowing the potential field of choices through testing, the individual is freed to expend more resources and to invest himself more heavily into a few lines of inquiry. Individuals now become increasingly conscious of the attraction of a certain type of work; find themselves able to spend many hours at it; and are not discouraged by minor obstacles which at an earlier time might have led them to reject it. One person put it in these words,

> Well, the more I work with it, the more interested I become, and the more I learn, the more I realize there is to learn; it stimulates my interest. . . . I'm pretty sure I'll go into mechanical engineering.

A graduate student in chemistry involved in summer work pointed out that he gets lots of fun out of work, even

> out of the boring part. Certain parts of the job are less rewarding than others, so I devote as much time as possible to the interesting ones. And if you have to work with the boring ones, you get it over with.

Implicit in the process of testing is the further validation of 'known status information' derived through funneling, and the transition of 'variable unknown

information' to the known status. It is the repository of known status information within one's work and self assumptions that the individual becomes commited to as a basis for discriminating among a number of career options. The more that becomes 'known' within one's work and self assumptions, the stronger the allegiance or aversion toward a specified field of endeavor. Testing as a process permits individuals to align themselves with the many forces and types of information that have perceived relevance for a career decision.

Thus, commitment reflects the degree to which one believes and subscribes to the adequacy and congruency of information within his work and self assumptions as a directive for a career choice. A degree of commitment is present with every career decision, and the individual recognizes this by his willingness to bring his explorations to a close and by his ability to make definitive plans for the future, subject to minor changes in detail. For instance, one graduating graduate student stated, "I'm convinced that political science is where I'm headed, although I haven't determined whether I will teach or seek a position in government." In short, he was suggesting that further decisions will be required, but they are of 'less importance.'

One criterion of 'intense commitment' to a specific career choice is an unswerving attitude toward that decision. A sociology graduate student stated that she could contemplate a change in her occupational choice only under 'exceptional conditions':

> A change of heart would be the main thing. If I found that at sometime downstream I really wasn't crazy about this stuff, or as apt, then maybe I would consider something else. . . . I don't think anything else could lead to a change.

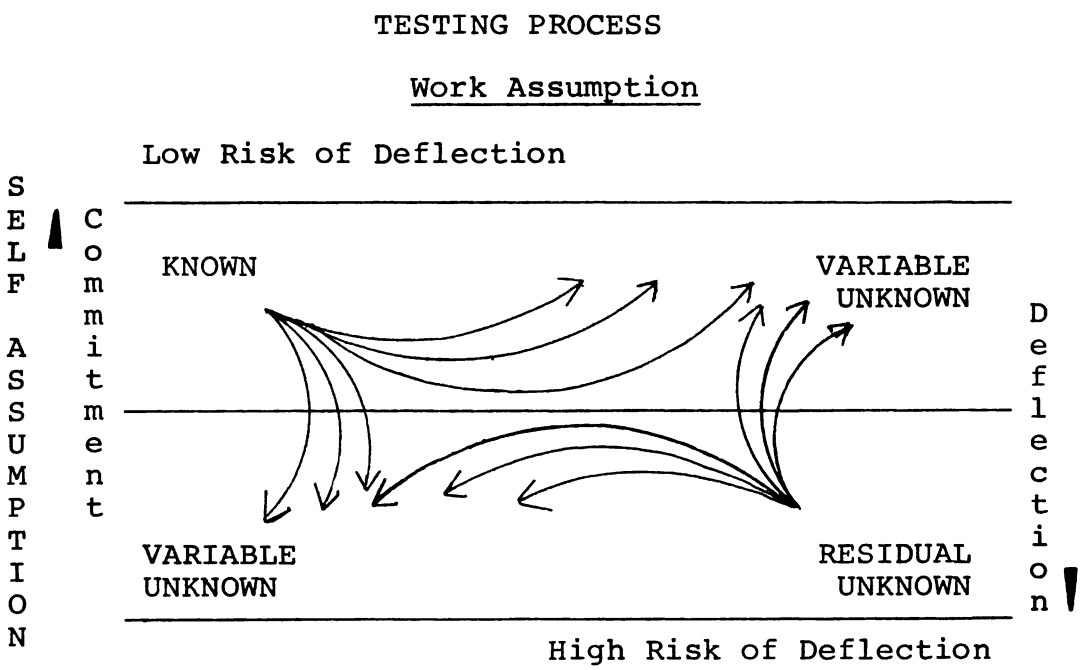
Another graduate student who is determined to pursue a career in international business stated,

> I can't see any possible change in my 'likes.' Of course there might be such a thing as a "dry spell" . . . everybody is interested in security, and if I thought I could do better, well . . . but for sure it would have to be in a related area.

About to embark upon a journalistic career, a graduating senior from a private college remarked that he could not conceive of changing his plans unless, "I found my whole feeling had been changed and I didn't want what I had wanted before." All of these expressions reflect a firmness of commitment which, unless disturbed by factors beyond one's immediate control or perception, suggests that the individual will not alter present plans fundamentally.

Even choices which one becomes commited to are not always final, since they might be subject to

reconsideration in the light of new experiences or be modified due to the unexpected presence of a residual unknown. But the greater the opportunity the individual has had to test work and self assumptions, and the more time and energy invested in acquiring known status information within both assumptions, the less likely one is to become deflected from a chosen field or positively attracted to a new field. Although the risk of deflection from or within a person's selected occupation is inherent in any career decision, the degree of risk becomes minimized in view of one's commitment toward a specific occupation. Thus, risk of deflection is inversely related to commitment. The diagram below illustrated this point:



The testing process represents the movement from the general or diffuse to the specific and focused within one's work and self assumptions. This 'temporary closure' and perceived integration within one's work and self assumptions becomes necessary in order to provide the basis for a decision leading to a course of action. A consequence of arriving at a career decision in this manner is that it enables one to evaluate the prospect of implementing such a decision in the world of work.

The perceived structural relationship between a person's career decision and the prospects of implementation in the world of work promote the formulation of a calculus or probability which in turn dictates the manner one approaches the engaging process. A high degree of commitment would suggest that articulation of a career decision from testing to engaging would be relatively smooth and predictable allowing for only a low risk calculus of deflection. Conversely, the formulation of a high risk calculus would indicate that a number of variable unknowns persist in one's work and self assumptions and a career decision based on such information would yield a high susceptibility to deflection.

Two principal criteria can be employed to determine an approximation of one's risk calculus of deflection. One is the person's willingness to specialize. Specialization involves the selection of the specifics of an occupational choice after a generalized choice has been made. It is difficult for a person to plan in advance the various aspects of one's career decision aside from determining the specialized properties. The acquisition of considerable information through testing in the field of choice becomes important. This does not preclude the possibility of specialization with only a modicum of testing, but makes it unlikely. Even those who pursue several years of graduate study combined with knowledge, skill, and experience to make the subtle distinction required for specification.[11] To be willing to confine himself to a relatively narrow field, he must have a strong conviction based at least upon testing experiences that have proven meaningful and worthy of commitment. As long as uncertainty remains as to which field is best suited to him, no intelligent commitment can be made.

A second measure of one's risk calculus of deflection is their resistance to deflection from a chosen course. Of course, when confronted by a very attractive alternative which is more or less consistent with the individual's ongoing work and self assumptions,

he will not bluntly ignore or reject it. This criterion emphasizes resistence to deflection rather than the impossibility of yielding to it. The graduate school journalism major, discussed earlier, reflects one of the few whose career decision has a marked degree of commitment and low risk calculus of deflection as evidenced in the specificity of his 'career plan.' First he would

> start out in some small town paper and travel around the country a bit. . . . As a newspaper man I would like to begin for about five years working for small town papers, doing reporting work, and then I would like to get a position either with one of the big news agencies, A.P., or U.P., or do editing news copy that comes through or working on the city desk on some major paper in a major city; and then I would like to operate by myself or with some people I know starting a paper of my own.

A major reason for the commitment and low risk calculus of deflection exemplified in the specification of this description is that he held a journalistic post throughout his school years and had, therefore, 'tested' rigorously his work and self assumptions.

Resulting from the testing process is a career decision borne out of the interface of one's work and self assumptions. The attendant risk calculus associated with such a decision varies along a continuum from intense commitment to a high susceptibility to deflection. The social structural conditions under which such a

decision becomes implemented into the world of work (that is, the manner in which one approaches the 'engaging process') is influenced not only by the career decision but the risk calculus associated with it. In essence, a career decision and its characteristic properties emerge as a structural directive governing the manner in which one 'engages.'

CHAPTER IV NOTES

[1]George A. Kelly, The Psychology of Personal Constructs (New York: W. W. Norton, 1955), pp. 8-9.

[2]Ibid., pp. 19-20. Also, Eli Ginzberg, Career Guidance (McGraw-Hill, 1971), pp. 186-210.

[3]For a more in-depth analysis of personal and work testing arenas, see John O. Crites, Vocational Psychology (McGraw-Hill, 1969), pp. 214-243.

[4]Leona E. Tyler, The Relationship of Interest to Abilities and Reputation, Educational Psychological Measurement, 1951, 11, pp. 255-264.

[5]J. G. Friend and E. A. Haggard, Work Adjustment in Relation to Family Background, Psychological Monographs, 1948, No. 16.

[6]For a discussion of orientation courses as an exploratory and testing device for students refer to Margaret E. Bennett, Guidance in Groups (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1955).

[7]M. F. Baer and E. C. Roeber, Occupational Information (Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1951).

[8]P. E. Coleman, A New Appraisal of the Cooperative Plan, Journal of Business Education, 1934, 10, pp. 913-914.

[9]Differentiation and integration with reference to cognitive processes are discussed in David V. Tiedeman, Career Development Through Liberal Arts and Work, Vocational Guidance Quarterly, Vol. 14, No. 1, 1965, pp. 1-7.

[10]The 'structure of choice' involved in career decisions is viewed as an outgrowth of both internal and external origins, as discussed in E. Landy and P. Perry, Guidance in American Education (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard School of Education, 1964), p. 162.

[11]Implicit in theories of work adjustment is the arduous yet rewarding development toward specialization as suggested by Dawis, England, and Loftquist, found in B. Hopson and J. Hayer, The Theory and Practice of Vocational Guidance (Pergamon Press, 1968), Chapt. 19, pp. 241-256.

CHAPTER V

ENGAGING

> *If a decision promises infinite rewards and threatens infinite risks, prudence requires, even if its outcome seems to us highly improbable, so long as the probabilities against it are not infinite.*[1]

Emerging from the previous subprocesses of funneling and testing is the third subprocess of gratitizing, engaging. This encompasses the pronouncement and actual or anticipated implementation of a career decision within the world of work. The work and self assumptions constructed through funneling and testing become articulated in the form of a career decision which in turn acts as a behavioral directive for implementation. At this point the individual formulates a course of action toward operationalizing the career decision. In this sense, the nexus between the making of a career decision and the manner in which such a decision becomes acted upon can be viewed as an extension of the funneling and testing subprocesses. In essence, the degree to which one's work and self assumptions have been developed and tested dictates the approach subscribed to by an individual in pursuit of integrating the career choice in the world of work. The strategic point in one's

career development that precipitates the engaging process is in the identification of a career choice.

'Choice' as a Directive for Action

As described in the previous chapters of funneling and testing, through the course of our experiences we form organizations or patterns of cognitions which tend to be clustered or categorized in an associative manner. These organizations or configurations are what have been previously referred to, with respect to career decisions, as work and self assumptions.[2] Cognition encompasses all of the functions involved in understanding and dealing with things and the relationships between things.[3] Cognitive elements or cognitions are data, items of information, or 'knowledges,' and they pertain to man as well as his environment. Through cognitive 'work,' man seeks to clarify his particular involvement with the world, and searches for meaning in his life. This cognitive work takes place 'inside us' and in part 'outside.' The construction of cognitive assumptions enables one to break up his environment into sections and to sort experiences into classes and systems. Through this continual organization and patterning of the environment man is permitted to deal with manageable units and treat discriminatively different things as equivalents.

Ultimately, cognitive assumptions serve as modes of representing or construing reality. They place boundaries and limits upon it and impart sources of direction for maneuvering within it.

Central to any person's cognitive assumptions of his world is the 'act of naming.'[4] To name or label one's cognitive assumptions is not only to identify them, but to locate them in the context of other cognitive assumptions, and to bestow a meaning upon them by assuming a symbolic position in relationship to them from some point of view. For example, when describing their career choices people continually made statements like this, "once I made my mind, i . . . ," "after I finally made a decision I began to . . . ," "I felt immobilized and began to get down on myself until I figures out what I wanted to do."

Thus, to name is to define, and in the case of making a career choice, the naming of the choice expresses one's definition of the interface between work and self assumptions. Whether the adequacy or congruency of one's work and self assumptions have been exhaustively developed to enhance one's choice or spuriously formulated offering only shallow assumptions of the relationship between work and self, the naming of a choice nevertheless provides a line of action toward implementing it.

Therefore, depending on the manner in which one's work and self assumptions have been constructed through funneling and testing, the act of identifying a career choice not only serves to guide a course of action toward implementation but has implications for adjustment, satisfaction, and success within the chosen field.

Career Paths: Implementing Through the 'Known' or Unknown

A number of studies in career development have attempted to describe and analytically demonstrate the existence of "career patterns." The numerous definitions generated by different authors reflect somewhat varying emphasis as to the appropriate framework for understanding career patterns. There nevertheless exists a common theme which has run through the majority of studies. They all conceptualize the career pattern as a sequence of related events or adjustments over time in the work history of the individual.[5]

Although any theory of career development must account for the sequence of the individual's work related behavior (i.e. patterns) it must also include a connection between work relevant experiences and activities before and after entry. The former is a continuous process with implications and predictive value for the latter. To date the bulk of research in this area addresses career

patterns at the point of entry into a formal occupation with little or no attention paid the processes of career development preceeding entry.[6] Career patterns as developed within these studies are dimensionalized along the lines of "security," "stability," "mobility," "levels of achievement," etc. with little reference to earlier development in accounting for these dimensions. Also, to account for the variability among individual career patterns some researchers proceed by generating a new pattern for each exception.[7] Such studies suggest that there are as many career patterns per occupation as people who participate within them. Clearly, a framework is necessary that can attend to a number of different career patterns in conjunction with different occupations and still remain faithful to 'career development' as a lifelong process.

"Career paths" represent the structural approaches toward implementing a career decision previously determined through funneling and testing. Funneling as a subprocess reflects the manner in which relevant cognitive assumptions are formulated for purposes of making a career decision. Within this process information of various statuses becomes incorporated into one's work and self assumptions. Through testing the status of information within the work and self assumptions becomes

altered and codified in a more purposeful manner toward making a career decision. A career decision arrived at through funneling and testing conceptually and empirically becomes a function of the interface between one's work and self assumptions. Depending upon the status of information (known, variable unknown, or residual unknown) utilized in the identification of a career choice, such information will determine the career path followed for implementing such a choice. Thus, a career path becomes a structural outgrowth of the information utilized in the construction of one's work and self assumptions. The implementation of one's career choice becomes limited by and bound to the nature of information utilized in the decision making process. That is, the course of action involved in the implementation of a career choice is inextricably linked to the previously developed processes of funneling and testing.

The term "career" now becomes meaningful in the context of career development as a lifelong process. Within this continuous stream of behavior an individual's career choice becomes directionally organized toward a career path. The term 'path' indicates the general structural conditions under which the individual's career choice is to be implemented. There are two paths emerging from the funneling and testing subprocesses, the

'Known' and 'Unknown.' Entering through the 'known' or 'unknown' implies that the sequential nature of career development encompasses the related behaviors of past, present and imagined future. To implement a career choice through the known or unknown, one is simply acting upon the structural conditions previously established in the cognitive assumptions of work and self. The cumulative movement from cognition to implementation is further described in this quote,

> Human experience is a continuous, unsegmented stream of behavior. Each behavioral event is intimately united with and derived from every earlier act; at the same time each, as it occurs, establishes itself as an element in some future experience. A response performed at one point on this continuum becomes a part of some subsequent stimulus pattern capable of evoking new responses at some later point. All previously performed acts merge and blend to form a reservoir from which new stimuli and responses emerge as they are required. The past, present, and even the future participate in the kinds of responses an individual performs at any given instant, and this immediate behavior influences both his future actions and the ways in which he interprets his former experiences.[8]

The specific manner in which people engage and make their ways in the world of work is not altogether determined by their career paths. Career paths primarily establish the structural conditions under which the specific career patterns are then developed. The relationship between a career path and the multitude

of career patterns that fall within its boundaries can best be understood as the relationship between a super highway and the numerous arteries branching from it. The respective arteries (career patterns) have their own properties and structure but are nevertheless still linked to one or the other of the two career paths. A brief description of the properties found within the two career paths will facilitate the subsequent discussion of career patterns.

Engaging Through the 'Known'

The key to understanding the structural conditions which establish one's career path is to be found in the importance of "information." Information is the translation of data/facts into personally significant meanings, and one's actions with reference to this information are seen as a function of the quality, comprehensiveness, and accuracy of the information utilized in the process. To avoid limiting one's actions in career development to externally determining forces in a mechanistic system, three status types of information were previously differentiated (refer to Chapter III). When an individual's work and self assumptions have been rigorously developed through funneling and testing the most reliant type of information used in making a career choice is 'known.' Once a career choice is made the status types of information

become known or residual unknown. As discussed in Chapter IV, the variable unknown status of information ceases to be variable, that is, it either earns its way into the known status through testing, or by default falls into the ranks of residual unknown information.

The career choice conceptually appears as an embodiment of both statuses of information, known and residual unknown, with a marked accentuation of one over the other as determined through funneling and testing. A consequence of 'known status' information primarily dictating the career choice is that the attendent course of action toward implementing such a choice becomes punctuated with clearer direction, continuity, and a sense of progression (examples of typical patterns associated with the two career paths will be presented in a later part of this chapter).

Engaging through this career path (known), with its seemingly linear course of action is not without its unanticipated risk factors (residual unknowns). However, the risk calculus of deflection associated with this career path is much less than that associated with engaging through the 'unknown' career path. The principle characteristic distinguishing the known from unknown career paths are to be found in the effects of commitment. Commitment enters into career decisional dynamics before

(i.e. during funneling and testing) as well as after (i.e. during engaging) the making of a choice. As previously discussed the type of information adopted into one's work and self assumptions during the predecisional stage is markedly influenced by cues that warn the person that he will be bound to his decision. In addition to the predecisional effects of commitment, postdecisional stability and constraint is predicated on commitment insofar as the person makes a "contract," or takes on an obligation in the eyes of self and other people in his social network to carry out a course of action.

Upon declaring a career choice, in this case well established through funneling and testing, the decision maker knows that failure to adhere to such a choice may lead to setbacks in time and resources, possibly adverse social criticism, and loss of self-esteem. Anticipations of these various types of loss stemming from commitment associated with one's choice constitute potential major sources of threat, which in many instances operate as deterrents to deflection.[9] Research on the personal, social, and utilitarian effects of commitment illustrate its importance in either increasing resistance or anchoring the person once having decided to implement a choice.[10]

Aside from the constraining effects, the act and process of commitment has its stabilizing effects. Commitment built into one's career decision tends to stabilize the choice because it adds incentive in favor of the intended course of action. In this sense, commitment can be viewed as bringing about an increased desire (for numerous reasons) for adhering to a decision. When an individual decides upon a career choice, the attitude toward that choice as well as its implications for later behavior become more salient and better defined. Thus, commitment provides an anchor by which one's beliefs, attitudes, and behavior are marshaled or organized, thereby influencing the overall development of a career pattern.[11]

Engaging Through the 'Unknown'

This career path implies that one's work and self assumptions have not been formulated through funneling and testing in a manner that yielded a great deal of known status information relevant for making a specific career choice. The composition of an individual's work and self assumptions are marked by a high degree of variable unknown information prior to making a career choice, which in turn becomes residual unknown subsequent to making a choice. Engaging along this career path

increases the risk of deflection and minimizes the effect of commitment as a stabilizing agent in the implementation of one's career choice. A number of terms have been used to describe the lack of sequence, meaninglessness, and absence of progression associated with some people's work histories.[12]

Engaging through the unknown does not necessarily suggest a qualitatively different type person than would be found engaging through the known. Rather, there is a less comprehensive development and formulation of one's work and self assumptions. A low degree of self-understanding vis-a-vis the work world and a paucity of occupational information or testing each contribute to the structural conditions under which this type of career path emerges. A career choice and its implementation may be inadequately prepared for or planned, but is nonetheless engaged in by the individual with the idea that he is 'trying himself out' in a field which may interest him, but which, if it proves inappropriate, will be abandoned in the pursuit of interests and opportunities in some presumably more fruitful field. The terms "try out" and "may interest" well denote the capricious career movement associated with this career path.

A considerable proportion of the career patterns (job movement) falling within this career path are not as planned as implied by the term 'path.' However, this does not preclude the possibility of one's career pattern from becoming stable with a sense of continuity and progression. The likelihood of such a career pattern being present within the unknown career path is minimized by the increased probability of deflection identified with this career path. The process of commitment can sometimes obscure the psychic costs and contrived stability of a career pattern subscribed to by an individual engaging through the unknown. Commitment is a standard admission price that everyone pays in implementing a career choice. In this case, commitment comes about involuntarily and often times in a piecemeal fashion, eventually 'locking-in' the decision maker into a binding career choice possibly against his own better judgment.

The typical way for people to find themselves 'stuck' with an unwanted choice is through the gradual increase of commitment attributed to any course of action taken toward implementing a decision previously made. Now the career choice, which would have been rejected if tested under other circumstances, becomes a matter of "now it's too late to get out of it." This

commitment entrapment is occasionally self-generated but is predominately reinforced by external social forces.[13] Prolongation of the state of indecision resulting from concern about unknown risks can preclude action, and this inhibition or immobilization toward engaging can force a commitment to a seemingly positive course of action, especially at a time when doing nothing is worse than 'doing' anything. Finally, commitment among the "uncommited" can be seen as a direct outgrowth of the continuity present in the career decision making process.[14] The process of making a career choice builds up an inertia which largely determines future actions and limits possible alternatives.

A number of factors have been identified as contributing to the "irreversibility" of choice.[15] Among these are: financial availability for retraining or educating, responsibilities associated with marriage and family, reluctance to admit poor planning or failure, and lack of guarantee that the new course of action will resolve the uncertainties about one's choice which prompted it. The net result of all the effects of commitment, whether specifically related to one career path or the other, is to decrease the chances that a person will be deflected toward a new choice and course of action. In the case of engaging through the 'known'

or 'unknown' commitment becomes a question of degree, with the overall effect of stabilizing a choice and minimizing deflection within the former career path and leading to possible entrapment and higher risk of deflection in the latter career path.

The existence of these career paths, with their respective social-structural properties, indicates that there are discernible sequences of behavior in how individuals act with regard to their career choice. These sequences of behaviors based on one's career choice and within the context of a career path are referred to as career patterns. The remainder of this chapter will present "typical" career patterns that fall within each of the two career paths. In developing the manners in which people 'make their way in the world of work' (career pattern), general descriptions of work histories will be presented with special emphasis on continuity, shift, and change within these patterns. With respect to continuity, the question is the relationship between the individual's present work and their original career choice. Shift refers to the adjustments made within the parameters of a specific career choice, and change addresses the presence of one or more deflections within one's career pattern.

Typical Career Patterns of the Known Career Path

Attempts to establish a "typical" career pattern can be approached in a number of ways. Ideally, a longitudinal study that compiles data on specific person's pre-occupational development through retirement, including people from all walks of life, would prove the most fruitful.[16] My approach to this task is to present a number of subjects falling within each "typical" career pattern and using their biographical descriptions as a tool for developing a single more comprehensive depiction of each pattern.

Contouring Career Pattern: This pattern characterizes those individuals whose career development follows a more or less straight path; after they have formulated and identified their career choice, they enter and remain in one field and continue to perform essentially the same type of work. The infrequent job changes of those in the contouring pattern do not in general reflect absence of opportunity but rather a disinclination to make a change which might deflect them from long-run career objectives.

Among those who follow this pattern is Mr. O.

> My desire and choice to pursue a career in counseling seemed to be a natural outgrowth of my personal background, work experience, and undergraduate as well as graduate education. For as long as I can remember I have been a

> people oriented individual [self assumption]. I have always tried to relate to those around me on an intimate level as I greatly value frankness and communicativeness. To a great extent this is due to the atmosphere that prevailed in my family as I was growing up [testing arena]. My parents encouraged openness [deciphering sources]; their attitude toward problems was that they are normal, and they should not be repressed, but should be dealt with analytically and discussed freely with a minimum of defensiveness [funneling]. Throughout my upbringing I attended summer camps and various group activities each of which further 'crystallized' my desire to work with people [testing arena]. By the time I got to college I had already developed a number of interpersonal skills and awarenesses, so my experience in those four years was one of developing more depth of understanding and confidence in applying what I had accumulated. Proceeding directly into graduate school after four years at UCB allowed me to ultimately bring into focus exactly what aspect of counseling and in what capacity I would enter and develop in the field. Upon receiving my M.S. in counseling I took a short break from my career pursuits and began my family. Shortly thereafter [1 year] I became a junior college vocational rehabilitation counselor and have been involved and steadily engaged in this employment to the present.

Another prototype of those who fall into this career pattern is Mr. B. who is a member of the American foreign service.

> I have followed a pretty straight line toward my job since my first year in college. . . . Actually as I think about it I can trace the roots of where I am today back to talks with my parents about my future as I was growing up. . . . The fact that I chose active employment with the federal government was a consequence of the opportunity for 'my type' of job following college. . . . I derive great personal satisfaction from my work . . . there is not a lot about my work that confronts me as a 'surprise,' I was able to anticipate

> most of what I deal with. I guess what I am trying to say is, that I chose the right career for me and am happy with my work and the future it offers.

A number of factors emerge from such retrospective accounts. For the most part these persons (and others not cited) seem to resolve their occupational choice early, and once they enter full-time work they tend to remain set. They stay with one employer or make only a few shifts. Mr. L. is an attorney who practices in the Bay Area and articulates another property characteristic of people who fall in the contouring pattern.

> My choice of profession has always been the law. It has been a very rewarding and absorbing profession. I have thoroughly enjoyed my training for and the practice of my profession, as well as the associations and opportunities it presents. If what I have said wasn't true I'm sure the four years I spent in the military which intruded upon my law education would have cooled me off.

'Commitment' also seems to permeate these individuals' accounts of their past career development. They are individuals who usually were headed in a particular direction by the beginning of college if not before, and they moved along the same track seemingly impervious to circumstances and conditions potentially leading to deflection (i.e. having a family, and military service).

Individuals who make a career choice early in life and who follow a single track seem to have this in

common: they possess a special talent or aptitude and become aware of their assets at an early age. Further, they find a satisfaction in using their special abilities and in the recognition of their accomplishments by others. Perhaps most important is the ease with which at an early age they translate these talents and abilities into an occupation. And the occupation is there, structurally for them at an early age. A professor of music reported the genesis of his career development as follows,

> At age five I used to hammer on the piano for something to do, and to my amazement I began to like it. By seven I was taking piano lessons and was continually told that I was "great" for my age. After reaching a decision at twelve to become a composer my parents and the schools which I attended made possible lessons in piano, theory, and history of music. Good choice of a university and a small inheritance at the end of the conservatory years made it possible for me to study under a major contemporary composer. . . .

Another special quality associated with this career pattern became evident in an interview with Mr. S.

> I have often times wondered exactly how I arrived at being an instructor. . . . I can vividly recall, a number of times, just sitting down and imagining what it would be like to be a lawyer, teacher, pilot, doctor, etc. A good majority of the professions I contemplated were readily dismissed because they didn't 'fit' the other parts of my life that were important. I've always considered myself, and this goes way back, to be a family oriented person who would find it necessary to encorporate my family heavily

> into my life. This almost automatically dismissed all occupations except that of teacher. Teaching seemed to provide the best of both worlds for me: the time and freedom I require for other priorities, and a profession I could be stimulated by and grow with. . . . My parents tell me I loved being an exhibitionist and loved to argue, they even encouraged me to be a teacher or lawyer. . . . For me being an instructor was a 'compromise' between what I knew would be good for me personally, and the types of professions that would permit me to grow professionally. I feel I made the right choice because I am contented with what I do and don't feel neglectful of any part of my life. . . . I've reached a balance.

Implicit in the reference to "balance" is the process of interfacing work and self assumptions that have been formerly well developed. Mr. S. realistically appraised what was 'known' within both assumptions and upon making a choice, embarked on a career that synthesized what he knew to be of relevance in his life. In essence, he 'contoured' what had become formulated and known in the past within his present career pattern.

Instrumental Career Pattern: This pattern is related but clearly distinguishable from those in a contouring pattern. Within this pattern are individuals whose career development reveals that they have shifted their field or have moved to perform a different function within the same field or have made both changes. The key words that describe this pattern are 'instrumental shift.'

Their new field or the new functions that they perform in the same field are more or less logically related to what they had been doing before. There is no sharp break between the new activity and the old. The type of shifts involved suggests that these individuals have not "settled in" within a chosen field and have made adjustments more in keeping with their changing work and self assumptions. Among those who fall within this second pattern is Mr. W., a young man who earned a doctorate in economics and 'engaged' as a college teacher, but left that position after a few years to become the economist for a bank where he thereafter was concerned primarily with economic research and writing; or Mrs. C., an engineer who upon graduating accepted a job in industry but after a few years returned to the university to take a masters in physics. She then joined the faculty of a school of applied science where she teaches and conducts research in electrical engineering.

In contrast to those in the contouring pattern who more or less stay on a single track, those in the instrumental pattern tend to move away from their original focus. However, as evidenced in the two examples cited, the direction toward which they moved is related to their previous work. It is still an outgrowth of their earlier career choice and experience. The implication is that,

either the work or self assumption was not adequately formulated and their intersection in the making of a career choice lacked sufficient 'knowns' for engaging along a contouring pattern. The job itself then provided a 'testing arena' for further exploration leading to shifts which enhanced the previous relationship between the work and self assumptions.

The work history of Mr. N. illustrates other properties associated with the instrumental career pattern. His early employment was in engineering in connection with various mining enterprises. He returned for two years of graduate study in mineral economics because his job experience had pointed to the significance of this field. During the next five years he was employed as a mineral economist by corporate and government agencies. He then became the executive vice president of a mining company but left shortly thereafter as a result of a disagreement with the president. He then became a consultant for both private companies and the government. A few years ago he accepted a position with an international agency in which he is presently employed. Mr. N's work history and those of others in the instrumental pattern appear to express less commitment to a specific field. They take a somewhat longer time to decide on their occupational choice and having decided,

they seem less firmly bound to it. The image conveyed from the data is that their career development seems to be more fluid as in 'search' of a goal just beyond a particular career choice.

While the contouring pattern reflects a balance between one's work and self assumptions (under most conditions), the instrumental pattern reflects a lack of congruency or integration in one's work and self assumptions. This does not imply incompatibility between the work and self assumptions but rather a distinction based on the emphasis an individual places on one assumption over the other. A case of strongly emphasizing the work assumption over the self assumption can be found in Mr. D's work history. Mr. D. was an only child coming from an environment where the father was continually emersed in his job of running a restaurant. His father spent the majority of his waking hours, seven days a week, down at the restaurant. Mr. D. grew up interested in business, worked at a number of business management related jobs and subsequently received a B.S. in business management. In the last ten years he has worked for two companies as their manager in charge of production.

> The presidents of both companies liked me because I could be relied upon to get a job done even if it meant working everyday and twenty-four hours a day. . . . In fact I prefer working that way. I haven't taken a

> vacation in five years and have only been on one in the last ten years.

When asked about other facets of his life he responded, "Don't have any time for that! . . . I you want to get ahead you have to do it 'now,' and then you can deal with other parts of your life." Before closing this first interview I asked Mr. D."where it all ended" and he replied, "That's what scares me, I don't know." In a follow-up interview I discovered that Mr. D. met a young lady who was not only interested in him but succeeded in getting him away from work long enough to get interested in her. Today they are engaged, and Mr. D. is making some "on-the-job adjustments" toward a balance between his work and personal life.

It is difficult, perhaps impossible, for a person who overly emphasizes the work assumption to be deflected once career plans are engaged. Some suggest that this is so because they find in their chosen work a major means of self-expression and self-realization. Their work is constantly with them, an integral part of life, essential to their inner balance. A person making the work assumption predominately instrumental in the career pattern seems to be able to forego current gratifications or to postpone them. Few temptations made it difficult for Mr. D. to submit to the discipline and frustrations

that are part of work. So strong was his satisfaction in work that powerful deflectors for a number of years had little effect.

In contrast stands the person who emphasizes and makes the self-assumption more instrumental in the career pattern. This person finds it relatively easy to make shifts within his occupational planning and actual work. His plans and his work, although perhaps important, do not occupy a position in the center of his life. He may have preferences about the kind of work he would like to do, but they are not rigid or committed to. He will entertain the prospect of changing his plans and making occupational shifts on the basis of such circumstances as the income which he is able to earn or the external working conditions. To him the returns from work and the concomitant satisfactions have an importance equal to or greater than the job itself. Mr. K. exemplifies an individual whose self-assumption definitely presides over the work assumption.

> My choice of being in 'sales' was based on the fact that I could always find work no matter where I was. A profession is a means to an end and should not be treated as an end in itself. I try not to let my work dictate to me beyond making the rest of my life financially possible. . . . By adopting this position I am free to do pretty much as I please. . . . I've seen most of the world and lived in a lot of different places. . . . I've sold insurance, cars, furniture, and whatever else I needed to at the time.

While the person who emphasizes the 'work' over the 'self' assumption attempts to find expression and realize himself through his work, those of the opposite persuasion appear to be much more sensitive to the range of satisfactions outside the work sphere. Consequently, Mr. K. finds it difficult at times to discipline himself to the work situation, and to endure the frustrations inherent in it.

Although the 'contouring pattern' and 'instrumental pattern' are developed within the context of the 'known career path,' the distinction between these and the typical pattern associated with the 'unknown career path' is a matter of degree and not absolute difference.

Typical Patterns of the 'Unknown' Career Path

Discounting Pattern: This career pattern includes those individuals whose work and self assumptions are based primarily on residual unknown information. Emphasizing this type information within the work and self assumptions is a matter of choice and not default. The person elects to operate on this basis despite the advice, training, and unfortunate experiences sometimes associated with this pattern. Mr. A. is a prime example of this pattern, he is a professional gambler. Mr. A's father was a professional gambler, and in turn, Mr. A.

followed in his footsteps. Like most of his friends Mr. A. completed high school and an equivalent of two years of college, held some part-time jobs, and thought in terms of a career. However, unlike his friends, Mr. A. viewed himself and the world of work in rather different terms, "I am who I am by what I do and how I do it." Translated, this came to mean that he had no desire to be like everyone else, doing the "sure" thing and remaining in that cast.

> Life is a gamble and we are all gamblers in it, and there is no way to control all the odds anyway. . . . I'm no different, but the odds I work to control pay off bigger dividends in the event 'things are right'.

Utilizing residual unknown information as a foundation for developing work and self assumptions produces a rather unique conception of self vis-a-vis the world of work. 'Work' is viewed and approached as an uninterrupted process, regardless of pecuniary situation or frequency of success, which to an outsider would seem to be a career marked by numerous potential deflections and lack of permanence. But to the person engaged in this pattern, work amounts to the application of a system based on odds in anticipation of the 'big break'. This career pattern does not become linked, in the conventional sense, to any specific type organization with a prescribed structure and set of functions. In the case of gambling,

it is a trade and process which is implemented in many arenas and adaptable to most conditions within these arenas. Mr. A. commented,

> The only thing that distinguishes one gambler from the next is style, not type of gambling or place where the gambling is conducted. . . . In fact the only reason gambling is frowned upon is because it isn't stable from day to day, but the outcome is the same as most other careers; some make it and some don't.

Risk of deflection becomes discounted, in that gambling is not circumscribed structurally so the arena can be altered without affecting the career process. Leaving gambling as a career is highly unlikely because of how it fits with the individual's cognitive structuring of what life is about, a gamble as well. Although the logic is questionable, it nevertheless seems to help one escape the experience of 'floundering' (movement with no direction) within this career pattern.

Implicit in Mr. A's description of work as a process is the notion of a 'system'. Even though I characterize Mr. A. as one who utilizes residual unknown information in the formulation of his work and self assumptions, he maintains that,

> gambling is made predictable and as reasonably sure as anything else by the use of a system . . . you've got to have a system, it's the tool of the trade!

The development of a system is what allows residual unknown information to be discounted and relegated to a

known status. "Most people call a system nothing more than luck, that's because they don't know how systems work and the importance that all factors be right." Mr. A. in continuing his discussion of systems stated that, "A 'break' is when the factors of a system are right and the outcome meets expectation." In essence, the work assumption in this career pattern is based on discounting empirically valid information in favor of the assumed leverage associated with a system, the belief that the improbable is probable. And further, pursuing this career pattern is a matter of being guided not by what one feels is more likely but by what one feels is less likely to happen, in this case, the use of a system and not getting a break.

The self assumption is also formulated in a rather unique manner. Unlike the work assumption which is viewed as a process, the self assumption is seen more in terms of discrete events which are few in number. Mr. A. stated,

> I can summarize who I am at this point in my life based on five experiences . . . each of which was the sensation of being a 'completed successful gambler'. . . . If it wasn't for those five days I would be a worthless nobody.

The first of these five experiences happened when Mr. A. was sixteen years old,

> I remember clearly that I had about seven-hundred dollars in my pocket. . . . I went to a tailor and had a custom green leather suit made, lined with chrome snaps and zippers up both arms to just below the elbow and from the ankle up the side of the pants to the knee. Then I had a leather hat made to match, green of course . . . then I bought the most expensive pool cue and case I could find. . . . I had the pool case covered to match the green leather in my suit. . . . A couple of weeks later the suit was done and so was the pool case. . . . I rented an expensive room at a hotel in Las Vegas, soaked in the tub, shaved and went downstairs to have my nails manecured and covered with clear polish. . . . Went back upstairs, got in my suit and hat, picked up my pool case and left to eat lunch. . . . Now I was ready, I walked into the most reknown pool hall in the city, I knew everyone was checking me out but I never looked directly at anyone, just acted like I was what was happening. I felt the tables, rolled a few balls to check the level and then proceeded to open my pool case and assemble my cue. I then jumped up on the table, took my hat off, and challenged anyone to a game of straight pool to a hundred for five-hundred dollars. I stared at everyone for a good thirty seconds and got no takers. . . . I disassembled my cue, put my hat on and walked out. I knew then and there that I was a 'completed successful gambler'. . . . You see, I have never played pool in my life and only had twenty-five dollars in my pocket!

Clearly, the self assumption is one punctuated by experiences reinforcing enough to overcome the in-betweens (dry spells) and the paucity of such experiences made possible by the work assumption. Hard times are effectively minimized in anticipation of future key experiences and in the memory of the vivid occasions past.

Overall, people in the discounting pattern do not suffer from an unclear perception of needs and desires, or from lack of directive and determination toward self-actualization. On the contrary, the discounting career pattern is not a case of unsuccessful resolution of occupational choice, but a pattern emphasizing an atypical type of status information within one's work and self assumptions that affects choice and adjustment, not resolution or commitment.

Transient Career Pattern: The work histories of those who fall into this pattern are not only different from other patterns but different among themselves. This pattern contains individuals who have made one or more "radical" changes from their field of original occupational choice, such as the anthropologist who after a few years of college teaching went into retail business. Those whose career patterns are marked by such radical changes resemble to some degree those who fall within the instrumental pattern, except that their careers contained substantive field changes (deflections) rather than moderate shifts in continuity.

Level of occupational attainment and education appears not to insure against deflection in what might have been a lifetime job or occupation. Instead the individual gives up a potential contouring pattern in one

field and goes off in a different direction in which he may or may not establish himself. An attorney in recalling his years as a newspaper editor remarked,

> I gave ten good years to the newspaper . . . finally realized I wanted a more self-paced and financially remunerative way of life . . . therefore I went through law school and became an attorney. I have found now both the freedom and the remuneration that I sought.

In the foregoing instances, the respondents were deflected from their original career choice and landed on their feet. Of course they may have been in a better position and incurred less risk had they earlier had a clearer perception of their needs and desires (self-assumption) and the realities of the world of work (work-assumption).

Some people are able to engage and subsequently be deflected and not suffer serious set-backs. One man I casually interviewed while waiting in an airport summarized his working life this way, "I've had over fifty jobs and only one career . . . sweeping these airport corridors is my career and only because it's getting too late in life to make any more changes."

Unlike these successful cases of career changes, many who engage a career alternative which they had not previously known about or had considered (engaging through the unknown career path) do not really solve their career

problems. For instance, Dr. F. who is currently a writer of children's books, until five years ago had a booming medical practice.

> The world has always been pulling at me and I have been going along with it like everyone else until I realized what was happening. I divorced my wife, gave up my practice and took up writing, thinking that I had found it. I can't really say that I am better off now than before. . . . Making decisions was never my strong point, the two big ones I have made guiding my life up to five years ago proved unsatisfactory . . . maybe if I had understood myself and the world a little better before launching my ass into medicine and marriage things would have been different.

The common characteristic of the transient pattern is a belated or unsuccessful resolution of occupational choice. Some implement a choice only to find after a time that they are dissatisfied with it and that they must tackle the problem anew. Others are simply stymied from the start and struggle for a long time to find a satisfactory resolution without much success. Theoretically, this amounts to inadequate formulation and development of the work and self assumptions where the preponderance of information is variable or residual unknown making for a high risk of deflection while engaging.

The transient career pattern exemplifies the most persuasive evidence of the importance of one's work and self assumptions in the shaping of a career toward the

future. Included in the transient pattern were those who were 'floundering' because they had inadequately developed and tested their assumptions, incurring a high risk of deflection and encountering an "unknown" intervening reality while engaged in the world of work.

Each of the patterns discussed have significance on several distinct levels. Descriptively, they tell of the occupational histories associated with their respective career paths, and provide a framework for ordering diversified occupational experiences. Also, the patterns have value as an analytic tool which enables the exploration of connections between the career trajectories of people and the subprocesses of gravitizing influencing these trajectories. The remaining chapter will further elaborate on the practical and theoretical implications of this substantive theory.

CHAPTER V NOTES

[1]F. Cohen, Behavior in Uncertainty, (New York: Basic Books, 1964), p. 139.

[2]These configurations of cognitions have variously been referred to as "personal constructs" in G. Kelly, The Psychology of Personal Constructs (New York: W. W. Norton, 1955); or "self-situational constructs" in A. Buchheimer, The Counseling Relationship (Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1961); and "mental structures" or "organizations" found in J. Hunt, Intelligence and Experience (New York: Ronald Press Co., 1961).

[3]Jerome Bruner, A Study of Thinking (New York: Wiley, 1956).

[4]Much of the discussion that follows is derived from the work of Anselm Strauss, Mirrors and Masks: The Search for Identity (Sociology Press, 1969), pp. 18-43.

[5]H. S. Becker, The Career of the Chicago Public School Teacher, American Journal of Sociology, 1952, 57, pp. 470-477. P. Davidson and H. Anderson, Occupational Mobility in an American Community (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1937, p. 367. S. Nasow and W. Form, Man, Work, and Society (New York: Basic Books, 1962), p. 284. D. Miller and W. Form, Industrial Sociology (New York: Harper and Row, 1951), p. 712. D. Super, Scientific Careers and Vocational Development Theory (New York: Teachers College Bureau of Publications, 1957), pp. 77-78.

[6]Ibid.

[7]D. Miller and W. Form, Measuring Patterns of Occupational Security, Sociometry, 10, pp. 362-375. In this study eighteen different patterns were developed in describing high and low security patterns.

[8]Henry Weitz, Behavior Change Through Guidance (New York: Wiley, 1964), p. 1.

[9]For a discussion of the irrevocability of 'choice' in terms of the costs involved in reversing decisions, see H. Gerard, Theories of Cognitive Consistency (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1968), p. 457.

[10]C. Kiesler, T. Roth, and M. Pallak, Avoidance and Reinterpretation of Commitment and its Implications, Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1974, 30, pp. 705-715. Also, E. Jones and H. Gerard, Foundations of Social Psychology (New York: Wiley, 1967).

[11]C. Kiesler (Ed.), The Psychology of Commitment (New York: Academic Press, 1971), pp. 66-74.

[12]Such terms as "floundering" and "trial work period" can be found in, P. Davidson and H. Anderson, Occupational Mobility in an American Community (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1937); and D. Miller and W. Form, Industrial Sociology (New York: Harper, 1951).

[13]The escalating sequence of commitment through behavior and commitment as a self-generating process is discussed in, S. Hersch, My Lai 4: A Report on the Massacre and Its Aftermath (New York: Random House, 1970), p. 43.

[14]Another perspective on the "irreversibility" of choice can be found in, J. O. Crites, Vocational Psychology (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1969), p. 160.

[15]For a further discussion, see Ginzberg, Ginsburg, Axelrod and Herma, Occupational Choice (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951), pp. 193-196.

[16]Case histories compiled on subjects' careers with special emphasis on counselin- implications can be found in D. E. Super, Appraising Vocational Fitness (New York: Harper and Bros., 1949), pp. 589-641.

[17]Classifications of personnel within respective work patterns are described in D. Miller and W. Form, Industrial Sociology (New York: Harper, 1951), pp. 741-742.

CHAPTER VI

THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

To facilitate the discussion of the theoretical and practical implications of Gravitizing, a review of the literature from a number of fields addressing career choice as a substantive area are summarized. The theories to be elaborated upon will be differentiated according to their major characteristics and emphasis. Consistent among the theories proffered by various schools of thought, is that each attempts to explain how individuals choose occupations and why they select and eventually enter different occupations.

Accident Theory

The accident theory of vocational choice is largely a popular theory, the layman's explanation of how he entered his occupation. In answer to the question, "How did you happen to become what you are?" the usual response is, "It was an accident" or "It was just by chance." By "accident" or "chance," the person means they they did not deliberately intend to enter their present profession. It came about as a result of a series of unforeseen circumstances or events. More formally,

"chance" refers to experiences "which are unplanned so far as the individuals themselves are concerned."[1] Another definition suggests that "chance" means "an unplanned exposure to a powerful stimulus."[2] According to these definitions, chance experience would include the unexpected inheritance of a large sum of money, the outbreak of war and compulsory service, contraction of a serious disease, etc. Chance factors emerge as the fortuitous, unplanned, unpredicted events which affect a person's vocational choice.

Some social scientists have proposed that the accident theory of the layman is a plausible explanation of vocational choice. Two occupational sociologists analyzed the occupational backgrounds of a large number of young people and concluded that:

> One characteristic is outstanding in the experience of most of the case histories that have been cited. In their quest for a lifework there has been a vast amount of floundering, and chance experiences appear to have affected choices more than anything else. No single motivating influence underlies the majority of choices made. It is the compounding of various experiences and influences which has finally crystallized into a wish for a certain occupation. Chance experiences undoubtedly explain the process by which most occupational choices are made.[3]

The accident theory is further supported by the biographical data of a number of well known people. David Ricardo tells us that he first seriously became interested in economics by stumbling on a copy of Adam Smith's

Wealth of Nations while vacationing at the English seaside. He was then a man in his late twenties, but apparently he had had no prior knowledge of Smith or his work. Whistler relates that had he not failed an examination he would have lived out his life as officer in the Regular Army; his military career came to an end when he failed the science examination at West Point. The famous anthropologist Malinowski ascribes the shift in his career from chemistry to anthropology first to the accident of falling ill with tuberculosis and second to the accident of having secured a copy of Frazer's Golden Bough during his convalescence.

Caplow, a sociologist, places a greater emphasis upon the role of other factors in vocational choice but he also observes:

> Then too, error and accident often play a larger part than the subject himself is willing to concede. Thus, accident theory is an explanation of vocational choice phenomena which has gained considerable acceptance among laymen and theorists alike and which needs to be evaluated for its usefulness as a theory.[4]

Economic Theory

Whereas the accident theory of vocational choice begins with the individual and examines the chance factors which influence his selection of an occupation, economic theories start with a consideration of the distribution of workers in various occupations of the economy and

attempt to explain why they differ in the numbers of individuals who choose and enter them. It is a well established economic fact that some occupations are more heavily populated than others. How can the discrepancies between the occupations be accounted for? What factors affect the choices of individuals in the labor market so that they decide to enter some occupations more often than others? This is the problem with which economic theories of choice have dealt over the years.

The classical economists of the eighteenth century, led by Smith, Senior, and Mill, maintained that it is the "net advantage" which accrues to the individual from entering an occupation which is the determining factor in his choice. Adam Smith expressed this viewpoint as follows:

> The whole of the advantages and disadvantages of the different employments of labour and stock must, in the same neighborhood, be either perfectly equal or continually tending to equality. If, in the same neighborhood, there was any employment evidently either more or less advantageous than the rest, so many people would crowd into it in the one case, and so many would desert it in the other, that its advantages would soon return to the level of the other employments. This at least would be the case in a society where things were left to follow their natural course, where there was perfect liberty, and where every man was perfectly free both to choose what occupation he thought proper, and to change it as often as he thought proper. Every man's interest would prompt him to seek the advantages, and to shun the disadvantageous employment.[5]

Given complete freedom of choice, which is the basic assumption upon which this theory rests, the individual selects that occupation which he thinks will bring him the greatest advantages. He weighs and balances the merits and shortcomings of the available "employments" and chooses the one with the greatest net advantage to him. Traditionally, net advantage has been interpreted to mean the best income or wage. The occupations which pay the most are those which have scarcities of labor, and those which pay the least are those which have a surplus of labor. Thus, there emerges the classical economic principle that the occupational distribution of workers in the labor market is a function of supply and demand as reflected in income differentials between occupations.

Clark has argued that there are two factors which have produced inequalities between occupations in the modern economy and which have made classical theory inapplicable today.[6] One of the factors is the ignorance on the part of the individual about the relative advantages and disadvantages of different occupations. According to Clark, the individual cannot make a free choice of an occupation, because he lacks the necessary information about the alternatives which are available to him. In other words, his choice is determined not only

by supply and demand in the labor market (as proposed by classical theory), but also by what he knows about occupations. The other factor which restricts freedom of choice is the cost of prerequisite training to qualify for occupations which demand higher-level skills. Because many individuals do not have financial resources to pursue the technical training or higher education necessary for work at the skilled level or above, the possible number of occupations from which they can choose is limited to those at the lower skill levels.

Because of some of the apparent difficulties encountered by classical theory in accounting for vocational choices solely by the principle of supply and demand, recent theorists have followed Clark's lead and have emphasized other factors as the significant ones in determining the distribution of workers in occupations. A few have accepted accident theory as a partial explanation of occupational selection. For example, Parnes in analyzing the results of a study by Myers and Shultz concluded that, "fully a third (of the sample workers) had not chosen the job in any real sense, but had either drifted into it or had taken it because they could find no other."[7] Some have observed that individuals choose an occupation primarily because of their desire for security and sustained employment rather than because

one job offers more atractive wages as compared with another. Others have said that choices are based upon ignorance, as Clark maintained, or "personal reasons," or irrational considerations made out of habit rather than deliberate calculation. Most contemporary economic theorists, regardless of their orientation and the specific factors which they consider important in choice determination, endorse the proposition that the selection of an occupation is a function of a number of variables, not just labor supply and demand or income differentials. Illustrative of this current emphasis is Thomas's analysis of (1) income, (2) occupational appeal (prestige), and (3) occupational qualifications in relation to the occupational distribution.[8] On the assumption that these three variables are independent of each other, he proposes that they are the major determinants of vocational choice.

Although economic theorists agree that choice depends upon the operation of several factors in the labor market, they disagree on whether classical theory is consistent with such a proposition. The predominant position, which is based upon the interpretation of classical theory as encompassing only the law of supply and demand, is that it fails to account adequately for the data on occupational distribution and labor movement.

Rottenberg points out that, "the early economists said that it was 'the whole of the advantages and disadvantages' in an employment that would be equal. . .They did not say wages are equal in all employments."[9] From this statement of classical theory, which greatly increases its comprehensiveness, Rottenberg argues that it includes all the factors which influence choice rather than only relative occupational incomes. Also, he makes the observation relevant to Clark's formulation, that classical theory was intended to apply only to ideal labor markets, not real markets in which the classical economists recognized that there are certain restrictions upon the individual's freedom to choose an occupation. Rebuttals to Rottenberg's defense of classical theory have dealt with certain minor points in his argument, but none seem to question his central thesis.[10] Given this interpretation of classical theory, it probably best represents the various economic theories of vocational choice which have been formulated.

Cultural and Sociological Theory

According to industrial and occupational sociologists, the major factor in the determination of an individual's vocational choice is the impact of the culture and society in which he lives upon the goals and objectives he learns to value. In selecting an occupation,

the individual is more or less directly influenced by several social systems, as described by Super and Bachrach as follows:

> Choice decisions may be viewed as occupying the center of several concentric circles which represent the social systems with which he interacts. These systems are instrumental in his decisions and choices. The outer circle represents general American cultural variables (free enterprise, American mores, Western values). Moving inward we come to the subcultural forces which exert themselves on the individual (class values, attitudes, customs). The next circle represents community variables (peer relationships, ethnic groupings, religious influences, social contacts). Finally, most directly impinging upon the individual are the organizational settings in which he is operating at any given time (home, school, family, church).[11]

Examining these concentric social systems in order of description begins with their analysis of culture. The broad cultural milieu in which a person is raised has the least direct effect upon his specific vocational decisions, but it does have a pervasive influence upon his freedom to choose. In some highly formalized and institutionalized cultures there has traditionally been little or no freedom of vocational choice. Much as the woman's marriage is arranged for her by the family, the man's career is chosen for him by his father. Although there are many variations, the son usually follows the occupation of his father, whether the socioeconomic position of the family is high or low.

In the United States, the freedom to chose one's work is considerably greater than it is in may other countries and cultures, but it is not as great as the so-called "tradition of opportunity" would imply. As Chinoy notes:

> The United States is widely pictured as the "land of promise," where golden opportunities beckon to everyone without regard to his original station in life. The Horatio Alger sagas of "little tykes who grow into big tycoons," it is asserted, "truly express a common-place of American experience."[12]

In actuality, there is far less opportunity to do what one wants in the world of work than such success stories might suggest. The consequence is that the credo of the culture finds little confirmation in the experiences of the marketplace. The hope of "getting ahead" only too often leads to vocational choices which are unrealistic in terms of opportunities of employment and advancement. Thus, the culture promises greater freedom of choice than it provides.

Within a culture, there are several subcultures which impinge upon vocational decision making. The most important of these is the social class to which an individual belongs. Based largely upon the principal breadwinner's source and amount of income, social-class position comes to bear upon a person's vocational choice in many ways. In general, a person learns that certain kinds of work are more desirable than others. If he lives

in a neighborhood on the "right side of the tracks" in a relatively new house with three or more bedrooms, and if his father wears a business suit to work and drives his own late model car, then he most likely has acquired the attitude that clean, white-collar work is preferable to dirty, blue-denim, manual work. He tends to eliminate as career alternatives occupations which his counterpart on the "wrong side of the tracks" considers as possible vocations.

According to some sociological theories, the individual's social-class consciousness, the identification he develops with the group of which he is a member, is directly related to the vocational aspirations he sets for himself. Hollingshead writes:

> The pattern of vocational choices corresponds roughly with the job patterns associated with each class in the adult's work world. Therefore, we believe that the adolescent's ideas of desirable jobs are a reflection of their experiences in the class and family culture complexes.[13]

Similarly, Lipset concludes:

> The importance of family background for the education and careers of young people is seen in the characteristic cumulation of advantages and disadvantages. Vocational advice from many sources is more often given to those individuals whose families can afford to keep them in school. It also seems to be more realistic and helpful than such advice as is given to the children of working-class parents. The effect of these and other background factors may be discerned in an individual's choice of his first job.[14]

Closer to the everyday experiences of the individual than either the culture in which he lives or the social-class of which he is a member are his ethnic group, peers, and if he lives in a distinct one, his neighborhood. Particularly his peers, his age-mates in the neighborhood and in the school, may often have a profound effect upon his vocational choice. McGuire and Blacksma have identified three clusters of age-mate roles which may influence a young person's vocational decision making: First, there is the "top crowd," which comes primarily from the higher social strata and which includes the "wheels" of the peer culture, their "spokes" or followers, and the "brains," who are respected for their intellectual prowess but not genuinely accepted as in-group members. Most of the top crowd plan to obtain a college education and enter a professional or managerial level occupation. Second, there are the "outsiders" who are largely from the "common man" class and who have little connection with the school and its activities, other than through athletics. This group wants "out of school" as soon as possible and rejects further education in favor of work or marriage. Finally, there are the "outcasts," a group which is comprised of the "drips" and "dopes," who strive to be in the top crowd but seldom gain more than marginal membership, and the "wild ones" who are

"getting a reputation" by breaking school and societal rules and regulations. The members of this group typically drop out of school, flounder from one job to another, or take up a life of crime.

These peer groups and the roles they impart are related to the social-class structure, but it is possible for an individual to move across class lines and join the group of another social stratum. Depending upon the role which he plays and the status which he attains in his peer group, he may learn the attitudes and values of a social class different from his own. If this happens, then his vocational choice may be much more a function of his age-mate associations than his social class affiliation.[15]

Next to the family, probably the most important agent of socialization is the school. Through the school, some theorists suggest, the individual acquires a system of values which directly influences his vocational choice.[16] Sometimes the values he learns facilitate his decision making, as when he attempts to plan for the future rather than letting it take care of itself, but other times they pose conflicts, as when he aspires to a socially approved higher-level occupation but lacks the ability to qualify for it. The educational system also presumably influences the individual's vocational choice

because it limits the choice he makes. Caplow observes that it does this in two ways: "first, by forcing the student who embarks upon a long course of training to renounce other careers which also require extensive training; second, by excluding from training and eventually from the occupations themselves those students who lack either the intellectual qualities or the social characteristics which happen to be required."[17] In so limiting the individual's choices, the school exerts another influence upon his decision making: it provides him with a structure which supports him and gives him direction while he is deliberating about his future. Ginzberg draws attention to the school's

> specified curriculum embracing certain areas of choice, its technique of grading the work of students, the formal prerequisites which it lays down for promotion and graduation, and the prizes which it awards.[18]

Thus, through its organization, the time schedule it sets, and the values it transmits, the school may become an important determinant of vocational choice.

Several vocational psychologists have suggested that the family plays a fundamental part in the shaping of vocational choices.[19] The most recent and comprehensive statement of what the possible relationships of family factors to choice are has been articulated by Roe.[20] Within the family circle, the psychological atmosphere

may vary between being warm and being cold, depending upon the parent's attitude toward their children. The predominant attitudes they may express are (1) acceptance, (2) concentration, or (3) avoidance, with the variations and combinations of each of these altering the outcome. If the attitudes of the parents are warm and accepting, Roe predicts that their children will develop a major orientation of moving toward others and choose occupations which involve contact with people as the primary focus of their work. Examples of such occupations are those in the social-service and business-contact fields. If the attitudes of the parents indicate an emotional concentration upon their children, Roe states that their orientation may be more toward persons than not, but that they will choose occupations which minimize close contacts with others, such as those in the arts and entertainment and general cultural fields. Finally, if the parents avoid their children, either through rejection or neglect, Roe proposes that the children will develop a major orientation toward activities which do not involve others and will choose occupations in the technology, outdoor, and scientific fields.

Psychological Theory

In contrast to the emphasis of nonpsychological theories of vocational choice upon the circumstances external to the individual which determine his selection of an occupation, psychological theories of choice focus more upon the individual per se as the crucial variable in the vocational decision-making process. In general, psychological theories have in common the assumption that the individual has some freedom in the choice of an occupation, he can exert at least a modicum of control over his vocational future. They posit that choice is determined, but primarily by the characteristics or functioning of the individual and only indirectly by the environment in which he lives. There are four major types of psychological theories of vocational choice, (1) trait-and-factor, (2) psychodynamic, (3) developmental, and (4) decision-making, each of which emphasizes a different aspect of the individual's behavior as the basic factor in choice.

Trait-and-factor theories of occupational choice emphasize the relationship of an individual's personal characteristics to his selection of an occupation. The logic of this viewpoint is as follows: because individuals differ in their aptitudes, interests, and personalities and because occupations require varying amounts and

kinds of these traits and factors, different individuals choose to enter different occupations. In an early formulation of what has become trait-and-factor theory, Parsons explicated a three-step process through which a person goes in choosing a vocation: (1) a clear understanding of himself, aptitudes, abilities, interests, ambitions, resources, limitations, and their causes; (2) a knowledge of the requirements and conditions of success, advantages and disadvantages, compensation, opportunities, and prospects in different lines of work; and (3) true reasoning on the relations of these two groups of facts.[21] In short, the individual compares his capabilities and dispositions with those demanded by occupations and selects the one he "matches" best.

For over fifty years, few questions were raised about the soundness of this traditional trait-and-factor conception of vocational choice, but within the last twenty years it has been increasingly subjected to critical examination. The critics contend that occupational groups are too heterogeneous in their duties and tasks to identify the traits and factors which differentiate them.[22] Furthermore, the search for occupational differences obscures the importance of the series of choices which precedes actual entry into an occupation. This revised trait-and-factor theory states

that: "Prediction should be directed toward the next stage rather than to a hypothetical final occupation."[23] In other words, given that individuals make numerous decisions about their future occupations before they enter them, what are the trait-and-factor correlates of these decisions? For example, the traits and factors which are related to the choice of occupational field at the beginnning of high school may be different from those which are associated with acceptance of a specific position with Company X upon graduation from high school. Current trait-and-factor theory would make such a prediction because it assumes that:

> The more generalized the activity, on a scale ranging from specific position, to job, to occupation, to occupational group, the larger is the number of (traits) patterns applicable to the activity.[24]

Each of the psychodynamic theories of vocational choice proposes that the most significant factor in the making of a vocational choice is a motivational or process variable. For this reason they contrast sharply with the trait-and-factor theories, which emphasize the observable characteristics of the individual and not the inferred states or conditions which prompt him to behave as he does.

A central proposition in psychoanalysis is that the individual adjusts to social expectations and mores by sublimating the desires and impulses which he

experiences as a result of his biological nature. As Brill puts it: "Every activity or vocation not directed to sex in the broadest sense, no matter under what guise, is a form of sublimation."[25] Through the socialization process, the individual learns to satisfy his aggressive and sexual needs in a way which meets the approval of his parents, his friends, and society at large. The behavioral mechanisms he adopts to cope with life constitute his character and personality and are the basis for his selection of an occupation.

A more flexible psychoanalytic analysis of vocational choice has been made by Brodin, whose basic proposition is much like Brill's in that they view work as sublimation.

> but in the broad sense of all activity other than direct gratification, rather than in the narrower sense of pregenital impulses turned into artistic activities.[26]

It is further assumed (1) that early development of coping mechanisms, such as those involved in feeding and mastery of the body, are related to development of later more complex behaviors, (2) that adult activities provide the same source of instinctual gratifications as infantile ones, (3) that the first six years of life are the critical ones in shaping personality and creating the needs which will be expressed in later vocational behavior. In essence, particular occupations can be

clearly differentiated from each other with respect to the degree they satisfy certain needs and the nature and expression of the gratifications. Thus, choice is directly related to the needs satisfied within the parameters of the occupation.

Whereas psychoanalytic explanations of vocational choice focus upon the coping mechanisms of the individual in the selection of an occupation, need theories of choice give primary attention to the desires and wants which stimulate the individual to prefer one occupation to another. Among the prominant need theories within the psychodynamic school of thought is the one formulated by Roe.[27] In her theory, she begins with the individual's early psychosocial experiences, particularly in the family, and traces their effects upon the formation of needs and the patterning of psychic energy. The way an individual learns to more or less automatically satisfy his needs determines which of his special abilities, interests, and attitudes he will follow and develop. Needs which the parents fill routinely as they appear have little effect upon the factors which determine an individual's vocational behavior, but needs which they satisfy become unconscious motivators and directly influence the individual's preferences for activities

which involve working with things or with people and which are the basis for vocational choice.

The specific needs which Roe relates to vocational choice are those defined by Maslow in his theory of personality.[28] These needs are arranged in a hierarchy, since the higher-order needs (understanding, beauty, self-actualization) only become effective after the lower-order needs (food, safety, love) have been satisfied. In modern society, most of the lower-order needs are satisfied for most people most of the time, so that it is the higher order needs which play a significant part in the motivation of behavior vocationally oriented. In particular, it is the need for self-actualization which seems to be of paramount importance. Roe maintains that this need is central in the choice of a vocation, since: "All that a man can be he must be if he is to be happy."[29] Roe does not relate specific needs to specific occupations; rather, she points out how any occupation may serve to satisfy needs at a given level. Thus, her theory pertains to the relationship between levels of needs and occupations, not between kinds of needs and occupations.

Most trait-and-factor and psychodynamic theories of vocational choice appear to assume that choice takes place at a given point in time rather than over a period

of time. In contrast, developmental explanations of choice propose that the decisions involved in the selection of an occupation are made at a number of different points in the individual's life and that they constitute a continuous process which starts in childhood and ends in early adulthood. This conception of vocational choice as a developmental process had its origin in the work of people like Carter who explored interest patterns in adolescence.[30] According to Carter, interest patterns are designed to assist the individual to fit himself, with his biological attributes, into somewhat rigid social structures. He acquires interest patterns through his identification with some respected person or group. Many times the identification and resulting interest pattern are appropriate, and the individual makes a good adjustment, but sometimes they are inappropriate, and he finds it necessary to discard or modify his interest pattern in order to solve the practical problems of everyday living. In Carter's formulation, the trial-and-error process of developing an interest pattern is one which progresses from the less mature fantasy solutions of late childhood to the more mature realistic solutions of youth and adulthood.

Much as Carter concluded that interests change and develop with increasing age, current theories of

vocational development postulate that choice behaviors mature as the individual grows older. The theory formulated by Ginzberg, which was derived from interviews with adolescent boys and girls consists of three propositions about the developmental nature of vocational choice. First, contrary to the traditional conception of choice as a single event in time, he indicates that it is a process which spans the entire period of adolescence. Second, this process is largely irreversible. Once launched upon a particular course of action, such as training for a specific job, an individual finds it increasingly difficult to change his goals as time passes. He is restricted more and more by his previous decisions. As a result, the single most important factor in his vocational choice becomes the inertia of the decision-making process itself. And third, the process ends in a compromise between the individual's needs and the realities which impinge upon him. Even for those who are in favorable reality circumstances, Ginzberg maintains that vocational choice involves some element of compromise, some concession to the limitations to environmental conditions.

Ginzberg relates development to the choice process by identifying some of the tasks which face the adolescent in deciding upon a vocation. He specifies

the pressures which make the accomplishment of the tasks difficult, and describes the supports which are available to withstand the pressures. The problems are those which arise in the formulation of a satisfactory vocational plan. They encompass the steps which are necessary to establish and realize future career goals, which include, the ability to differentiate the present from the future, inhibition of behavior, and facility in adjusting needs and reality through compromise. The pressures are those which emerge as a result of the individual's general development and maturation. Adolescence is a time when sexual impulses awaken and the need for peer group associations increases; it is a time when parental aspirations become more burdensome and restrictive; it is a time when the necessity to make decisions weighs heavily upon the young adult; and it is a time when conflicts between the security of childhood and the responsibility of adulthood make the young person ambivalent about the satisfactions he seeks in work. Ginzberg concludes, that in fact, the opposing motivations to work and to pleasure are often so strong that they would be unresolvable were it not that both internal and external supports are available to assist the adolescent in postponing immediate gratifications

and in working toward the realization of his vocational plans in the future.

Whereas Ginzberg drew upon the concepts of ego psychology to develop a developmental theory of vocational choice, Super has utilized principles from phenomenological psychology to describe and explain the choice process. He places even more emphasis than Ginzberg upon vocational choice as a process and suggests that the term 'developmental' be used in place of 'choice.'[31] He introduced the concept of vocational maturity to denote the individual's degree of development from the time of his early fantasy choices to his decisions about retirement from work in old age. As the individual matures vocationally, he passes through a series of life stages, each of which corresponds to some phase in the development of self-concept. In adolescence, for example, the individual elaborates upon and clarifies the concept of himself he formulated in childhood, and he begins to translate his self-concept into vocational terms through his aspirations, preferences, and work values. To the extent that he successfully copes with the developmental tasks of a life stage, the individual can be considered more or less vocationally mature. Super concludes that, work satisfactions and life satisfactions depend upon the

extent to which the individual finds adequate outlets for his abilities, interests, personality traits, and values; they depend upon his establishment in a type of work, a work situation, and a way of life in which he can play the kind of role which his growth and exploratory experiences have led him to consider congenial and appropriate.

Following Ginzberg's and Super's emphasis upon vocational choice as a process which proceeds through several stages, Tiedeman has attempted to clarify and specify what the series of decisions is which an individual makes in the course of his career development.[32] Tiedeman begins his analysis by dividing the overall process of vocational decision-making into two periods and then continues by delineating stages within each period. First, there is a period of anticipation or preoccupation which has four stages: exploration, crystallization, choice, and clarification. During the exploratory stage, the individual becomes familiar with and considers the alternatives which are available to him. Then, in the crystallization stage, he accepts some of the alternatives as feasible or realizable ones and rejects others as inappropriate or unobtainable. Next, in the choice stage, he decides upon which alternative he wants to select and follow. Finally, during

the clarification stage, he works out in detail how he will implement his choice. Secondly, there is the period of implementation and adjustment, which follows the clarification stage of the anticipation period and which encompasses three additional stages--induction, reformation, and integration. The success of these stages represents a progressive realization of the individual's goals as he enters and advances in his chosen position.

The mechanisms by which the individual progresses through these several stages and periods of choice process are (1) differentiation and (2) integration. Differentiation refers to discriminations among the stimuli which impinge upon the individual, whereas integration involves the extrapolation of the whole from the parts. At each stage of the decisional sequence, there is a continuous interaction between differentiation and integration, and although there may be regressions throughout the process, its overall thrust is forward, i.e. the process in relation to time would be presumably linear. Thus, "Career development then is self-development viewed in relation to choice, entry, and progress in educational and vocational pursuits."[33]

Decision Theory

Another variety of psychological theories of vocational choice is that which utilizes decision models

to conceptualize the choice process. Although theories of decision making have been formulated in economics and related areas, it has only been a few years that they have gained attention in vocational psychology. Today their applicability to various kinds of problems in information processing, games, statistical decisions, and vocational psychology has been increasingly recognized. There are three principle theories of vocational choice which have stemmed from efforts in this field with decision making as an emphasis.

A model of decision making proposed by Gelatt has implications for conceptualizing vocational choice within a decision theory framework and has served as a point of reference for other analysis.[34] He takes as his starting point two characteristics which he states all decisions possess: (1) there is an individual who is required to make a decision, and (2) there are two or more courses of action from which he must select one on the basis of information he has about them. The decision may be either terminal (final) or investigatory (calling for additional information).

> The investigatory decision becomes a cycle, involving information gathering and decision making, until a terminal decision is made. The terminal decision may also suggest a cycle, since the outcome of such a decision may yield additional information which may serve to modify the result of the terminal decision.[35]

The central component in this process is the strategy which is used to consider and chose among possible courses of action. The process involved in making the decision has three steps: (1) the estimation of the probabilities of success associated with the outcomes of alternative courses of action, (2) the desireability of these outcomes as determined by the individual's value system, and (3) the selection of a course of action by application of an evaluative criterion.

A more complex conceptualization of the decision making process, which is viewed as relating to a general theory of choice behavior, has been developed by Hilton. He describes the "flow" which takes place in his model as follows:

> The decision making process is initiated by some input from the environment. . . . If, when dissonance is tested, the input has raised dissonance above the tolerable level, the person examines his premises. . . . If his premises can be changed to accomodate the input, he makes the change, and the revised set of premises are tested for dissonance. . . .
>
> If the person finds that his premises cannot be revised, he searches for possible alternations in his behavior, one of which may be implied by the environmental input. He selects an alternative and tests the tentative plan for dissonance. If the dissonance is now below threshold he makes a decision to accept the tentative plan and adjusts his premises accordingly. If, when tested, the dissonance is still above threshold, he repeats the process, either revising his premises or trying another behavioral alternative.[37]

Neither Gelatt nor Hilton deal directly with the decision making process in relation to the overall course of vocational development, although a connection between the two is implied in both their models. In an analysis of the relationship between decision making and development, Hershenson and Roth have projected two trends over time, which they hypothesize follow from vocational decisions made at different points in the individual's work life:

> First, the range of possibilities available to him is narrowed. Second, those possibilities which remain are strengthened. Eventually, through the process of successively narrowing alternatives and strengthening the remaining ones, the individual arrives at his career choice.[38]

In other words, as the range of choice narrows, the certainty of choices increases. The authors of this theory note further that:

> the psychological magnitude of a disconformity experience must exceed the certainty of the choice made at the time it occurs for it to be significant enough for it to throw the choice into question. Thus, earlier in the decisional process, a less significant event may have a greater impact on an individual's career decisional process.[39]

As is apparent from a consideration of the theories of vocational choice which have been reviewed, good arguments can be made for the influence of several variables upon an individuals selection of an occupation. It seems unreasonable to try to account for individual

differences, or variances in patterns among groups of people, by positing only one related factor.[40]

THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS OF GRAVITIZING

Depending upon the particular frame of reference used in a theory and the assumptions about human behavior which underlie it, there are different ways of conceptualizing vocational choice. As indicated in the previous discussion, not all theories view choice from the same perspective or standpoint. How the substantive theory of gravitizing addresses the nature of vocational choice vis-a-vis other formulations will be discussed here. Specific emphasis will be placed on those questions which have fueled the continuing controversy among a number of theories concerning the nature of vocational behavior: (1) Systematic or chance? (2) Conscious or unconscious? (3) Compromise or synthesis? (4) Event or process?

1. It is a basic assumption of accident theory that the individual chooses the occupation he intends to enter randomly or by "chance." This theory is right to the extent that it stresses the importance of external factors in the choice process; but it is wrong in that it is oversimplified. In all his actions the individual must take account of external factors, but the way in which he does so depends on how he

perceives and reacts to them. Accident theory relies uncritically on external factors of exposure and ignores a wide range of individual options. Accident theory parallels the "chance theory" of history which holds that there is no way to account for historical events in causal terms. Actually the problem lies in the historian's inability to relate the observable events or processes so that they become meaningfully integrated.

Gravitizing as a substantive theory endorses more of a systematic behavioral approach toward vocational choice. "Systematic behavior" is given to mean that individuals react differentially to the stimuli which impinge upon them. People are viewed not as passive recipients reflexively responding to external stimuli. Neither do they respond uniformly to all stimuli, nor do they respond the same way to one stimulus as it changes from occasion to occasion. In other words, discriminations are made in responses to stimuli with different attributes. Systematic behavior can be reasonably predicted from a knowledge of the stimulus conditions which preceded or accompanied the individual's responses. Within the process of interaction, identifyable conditions can be associated with selective responses which are distinguishable from other responses. Such responses are infinite in potential

variation but systematic in the manner in which they pattern.

2. Given that choices are relatively systematic responses which are related to the conditions of interaction, the next question which is usually asked about the nature of choice is whether it is conscious or unconscious. By "conscious" or "unconscious" is meant whether an individual is aware of the experiences which he has had.

Traditional trait-and-factor theory maintains that vocational choice is largely a conscious, cognitive problem-solving process. Confronted with the necessity of choosing an occupation, an individual consciously proceeds to make an analysis of his vocational fitness, accumulates information about occupations, and arrives at a decision through what has been called "true reasoning." The assumption is that the individual knows both what he is doing and why he is doing it and that he uses this information in selecting an occupation. Similarly, ego psychology suggests that the individual is conscious of his choice and his reasons for it. These theories maintain that the individual consciously sets the goals he wants to attain in the future and relates his present activities and efforts to them.

Throughout this process, the individual is assumed to be aware of his behavior and its consequences.

Proponents of psychoanalytic interpretations of behavior challenge the proposition that choice is conscious. They claim that choice as a conscious process is a naive hypothesis which fails to take into account the extremely complex nature of motives which develop from so many experiences that the individual is unable to comprehend them, much less integrate them and relate them to his vocational behavior. In most instances, his knowledge of his behavior is superficial, and has no awareness of the why and wherefore of his actions, including his vocational choice.

Gravitizing straddles this controversy midway between these extreme positions. To make a choice the individual must be aware of himself and be able to relate himself consciously to occupations. This does not mean that he is necessarily aware of the factors or processes which have produced his particular self-concept. Vocational development involves an interaction among many individual and environmental levels. When such interaction takes place on the conscious level, it involves "testing." However, much development takes place without verbalization, without awareness on the part of the experiencing individual of what is taking place.

3. Another point of contention among vocational choice theories is whether an individual's vocational choice represents a "compromise" between the factors involved in the selection of an occupation or whether it is based on a "synthesis" of these factors. Those subscribing to the former alternative view occupational choice as a compromise whereby an individual hopes to gain the maximum degree of satisfaction out of his working life by pursuing a career in which he can make as much use as possible of his interests and capacities. This type formulation leans heavily toward psychoanalytic assumptions about the nature of adjustment and development. In essence, all behavior can be viewed as a compromise or arbitration between the complete expression of primitive needs (id), on the one hand, and social demands and prohibitions (superego), on the other. The individual ordering his life with respect to the future must acquire the ability to compromise, or it is assumed that he is certain to suffer serious frustration because of setting up impossible goals, or is unable to change basic approaches which are unsuited for the accomplishing of reasonable goals. In other words, compromise can be seen as a sine qua non of normal development in general, and vocational decision making in particular.

Synthesis depicts the manner in which choice is arrived at in gravitizing. Choice is not viewed as some kind of rapproachment between an individual's biologically based impulses and the dictates of society. Rather, self and environment (society) are two aspects of the same phenomenon engaged in a harmonious relationship. Development is viewed as a continuous process during which the individual's personality is formed and elaborated upon through an integration or synthesis of his experiences of self, others, and the environment. In contrast, compromise is viewed as being indicative of arrested development.

4. The "event" or "process" argument up until recently was resolved in favor of vocational choice as an event. Advocates argue that an individual arrives at a particular point in his life when he simply selects his future career. Such a decision occurs at that time in his life when he is about to enter the world of work. According to this traditional viewpoint, a person gives little thought to his vocational choice until he reaches the end of high school and is confronted with the problem of entering an occupation and establishing himself as a gainfully employed worker.

In marked contrast to this "crossroads" conception of vocational choice as a one-time event, gravitizing subscribes to the idea that choice is a process which

transpires over a prolonged period of time. The rationale for taking this position is twofold: (1) choice as event assumes that the acquisition of information required in making a decision is not part of the choice process; or again, the individual is solely a repository of tendencies which become manifested or find expression at any one point in time, and (2) choice is not only viewed as a process but a "continuous" process which suggests that there is no sharp distinction between choice and adjustment. That is, the implementation of a career choice takes the form of adjustments in the development of career patterns.

In emphasizing career choice as a developmental process as opposed to a discrete event, there is a tendency to overstate the linearity of the term 'developmental.' The term 'developmental' is not used here to indicate inflexible movement within a rigid framework, specifiable timetables or rates of passage, or determined outcomes or destinations. Rather, it refers to the continuous linking of work and self in a flexible and emergent manner. Such a process gives rise to a general direction within a structure which is shaped by the individual and not circumscribed for the individual. The sense of 'continuity' offered by gravitizing as a developmental process is found in the

ability of the process to absorb differences and be modified in the face of emergent factors without compromising its explanatory integrity, rather than the absolute replication and prediction of results.

Implicit in the various contrasting themes previously discussed is a formulation of gravitizing as a multivariate transcendent theory. It embraces elements of many theories as they become operational within the career decision making context. Instead of approaching variables as parts of a fixed order which must conform to be relevant or to exist, gravitizing denies no variable its place in conditioning the structure of an emergent order.

IMPLICATIONS FOR FORMAL THEORY

Symbolic interactionism is grounded on a number of basic ideas, the most important of which is the idea that society consists of individuals interacting with one another. The nature of this interaction consists of a number of activities that individuals perform in their life as they encounter one another and as they deal with the succession of situations confronting them. Further, the activities of individuals occur predominately in response to one another or in relation to one another. The implication associated with characterizing society as

interaction, is that, fundamentally human groups or society "exists in action" and must be seen in terms of action. A conceptual scheme that depicts society in this manner adopts as its empirical point of departure the analysis of human interaction as it unfolds.

Even though these assumptions are almost universally recognized in definitions of human society, the tendency persists in treating human interaction as either a forum where interaction becomes subordinated to the structural context of the situation, or treated with reference to the properties ascribed to interactant's behaviors. Thus, the typical sociological scheme ascribes behavior to such factors as status position, cultural prescriptions, values, and social system requirements. In the typical psychological scheme such factors as attitudes, motives, defense mechanisms and elements of psychological organization are treated as determinants of given forms of human behavior.

It becomes evident that there is a need to formulate a conceptual scheme capable of incorporating the priorities of each school of thought addressing the nature of human interaction. The only cardinal principle of symbolic interactionism is that any empirically oriented scheme of human society, however derived, must

respect the fact that in the first and last instances human society consists of people engaging in action.

The proposed formulation of social interaction is one which posits 'decision making' as a prefatory stage or subprocess of interaction (regardless of the modality). The logic follows from one of the basic tenets of symbolic interactionism, man does not passively react to stimuli but actively engages and creates behaviors. Behavior is further viewed as an expression based on an ongoing definition of the situation.

The theoretical problems associated with the different orientations toward the nature of social interaction emerge at this point. What is involved processually in the defining of a situation, and how does that become articulated toward a course of action? If 'defining a situation' can be construed as an act of processing information for purposes of determining or deciding upon a particular behavior to be subsequently implemented, then decision making can be treated as that process which accounts for the choice and implementation of a behavioral directive or line of action. "Information" of all sorts and not fixed factors or ascribed features of interaction become important. Such a scheme would also allow for a wider variation of properties to be considered collectively in the analysis of interaction. The

foundation of interaction becomes the "types of information" utilized in the decision making process toward a course of action, and not a 'definition of the situation' which presupposes the manner and type of information processed in order to act.

Most research to date on social interaction emphasizes its developmental character within a structurally focused area while underplaying the fundamental ingredients upon which behavior becomes predicated. By varying and comparing the structural contexts that interactants are engaged in, and focusing on the types of information utilized in the formulation of behavior within these contexts, research on human interaction can become more sensitive to both the different modalities of interaction and the manner in which information differentially affects behaviors between these modalities.

PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS

Gravitizing as a substantive theory casts the career decision making process as one which spans over an extended period of time. By approaching career choice in this manner, that is, as though it was an extension of previous funneling and testing, the individual becomes more tuned-to and aware of the particular properties of

occupations and self explored over time. Life experiences emerge in one's mind as having a more direct articulation with future goals. In essence, the making of a career decision becomes more an outgrowth over time than an event at a designated time.

The individual, confronted with the prospect of making a career choice, is viewed as being more instrumental in the determination of the career direction. The usual anxiety and fear experienced during the choice process is effectively minimized by the awareness that information gained through life experiences has prepared the individual.

Traditional vocational counseling techniques have been developed more in keeping with the premise that the choice process is an event. The attitude taken by some counselors toward their students is that of a "confused individual requiring assistance in making the transition from fantasy to reality." Counselors perceiving students this way, in turn, assume responsibility for the direction and type of options the students are to pursue. Consequently, counselors find themselves in the position of needing to originate, define, and lead individuals instead of facilitating options already in the making. The enterprise of counseling finds itself primarily dealing with the point

of origination instead of a point of intervention in the career planning process.

Gravitizing, which emphasizes the longitudinal nature of the career decision making process, views the role of a counselor more as one who assists in the particulars of preparation, entry, and adjustment associated with a career. The suitability and choice of a career are to be relegated to the direction suggested by the life experiences within one's biography.

Establishing a division-of-labor between counselor and counselee, as described above, would simply require that individuals be made aware during early vocational development that they themselves are repositories of information that are relevant for the making of career decisions.

Putting to use the implications of gravitizing in the vocational counseling process does not require the negation of other counseling techniques. It offers itself as an alternative which may be used independently of or in combination with other approaches. Ideally, gravitizing pronounces an alternative framework for viewing the career development process and the individual's import in this process.

CHAPTER VI NOTES

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