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Career Counseling with Emerging Adults

Susan C. Whiston and Ciemone S. Rose

The transition from adolescence to adulthood can be a time when individuals face numerous developmental issues, many of which involve career or work. Arnett (2000) proposed that emerging adulthood is a separate and distinct developmental stage that is unique from adolescence and adulthood. He defined the period as occurring between the late teens through the 20s with a focus on the ages of 18 to 25. Arnett argued that this is a time when the individual has left the dependency of childhood and adolescence, but has yet to enter the enduring responsibilities that are typically a part of adulthood. According to Arnett, “emerging adulthood is a time of life when many different directions remain possible, when little about the future has been decided for certain, when the scope of independent exploration of life’s possibilities is greater for most people than it will be at any other period of the life course” (p. 469).

Erikson (1968) suggested that adolescence is a time of identity development where there is a conflict between identity confusion and identity achievement. Erikson further hypothesized that career identity development begins in adolescence, which serves as a major part of identity formation that is necessary for the transition into adulthood. Career life-span, life-space developmental theorists (Super, Savickas, and Super, 1996) proposed that career development is manifested through the progressive mastery of age-related tasks and successfully maneuvering through the career developmental stages. They indicated that adolescents and young adults are typically in the exploration stage of career development in which they are exploring future career options and starting to make preliminary choices. Jepsen and Dickson (2003) found that exploratory behaviors and career choice clarity in adolescents was linked with occupational establishment activities 25 years later. This would indicate that assisting adolescents and young adults with career exploration would be helpful to their later career development.

For some adolescents making the transition to adulthood and stable employment progresses well; however, many emerging adults need help with their career development. For example, with a sample of older adolescents, Alboin (2000) found that most students (76.3%) reported that they were slightly or very undecided about their career choice. For many high school students who do not enter college, the transition from school to work can be difficult and many of these youth are inadequately prepared for employment (Worthington and Juntunen, 1997). Many college students also have difficulties, as Fouad

et al. (2006) found that numerous college students felt a lack of readiness to make a career decision. Moreover, Murphy, Blustein, Bohlig, and Platt (2010) found that transitioning from college to employment was often a turbulent process and did not always go smoothly. Therefore, the stage of emerging adulthood is a time of work or career transitions and as Fouad and Bynner (2008) documented, work transitions have become increasingly complex due to expanding global markets, the declining number of unskilled jobs, the acceleration of technology, and the expansion of the service industry. For many emerging adults, the effects of this changing world of work are confusion, frustration, and apprehension. Hence, it seems that many emerging adults could benefit from career assistance or counseling.

Providing career counseling to older adolescents and young adults may prove to be beneficial to them both financially and psychologically. Feldman (2003) concluded that the length of time young adults spend in switching programs of study, in transient jobs, or in activities which are unrelated to developing work skills is likely to negatively influence their earning capacity. Creed, Prideaux, and Patton (2005) found that adolescents who were undecided were more likely to have lower self-esteem and life satisfaction than their decided peers. Fouad et al. (2006) found that college students simultaneously reported high levels of career decision difficulties and psychological distress. Conversely, Skorikov (2007) found that career preparation was positively related to numerous indicators of positive adjustment. Moreover, it appears that a positive career orientation in adolescence can inhibit future problem behaviors (Skorikov and Vondracek, 2007). Therefore, it seems that adolescents and young adults who receive counseling that increases their levels of decidedness, career preparation, and career orientation would benefit from career counseling.

The focus of this chapter is on discussing the research related to career counseling with emerging adults. The first section addresses definitional issues related to career counseling and provides a definition of career counseling that is used throughout the chapter. In the second section, we cover the research related to the effectiveness of career counseling with emerging adults. The next section addresses factors that contribute to effective career counseling with an emphasis on identifying empirically-supported interventions. As career counseling will vary depending on the client, the fourth section of the chapter discusses research related to providing career counseling based on client characteristics. In particular, this section focuses on gender, race or ethnicity, and vocational diagnosis. In considering career counseling with emerging adults, vocational psychologists should also examine the role of theory in the counseling they provide. The fifth section summarizes recent career counseling studies that are grounded in three theories (i.e., person–environment fit, Cognitive Information Process, and career construction theory). The final section identifies topics and areas where future research is needed.

DEFINING CAREER COUNSELING

Although it is clear that many emerging adults need assistance with career planning and development, there are often questions about what type of services constitute career assistance or career counseling. An influential definition of career interventions was provided by Spokane and Oliver (1983) who defined career interventions as “any treatment or effort intended to enhance an individual’s career development or to enable the person to make better career-related decisions” (p. 100). This is a broad definition that includes many types of treatments such as individual career counseling, career counseling groups, workshops,

or classes. In summarizing the literature related to career counseling, Swanson (1995) used a more restrictive definition in which career counseling was defined as “an ongoing, face to face interaction between counselor and client, with career- or work-related issues as the primary focus” (p. 219). In this chapter, we will use the term career counseling, but our definition is more similar to Spokane and Oliver’s as research indicates that differing approaches or modalities of career counseling are effective.

Concerning the effectiveness of differing approaches to career counseling or interventions, Whiston, Sexton, and Lasoff (1998) found that individual career counseling was the most effective. Conversely, Oliver and Spokane (1988) found that career classes were the most effective method of delivering career assistance. Folsom and Reardon (2003) also found that career courses for college students generally produced positive results for students. Whiston (2002) found that career classes were slightly more effective than individual career counseling. In a meta-analysis that compared treatment modalities, Whiston, Brecheisen, and Stephens (2003) found that there were very few differences in terms of the effectiveness of different career treatment approaches and they did not find a difference among individual career counseling, groups, workshops, or classes. They did, however, find that counselor-free interventions (e.g., computer-assisted career interventions) were not as effective as any of the other treatment modalities. As indicated earlier, our definition of career counseling is quite similar to Spokane and Oliver’s (1983) and inclusive of different treatment modalities because research indicates that various approaches to career counseling can result in positive changes for clients. Moreover, as research indicates counselor-free interventions are ineffective, our definition includes interventions provided by an individual. Therefore, we define career counseling to include any intervention or counseling approach that is provided by an individual that is designed to enhance another’s career development or to enable the person to make better career-related decisions.

IS CAREER COUNSELING EFFECTIVE?

A major question regarding career counseling with emerging adults concerns whether the career counseling is effective. When examining issues of effectiveness, one often looks to meta-analyses in which results of studies are combined to produce effect sizes. The most common effect size used in counseling outcome research is the standardized mean difference effect size. With the standardized mean difference effect size, the mean of the control group is typically subtracted from the mean of the treatment group, which is then divided by the pooled standard deviation of the two groups. This effect size then provides a numerical index of the degree to which the treatment group scored better on the outcome measures than the control group who did not receive the career counseling. Whiston et al. (1998) conducted a general meta-analysis of career interventions with all ages and found an unweighted effect size of .45 and a weighted effect size of .30. They also calculated effect sizes for different age groups and found an average weighted effect size for high school students of .34 and for college students of .26. In general, these results indicate that emerging adults who participate in career interventions tend to score about a third of a standard deviation above those who do not receive any type of career counseling. In Whiston et al.’s meta-analysis, the most frequently used indicators of effectiveness or outcome measures used were assessments of career maturity and career indecision.

In another meta-analysis, Brown and Ryan Krane (2000) examined interventions specifically designed to facilitate career choices. This meta-analysis has particular significance as

many emerging adults are in the midst of making career choices or decisions. Similar to Whiston et al. (1998), Brown and Ryan Krane found an overall average weighted effect size of .34. Brown and Ryan Krane found that career choice counseling was particularly helpful in assisting individuals develop a sense of vocational identity with the average effect size for this outcome measure being .63. Brown and Ryan Krane, however, found that the effectiveness of career choice counseling varied depending on the factors that were included in the career counseling.

FACTORS THAT INFLUENCE EFFECTIVENESS

The extant research tends to indicate that various factors positively influence the effectiveness of career counseling. Knowledge of these factors is especially important for clinicians who are developing or conducting career counseling interventions with emerging adults. In particular, clinicians should consider the five critical ingredients identified by Brown and Ryan Krane (2000) and whose efficacy has been supported in a number of recent studies.

CRITICAL INGREDIENTS

Brown and Ryan Krane (2000) argued that while previous meta-analyses (e.g., Oliver and Spokane, 1988; Whiston et al., 1998) were helpful in determining the overall effectiveness of career counseling, more research was needed on the specific ingredients or factors that contribute to more effective career choice counseling. Specifically, they were interested in identifying ingredients that either in isolation or in combination produced the largest effect sizes. They identified five critical ingredients: written exercises, individualized interpretation and feedback, occupational information, modeling, and attention to building support. Brown and Ryan Krane found that not only were these critical ingredients effective in isolation, but combinations of them resulted in larger effect sizes than any one individually. For example, they found the effect size for any one critical ingredient was .45, whereas the effect size for two critical ingredients increased to .61, and the magnitude of the effect size was .99 when three of the critical ingredients were a part of the counseling. Although none of the studies in Brown and Ryan Krane's meta-analysis included more than three of the critical ingredients, there have been a number of recent studies that have included more of the critical ingredients and further documented the importance of these ingredients in career counseling.

In comparing American college students who took a career counseling class that involved all five of the critical ingredients, Reese and Miller (2006) found that the course significantly increased the participants' career decision-making self-efficacy, but was less effective in decreasing their difficulties with career decision making. Reese and Miller (2010) refined this college career course, while retaining the five critical ingredients, and the results were similar with the larger increases being associated with career decision-making self-efficacy and less consistent results being associated with decreases in career decision-making difficulties.

In a workshop to prepare Swiss adolescents to make important career and academic decisions, Hirschi and Läge (2008) studied the effects of all five critical ingredients on a sample consisting primarily of non-college-bound youth. They found that, compared to a control condition, the intervention group had higher scores on career decidedness, career planning, career exploration, and vocational identity measures. The effects of this workshop

were also still evident at a 12-week follow-up, particularly in the areas of vocational identity and career exploration. Also, with clients from Switzerland, Masdonati, Massoudi and Rossier (2009) evaluated the effectiveness of individual career counseling that included four of the five critical ingredients (i.e., workbooks and written exercises, individualized interpretation and feedback, occupational information, and attention to building support). The pretest–posttest comparisons reflected quite large effect sizes, with the effect size for career decision-making difficulty being .98 and for life satisfaction being .68. Perdrix, Stauffer, Masdonati, Massoudi, and Rossier (2012) followed up with these same clients a year later and found some interesting results. Perdrix et al. reported the follow-up results by splitting the client group (ages 14 to 56) and we will report the results for those clients who were 14 through 21 years old. While younger clients' career indecision continued to decrease between the end of the career counseling and the one-year follow-up, their satisfaction with life was maintained. Furthermore, more than 75% of the clients had implemented their career choice within the one-year time period. Therefore, Perdrix et al.'s study indicated that incorporating the critical ingredients in career counseling has a long-term and positive influence on client outcome, and that career counselors should consider incorporating these five critical ingredients in their career counseling. The following provides a brief overview of the five critical ingredients found by Brown and Ryan Krane (2000) and later expanded upon by Brown et al. (2003).

Written exercises

In an in-depth analysis of the five critical ingredients, Brown et al. (2003) expanded Brown and Ryan Krane's (2000) findings regarding written exercises to include both workbooks and written exercises. These written exercises or workbooks included various activities such as homework assignments, exercises related to self-analysis, and decision-making activities. The written exercises that were most effective, however, included two notable applications: (a) they involved activities that required the clients to conduct written analyses and comparisons of occupations; and (b) they engaged the client in exercises related to future planning. Hence, clinicians are advised to include written exercises in their career counseling that encourages clients to compare occupations and exercises that involve future planning and goal setting. It should also be noted that these findings indicated that these exercises are designed to promote planning and occupational comparisons and should require the client to write and visually examine the results of these career-counseling exercises.

Individualized interpretation and feedback

Brown et al. (2003) found substantial support for Brown and Ryan Krane's (2000) finding that at least a portion of the career counseling should involve the counselor working with the client individually regarding career planning. This may be consistent with Whiston et al.'s (1998) finding that individual career counseling is the most effective modality for providing career counseling. Individualized interpretation may be particularly helpful when clients have taken career assessments or have spent time on a computerized career information system. For example, Niles (1993) examined whether it was more effective for counselors to intervene at the beginning, middle, or end of a client's use of a computerized career information system and found that it was most helpful when the counselor intervened as clients were concluding their time using a computerized career information system.

Occupational information

The third critical ingredient found by Brown and Ryan Krane (2000) concerned the use of occupational information in session. Having clients access occupational knowledge is a common part of career counseling, and the use of occupation information can be traced back to Frank Parsons' (1909) tripartite model of career counseling (i.e., knowledge of self, knowledge of the world of work, and a true reasoning of the two). What Brown et al. (2003) found is that it was critical to process the occupational information while in session rather than simply encouraging the client to seek out occupational information on their own. Galassi, Crace, Martin, James, and Wallace (1992) found that clients want to discuss information on specific careers in counseling and are willing to read, research information, and interview individuals outside of sessions. Brown et al. found that while it may be possible to have clients gather occupational information outside of the career counseling, it was critical to have them process this information while in session.

Modeling

This fourth critical ingredient involves providing clients with examples of others who have been successful in making or remaking a career choice decision. This can be accomplished through creating heterogeneous groups and having more advanced participants share their career decision-making processes. The modeling could also occur by moderate self-disclosure by the counselor or by bringing in "experts" (e.g., previous clients who have successfully navigated the career choice process). What is also important about this modeling is that the participants view themselves as similar to the model and, thus, the modeling will seem more germane and obtainable to the clients (Brown et al., 2003). In fact, Brown et al. hypothesized that modeling by past participants or by others who have had difficulty with career decision making is more effective than self-disclosures made by career professionals.

Attention to building support

The fifth critical ingredient concerns attention to building support for the career choice or decision that was made during the career counseling. As career choices or decisions are not made in isolation and are made within an environmental context, Brown and Ryan Krane (2000) found that it is important to consider factors and individuals within that context that either support or inhibit clients' career choices. Although this critical ingredient has the least empirical support, it is consistent with Blustein's (2011) recent relational theory of working. Blustein contended that vocational psychologists must understand that working is embedded in external and internal relational contexts. Whereas, Blustein's relational theory of working applies to clients across the life span, attention to relational factors and relationships that may influence career choice may be particularly relevant during the stage of emerging adulthood. For example, Whiston and Keller (2004) found that parental support often played a key role in the career development of adolescents and young adults, particularly for emerging adults of color. Therefore, attention to relational factors and Brown and Ryan Krane's fifth critical ingredient of building support for the choices frequently made in career counseling may be especially pertinent in career counseling with emerging adults.

In conclusion, for career counselors working with emerging adults, the five critical ingredients may provide an empirically-based foundation to the career counseling they deliver.

Reese and Miller (2010) contended that the research–practice gap needs to be bridged, and we suggest that the five critical ingredients have sufficient empirical support to inform practice that involves choosing or selecting a career.

PROCESS FACTORS

Heppner and Heppner (2003) defined process variables in career counseling as the overt and covert thoughts, feelings, and behaviors of both clients and counselors while engaged in counseling. Whereas the five critical ingredients found by Brown and colleagues (Brown and Ryan Krane, 2000; Brown et al., 2003) are process factors, we have listed them separately because of their importance in the career counseling process with emerging adults. As this chapter focuses on research to inform career counseling practice, this discussion of process factors will focus on the actions of counselors and process factors that have been shown to effect outcome.

Role induction

Sometimes career counseling clients may have little knowledge of what to expect in career counseling and some recent studies have investigated whether role induction strategies can positively influence those expectations. Whitaker, Phillips, and Tokar (2004) hypothesized that people often enter career counseling with low personal commitment and believe the role of the career counselor is to be an expert who will inform clients of what they “should be.” They found that those who watched a video designed to give a more realistic view of career counseling had more personal commitment to the counseling and viewed the counselor as less of an expert than those who did not view the video. Conversely, Fouad et al. (2007) compared a holistic induction to career counseling, a narrow definition of career counseling induction, and a no role induction control group, and found very few differences among the three conditions. It may be that many clients view career counseling as mainly involving a “test and tell” format and that infusing some sort of role induction for the client may prove to be beneficial.

Working alliance

Another process variable that has been the focus of some research is the working alliance (Heppner and Heppner, 2003). Although some may speculate that the working alliance is less important in career counseling as compared to personal counseling, Lewis (2001) did not find a difference between the working alliances in career and personal counseling. With a sample of Swiss clients, Perdrix, de Roten, Kolly, and Rossier (2010) compared the working alliance of those in career counseling and personal counseling. They found no difference in terms of bond or agreement on tasks, but they did find that career counseling clients tended to report higher scores related to agreement on goals as compared to the clients in personal counseling. Also with a sample of Swiss clients, Masdonati, Massoudi, and Rossier (2009) found that the working alliance was positively related to clients’ satisfaction with the intervention and their level of life satisfaction at the conclusion of the career counseling. They also found that the working alliance was negatively associated with the final levels of career decision difficulties.

In counseling specifically related to the transition into adulthood, Young, Marshall, Foulkes, Haber, Lee, Penner, and Rostram (2011) found that the working alliance played a significant role in the counseling. Young et al. analyzed the joint, goal-directed actions employed by clients and counselors and found that the career counseling often involved a relational theme between the counselors and clients. This client–counselor relational theme laid the foundation for other goal-directed actions that concerned exploration of other relationships (e.g., relationships with family members) and identity. These researchers found that relational and identity themes were complex, yet pre-eminent within the career counseling sessions, with the counseling relationship providing the space from which the client could explore new ways of being an adult.

Conceptually related to the working alliance is a counselor's ability to function as a secure base during the career counseling. Littman-Ovadia (2008) investigated whether career exploration was affected based on the interaction among client attachment styles and counselors' abilities to provide a secure base. Littman-Ovadia found that all clients, irrespective of attachment style, were more likely to engage in career exploration at the end of the career counseling as compared to the beginning. Furthermore, she found that clients who experienced a secure base with their counselors were more likely to engage in career exploration activities than those whose career counseling experience was less secure. Finally, she found that a secure counseling base moderated the level of career exploration for those with a less secure attachment style indicating that career exploration was enhanced when those with a less secure attachment received career counseling from a clinician who could show care, concern, and encouragement.

Helping skills

Regarding process variables in career counseling, Anderson and Niles (2000) found that both clients and counselors identified events related to client self-exploration and emotional support as being most helpful. In a qualitative study that analyzed the career counseling cases of 12 well-respected vocational psychologists, Whiston, Lindeman, Rahardja, and Reed (2005) found that experts were very likely to use exploration interventions in their descriptions of career counseling. Whiston et al. (2005) found experts often described using helping skills associated with Hill and O'Brien's (1999) model of counseling.

In terms of counselor intentions, Kirschner, Hoffman, and Hill (1994) found insight and challenge to be the most helpful. Other counselor intentions that were found to be helpful included providing information, focusing on feelings, focusing on change, and focusing on the relationship. Nagel, Hoffman, and Hill (1995) analyzed the verbal response modes of career counselors and found that they often used information giving, direct guidance, paraphrasing, and closed questions.

Dik and Steger (2008) found that the use of moderate amounts of counselor self-disclosure in a career workshop can result in increased career decision-making self-efficacy for workshop participants. The self-disclosures in this study involved counselors discussing their own career development in order to illustrate some of the challenges endemic to the career decision-making process and to model effective decision-making strategies. The researchers patterned this counselor self-disclosure after Brown and Ryan Krane's (2000) critical ingredient of modeling, and this finding further supports the notion that career counselors can serve as models of effective career choice decision making.

LENGTH OF CAREER COUNSELING

Another factor for practitioners to contemplate when considering career counseling for emerging adults is the length of the counseling or the number of sessions. In an early meta-analysis, Oliver and Spokane (1988) found the only significant predictor of effect size was treatment intensity (number of hours and number of sessions entered as a block). In a later meta-analysis, Whiston et al. (1998) were unable to find that either the length of time or the number of sessions was predictive of effect size. In plotting the number of sessions by outcome, however, Brown and Ryan Krane (2000) found an interesting relationship between effect size and number of sessions. They found an effect size (ES) of .24 for one session, an ES = .47 for two to three sessions, and an ES = 1.26 for four to five sessions. Furthermore, they found that the magnitude of effect sizes precipitously decreased after four to five sessions. Therefore, Brown and Ryan Krane concluded that career counseling can probably best be conducted in four to five sessions.

CAREER ASSESSMENT

According to Gati and Asulin-Peretz (2011), career assessment is a common part of face-to-face career counseling and often involves assessment of (a) career-related preferences (e.g., interests and values); (b) abilities, aptitudes, and skills; (c) general characteristics, including personality; and (d) characteristics associated with career decision making. Armstrong and Rounds (2008) asserted that measures of individual differences are central to the field of vocational psychology, and can be used to predict job performance, career choice, and indicators of career success. Whereas a comprehensive overview of career assessment is beyond the scope of this chapter, interested readers are directed to Chartrand and Walsh (2001) and Hartung (2005). The focus of this discussion of career assessments will be on counselor interventions related to the administration, scoring, and interpretation of career assessments.

As forecasted by Oliver and Whiston (2000), there has been an explosion of career assessment offered over the Internet and many counselors are using the Internet to have their clients access quality career assessments. There is also the possibility that individuals will take career assessments without the assistance of a counselor, which is concerning given Whiston et al.'s (2003) findings that counselor-free interventions are less effective than career interventions that involve a counselor. Moreover, these Internet-based career assessment programs vary in terms of the quality of the assessments and the psychometric evidence that is available. These assessment tools also vary in terms of the amount of information available to interpret the results, with some programs providing extensive interpretative and occupational information. Even the use of these comprehensive programs, however, may produce better outcomes if a counselor is involved. Gore, Bobek, Robbins, and Shayne (2006) found that the majority of users of a comprehensive program typically spent less than 30 minutes accessing a site that involved numerous career assessments and an abundance of occupational information.

Although counselor involvement seems to be critical in the career assessment process, Whiston and Oliver (2005) found surprisingly little research on how to interpret career assessments. In analyzing research published between 1983 and 1995, Whiston et al. (1998) found no studies related to individual test interpretation and only three studies that examined

group test interpretation. In evaluating a traditional interpretative approach as compared to an approach that encouraged more client interaction, Hanson, Claiborn, and Kerr (1997) found that clients considered the interactive approach session to have more depth. Hartung (2005) argued that career assessment should be integrated into the career counseling process and not be considered as a separate enterprise. Hartung's integrative approach is not new, for Crites (1981) called for an integrative model in which there is a synthesis of counseling and testing. Hartung suggested that integrating assessment into the counseling can best be accomplished if the counselor takes a constructivist approach to career assessment and counseling.

In conclusion, the above factors indicate that career counseling can be effective with emerging adults, particularly if it relates to career choice counseling and involves the five critical ingredients found by Brown and Ryan Krane (2000). Furthermore, it appears that career counselors should attend to other process factors such as role induction, the working alliance, and helping skills. There are also some indications that career counseling should be between four to five sessions, but this would vary depending on client issues. Career assessment is also a common part of the career counseling process; however, surprisingly little is known about the most efficacious approaches for interpreting assessment results.

CLIENT FACTORS AND CAREER COUNSELING

Savickas (1989) asserted that one of the major questions facing vocational psychologists was what treatment worked with which clients and under what conditions? We concur with Brown and McPartland's (2005) assertion that researchers need to move away from "one size fits all" approaches to career counseling and focus on specific treatments for specific clients. Fassinger (2008) called for all applied psychologists to be aware of issues of gender in relation to issues of work and career. Furthermore, as society becomes more diverse, vocational psychologists have called for career counseling approaches that correspond to clients' racial or ethnic background (Blustein, 2008) and for considerations of within-group variables of racial/ethnic minorities (Carter and Constantine, 2000). The final client factor that will be examined concerns clients' vocational diagnoses and the effectiveness of interventions designed for specific diagnostic criteria.

Gender

Fassinger (2008) documented the unprecedented changes that have occurred in women's workforce participation during the last 50 years and particularly the rise in the number of White, middle-class women in the workforce. However, she also documented patterns of occupational segregation, under-representation in leadership positions, and inequities in financial compensation. She went on to argue that one of the major issues in women's workforce participation concerns their under-representation in the STEM (science, technology, engineering, and mathematics) occupations. In one of the few interventions studies related to STEM occupations, Betz and Schifano (2000) evaluated an intervention designed to increase women's realistic self-efficacy and interests in a sample of college women, as realistic self-efficacy and interests have been found to be related to entering the engineering and technology fields. The seven-hour intervention involved the participants receiving instruction in activities traditionally reserved for males, which were building,

repairing, and constructing. Significant treatment effects were reported for both realistic self-efficacy and investigative self-efficacy (a related domain). However, there were no significant effects for realistic interests. Though it was noted that the participants in this study had at least moderate interest levels in the realistic domain to begin with (Betz and Schifano, 2000). Further research concerning the relationship between self-efficacy and interest may provide greater insights that could be used in the development of interventions that are geared toward increasing the number of women in STEM-related occupations.

Although Mau and Fernandes (2001) found no significant gender differences in terms of usage of career services, Rochlen, Mohr, and Hargrove (1999) found that men were more likely to report a higher stigma attached to career counseling than women. Rochlen and O'Brien (2002b) examined the attitudes of men towards career counseling and found that while men with high gender-role conflict did not have more negative attitudes towards counseling than those with low gender-role conflict in terms of their perceptions of the value of career counseling, indicators of levels of gender-role conflict were found to be related to perceived stigma about career counseling. Rochlen and O'Brien (2002a) found some common reasons men cite for not seeking career counseling, which included inconvenience/lack of time, preferences to solve problems alone, a lack of need for career-related assistance, and concerns about career counselors' competence. To address the stigma that men attribute to career counseling, Rochlen, Blazina, and Raghunathan (2002) reviewed the influence of two different career counseling brochures. One brochure was more traditional, whereas the other brochure was designed specifically for men and described career counseling as being conducted in a structured, directive format, with the expectation that this would be more appealing to men with high gender-role conflict. The findings of this study indicated that providing men with accurate information with regard to career counseling services improved their attitudes towards counseling regardless of whether or not the brochures were gender-specific. Rochlen and O'Brien (2002b) also explored the difference between the gender-role conflict of men and their preferences with regard to more structured and less affective career counseling approaches. Their findings indicated that gender-role conflict was not a significant predictor of this preference, but that men in general had a preference for a person–environment fit approach to career counseling as opposed to a psychodynamic–integrated approach (Rochlen and O'Brien 2002b).

In conclusion, the research literature indicates that there is a need for a closer examination of some of the contextual variables that account for differences in career counseling effectiveness, interest, and participation amongst men and women. For women, barriers to workforce participation, discriminatory practices, and within-group differences may be particularly salient (Fassinger, 2008). The unique social context of the dually marginalized women of racial and ethnic minority groups adds additional factors that may be of concern for career counselors. Berdahl and Moore (2006) acknowledged the need to fill the gaps in the literature with regard to the workplace discrimination and harassment experiences of women of color, who are simultaneously targets of both sexist and racial prejudices. For men, further research into the impact of stigma and utilization of career counseling services needs to be examined to determine how best to address their needs (Rochlen and O'Brien, 2002b).

Race and ethnicity

While some researchers have attempted to discern which career counseling interventions are more appropriate for racial and ethnic minorities as compared to Whites, Fouad and

Byars-Winston (2005) suggested that this is premature without an understanding of career barriers and opportunities faced by racial and ethnic minorities. Fouad and Byars-Winston (2005) conducted a meta-analysis of racial and ethnic differences in variables related to career choice. They found that there were no significant differences by race and ethnicity with regard to career aspirations, but that there were significant differences by race and ethnicity with regard to perceptions about opportunities and barriers between racial and ethnic minorities and Whites. Fouad and Byars-Winston suggested that discussion of opportunities and barriers needs to be explicitly included in career counseling with racial and ethnic minorities.

Related to perceived barriers, Chung and Harmon (1999) conducted two studies which sought to validate two measures of their own design known as the Perceived Occupational Opportunity Scale (POOS) and the Perceived Occupational Discrimination Scale (PODS). Their findings revealed a moderate negative correlation between the two scales, indicating that perceptions about discrimination were related to perceptions of opportunity. This study also found that Blacks perceived fewer opportunities for Blacks and greater discrimination than their White counterparts perceived. Moreover, as this chapter focuses on the career development issues of emerging adults, it is important to note that the Chung and Harmon study found differences in the perceptions of opportunities and discrimination between Black high school students and Black college students, wherein Black college students perceived more discrimination and fewer opportunities for Blacks than did both Black and White high school students. This may be an important consideration for career counselors to consider when addressing the career development needs of emerging adults of color, as undergraduate educational experiences may play a factor in these perceptions (e.g., low ratio of students and faculty of color in institutions of higher learning).

In considering what makes career counseling effective with racial and ethnic minorities, Carter, Scales, Juby, Collins, and Wan (2003) conducted a study which examined the relationship of racial/ethnic minority background and experiences in a college career counseling center based on referral (how clients get to the center), process (what services clients receive at the center), and outcome factors (what is the impact of the services received). They found that Asian and White students were more likely to be self-referred or referred by a friend, whereas Hispanic and Black students were more likely to be referred by other counseling and academic services. Related to process, they found that Black students were most likely to attend only one session, and Asian and Hispanic students were most likely to attend two to nine sessions. Conversely, White students were most likely to attend ten or more sessions. In terms of outcome, counselors perceived that most clients made at least minimal progress; however, the counselors rated Black clients as compared to other groups as having a larger percentage of cases where they achieved no perceivable change.

Nichols (2009) conducted a meta-analysis on career counseling effectiveness and his findings suggested that for racial and ethnic minorities there may be other factors that are more instrumental in career counseling effectiveness than the critical ingredients themselves. Nichols (2009) suggested that an ecological-based approach that incorporates contextual factors into a person-intervention fit will result in a better outcome. The person-intervention fit (P-I fit), as it was termed in his meta-analysis, categorized studies on the basis of eight indicators of fit which were: (a) an explicit identification/awareness of the population's developmental career needs; (b) concern with exploring the conditions involved with successful career interventions; (c) counselor characteristics were specifically

addressed; (d) the intervention involved exercises to increase and facilitate engagement of the client in the career development process; (e) adequate time was provided for intervention goals to be reached; (f) the methods for delivering the career intervention were reflective of the manner in which participants learned or interacted with others; (g) the publication specifically addressed the setting of the intervention; and (h) the intervention was specifically adapted or modified for the purposes of meeting the needs of a specific population. He found that person–intervention fit was more predictive of career counseling effectiveness than critical ingredients alone and that in cases where person–intervention fit was high but critical ingredients were low, career counseling was still effective for racial and ethnic minorities (Nichols, 2009).

In an attempt to examine similarity–dissimilarity preferences specifically with Asian American clients, Kim and Atkinson (2002) conducted a study which examined the cultural factors of adherence to Asian cultural values (ACVs), counselor’s expression of cultural values and counselor ethnicity, and the quality of career counseling processes with Asian American clients. In this study, clients were compared across four conditions—a counseling session with an Asian American counselor who expressed Asian values, an Asian American counselor who expressed U.S. values, a European American counselor who expressed Asian values, and a European American counselor who expressed U.S. values. Contrary to expectations, they found that European counselors had higher average ratings by clients than Asian American counselors on session positivity and arousal. Additionally, clients with high adherence to Asian cultural values gave higher ratings on empathic understanding to Asian American counselors than those with low ACV adherence; whereas, those with low ACV adherence gave higher ratings to European American counselors on empathic understanding than those with high ACV adherence. There was no difference found between clients with high or low ACV with regard to European American counselors’ credibility ratings. Moreover, findings from this study revealed that the counselor’s expression of cultural values and the counselor’s ethnicity were not significant factors that affected the quality of the career counseling process. The authors concluded that given that counselors in this study were trained to provide helpful career counseling, the effects of counselor helpfulness may have been ubiquitous across conditions.

In a subsequent study, Kim, Li, and Liang (2002) examined the relationship between adherence to ACV and counseling strategies and processes with Asian American clients. They specifically examined the effect of client perceptions of counseling based on counseling session goals and counselor emphasis on client emotional expression. It was hypothesized that clients with high adherence to ACV would give higher ratings on sessions that focused on problem-resolution over insight attainment, and for counselors who emphasized cognition over emotional expressiveness in sessions. In contrast to these expectations, findings revealed that clients with high adherence to ACV actually rated sessions that focused on client expression of emotion higher than those that focused on cognitions. In addition, clients with high ACV gave higher ratings of empathic understanding as well as reporting better working alliances than those with low ACV adherence. Lastly, clients in the immediate resolution condition gave higher ratings than those in the insight attainment condition on the working alliance.

Li and Kim (2004) conducted another study which examined the preferences of directive versus non-directive career counseling styles for Asian American college students with either high or low Asian Cultural Values (ACV) adherence. Although it was expected that

Asian American students with high ACV adherence would rate directive counseling styles as being preferable and that those with low ACV adherence would rate non-directive styles as being preferable, the actual findings of this study were quite different. In actuality, there were no significant differences between the preferences of Asian American college students with high or low ACV adherence. However, it was found that for the sample utilized in the study, directive counseling styles were rated as more preferable for students with both high and low ACV adherence. Additionally, it was found that ACV adherence did not play a role in client ratings of counselor credibility, cross-cultural competence of counselors, the working alliance, or session depth.

In conclusion, the literature related to providing career counseling to emerging adults of color indicates that more research is critical. Although Nichols' (2009) research indicates that clinicians should match the intervention to the client (i.e., person-intervention fit), Kim and colleagues' research indicates that with Asian American matching the intervention to the client is complex and that matching does not always produce the expected results. What is particularly disappointing is the lack of research on culturally sensitive career counseling interventions. Although Kim and colleagues' research does provide insight into career counseling with Asian Americans, it is surprising that a series of focused studies has not been done with other racial or ethnic groups (e.g., African Americans or Latino(a)s). In one study, by Carter and Constantine (2000), racial/ethnic identity attitudes and career maturity were examined among Black and Asian American college students. The authors of this study particularly emphasized the need for the study of within-group variables of racial/ethnic minorities. In their findings, the Asian American college student sample yielded significant differences by gender, and the relationship between racial/ethnic identity attitudes and career maturity was significant for Asian Americans but not for African Americans. This illustrates some of the limitations in existing research and the need for more variety in the exploration of racial/ethnic minority-specific factors. We will revisit this need for additional research for emerging adults of color when we discuss future research in career counseling.

Diagnosis

In psychotherapy research, client diagnosis is often used to examine what treatment approaches work with which types of clients. Rounds and Tinsley (1984) called for the development of a vocational problem diagnostic scheme that could be used by both researchers and practitioners to identify clients who would benefit from more in-depth career counseling. In terms of diagnostic schemes relevant to career counseling with emerging adults, researchers have focused on career decision-making difficulties. One of the first diagnostic schemes was proposed by Salomone (1982) who recommended that clinicians make a distinction between undecided and indecisive clients. According to Salomone, an indecisive client is someone who has chronic problems with decision making that is rooted in psychological issues; whereas, an undecided client is simply someone who has yet to make a decision but for whom the process is normal and expected. As readers might expect, Salomone suggested that the career counseling be quite different depending on whether the diagnosis was indecisive versus undecided.

According to Gati and Amir (2010), locating a client's career decision-making difficulties is one of the first steps in career counseling. Gati, Krausz, and Osipow (1996) proposed a taxonomy of career decision-making difficulties, which is comprised of three

major clusters (i.e., lack of readiness, lack of information, and inconsistent information). Gati et al.'s taxonomy is hierarchical, in which there are ten subcategories that further identify and specify the career decision-making difficulties. For example, under the lack of readiness cluster, there are three subcategories, which are lack of readiness due to (a) lack of motivation, (b) general indecisiveness, or (c) dysfunctional beliefs. In the category of lack of information, the subcategories concern lack of information on (a) the career decision-making process, (b) self, (c) occupations (i.e., alternatives), and (d) obtaining information. The final category concerns inconsistent information due to (a) unreliable information, (b) internal conflicts, and (c) external conflicts. On the basis of the taxonomy, Gati et al. (1996) developed the *Career Decision-Making Difficulties Questionnaire* (CDDQ), which has been the subject of multiple research studies.

In interpreting the results of the CDDQ, Gati, Amir, and Landman (2010) suggested that counselors examine the salience or level of difficulty among the ten difficulty areas and the severity of the decisional difficulties. In a study of expert career counselors' views of career decision making, Gati et al. hypothesized that difficulties related to internal causes (i.e., difficulties stemming from within the individual) would be considered to be more severe than those associated with external causes. Second, they hypothesized that the cause of the difficulty can be viewed as mainly cognitive, such as collecting and processing information, or mainly caused by emotional or personality-related factors, and that emotional or personality-related difficulties would be considered as more severe and challenging to treat. As hypothesized, expert career counselors rated internal versus external as being more severe and those with emotional causes as more severe than those mainly caused by cognitive factors. To be more specific, these expert career counselors judged the difficulties of lack of motivation, general indecisiveness, and internal conflicts as being most severe. They also provided a ranking related to treatment priorities and rated lack of motivation as the difficulty they would address first in career counseling followed by lack of information about self and dysfunctional beliefs. Next the experts indicated that they would address difficulties involving lack of information about the process, general indecisiveness, internal conflicts, and external conflicts. The other difficulties were regarded as the lowest treatment priority and they all involved information (i.e., lack of information about occupations, unreliable information, and lack of information about additional sources of help). For more information on the CDDQ, vocational psychologists are directed to www.cddq.org.

Another approach to diagnosis related to career decision making comes from the work of Brown and colleagues (Brown and Rector, 2008; Brown et al., 2012; Hacker, Carr, Abrams, and Brown, in press). Brown and Rector (2008) used a meta-analytic factor analysis and identified four latent variables of career indecision. Subsequently, Brown et al. (2012) developed a 167-item inventory (i.e., Career Indecision Profile-167; CIP-167) which measured each of the major dimensions of career indecision and factor analyzed this instrument to determine if it matched the meta-analytic factor analysis of Brown and Rector (2008). The results found by Brown et al. (2012) replicated and extended the work of Brown and Rector and they proposed that career indecision is made up of four factors: (a) neuroticism/negative affectivity, (b) choice/commitment anxiety, (c) lack of readiness, and (d) interpersonal conflict. The parsimony of a four-factor model may have some advantages in developing career interventions; however, the length of the CIP-167 may limit its use. More recently, Hacker et al. (in press) developed a shortened version of 65 items (i.e., CIP-65). The results of a confirmatory factor analysis suggested that the CIP-65 measured the four latent

factors of career indecision found earlier and that all of the items loaded significantly on their assigned factor; hence, the CIP-65 may be another instrument that can be used in the diagnosis of career indecision.

In conclusion, indicators of types of career decision difficulties are probably not inclusive of all the career-related problems of emerging adults and, therefore, we suggest that there is still the need for the development of a comprehensive vocational diagnostic system. We do, however, suggest that these two approaches to identifying career decision-making difficulties have strong empirical support, which should be considered by both clinicians and researchers in developing career counseling approaches.

ROLE OF THEORY

In discussing the research related to career counseling with emerging adults, it is important to discuss the role of theory in the development of these interventions that have been evaluated. In reviewing the recent research on career counseling, we noticed that many of the articles did not specifically list a theoretical foundation to their interventions nor were some prominent theories the focus of more recent intervention research. For example, Holland's (1997) theory has had a major influence on career counseling, yet we found very few studies that directly cited Holland's theory as the theoretical foundation of the intervention. One exception to this trend is a study by Dik and Steger (2008) in which they examined a standard person–environment fit approach and a calling infused person–environment fit approach. Dik and Steger found that both person–environment fit approaches improved career-decision self-efficacy relative to a wait-list control.

A few studies have evaluated interventions based on the Cognitive Information Process (CIP) approach to career counseling (see Sampson, Reardon, Peterson, and Lenz, 2004). CIP theory uses an information-processing pyramid to explain the pieces of career decision making. At the base of the pyramid is the knowledge domain, which consists of self-knowledge and occupational knowledge. The decision-making skills domain is at the second level of the pyramid, and the top layer of the pyramid is the executive-processing domain. Although interventions can be geared toward any level of the pyramid, some are directed at learning the CIP approach to effective decision making. These theoreticians contended that successful career decision making is made up of five phases: (a) communication (knowing a decision needs to be made); (b) analysis (understanding self and options); (c) synthesis (expanding and narrowing the list of occupations); (d) valuing (choosing an occupation); and (e) execution (implementing the choice). Hirschi and Läge (2008) found that a 15-week career workshop that applied the CIP model with Swiss adolescents increased the career decidedness, career planning, career exploration, and vocational identity of participants. In a career development course for college students in the United States founded on CIP theory, Reese and Miller (2010) found the course significantly increased the career decision-making self-efficacy of the students as compared to a quasi-control group. It should be noted that whereas both of these studies (i.e., Hirschi and Läge, 2008; Reese and Miller, 2010) modeled the interventions on CIP theory, they also included the five critical ingredients suggested by Brown and Ryan Krane (2000) that were discussed earlier.

As one of the goals of CIP-based interventions is the removal or attenuation of dysfunctional or negative career thoughts, Sampson, Peterson, Lenz, Reardon, and Saunders (1996a) developed the Career Thought Inventory (CTI) that measures dysfunctional career thoughts.

They created a CTI workbook (*Improving Your Career Thoughts: A Workbook for the Career Thoughts Inventory*, Sampson, Peterson, Lenz, Reardon, and Saunders, 1996b) that is designed to decrease negative career thinking. With a Pacific Island population, Thrift, Ulloa-Heath, Reardon, and Peterson (2012) investigated the effectiveness of a career development course that used the CTI workbook as compared to a course that required the students to research a selected occupation and report to the class on this occupation. The results indicated that both courses decreased the negative career thoughts, but that the workbook intervention was more efficacious in decreasing these thoughts when compared to a control group.

As noted by Reid and West (2011), career guidance in the United Kingdom has been influenced by a variety of theories; however, they discussed the implementation of a narrative-based or a career construction approach (Savickas, 2005) by practitioners in the UK. Although a comprehensive overview of career construction theory is beyond the scope of this chapter, this approach has important implications for career counseling with emerging adults. Savickas' (2005) career construction theory asserts that the career world is made through personal constructivism and social constructionism. Viewing careers from constructionist and contextual perspectives means practitioners focus on interpretive processes, social interactions, and the negotiation of meaning. To put it simply, Savickas asserted that individuals construct their careers by imposing meaning on their vocational behavior and occupational experiences. Within this theoretical perspective, career "denotes a subjective construction that imposes personal meaning on past memories, present experiences, and future aspirations by weaving them into a life theme that patterns the individual's work life" (Savickas, 2005, p. 43). In telling career stories, clients selectively highlight specific experiences that reflect a narrative truth by which they live. In using a career construction approach, a counselor would elicit career stories because the career goals or vocational actions that are gathered as a result of a narrative exploration are more likely to be meaningful, motivational, and sustainable (Reid and West, 2011).

Reid and West (2011) analyzed ten career interviews with young people in England based on Savickas (2005, 2006). They found that a question Savickas often starts a career counseling session with (i.e., "How can I be useful?") did set a collaborative tone for the career counseling. For this research project, the practitioners primarily used six favorite questions adapted from Savickas (2006), which involved: (a) identifying three role models from when you were young; (b) providing favorite magazines or TV shows; (c) eliciting hobbies or interests (e.g., "What do you like to do in your free time?"); (d) identifying all-time favorite books; (e) pinpointing favorite sayings or mottos; and (f) ascertaining favorite school subjects or subjects that were disliked. The practitioners in this study reported that most of the questions worked well with this age group with the possible exception of the motto question. In career construction theory, the exploration is continued by eliciting "turning point" stories, such as asking the client to identify and elaborate on his or her first significant story. Similar to Savickas (2006), these practitioners asked the clients to summarize the essence of each story by providing a fictitious headline for a newspaper, which the practitioners believed help transition the counseling to identifying life themes. Once life themes are identified, the clinician then connects these themes to the client's presenting issues and the identification of possible career goals and actions. A further finding from Reid and West's (2011) study was the need for persistence from the practitioners as the method requires clients to respond and work in a manner that is different from what they might have expected. Moreover, Reid and West found that some of the practitioners were more comfortable in using the approach

than others, particularly when it came to identifying themes and relating those themes to future goals and actions. In general, however, the researchers reported numerous positive comments from both practitioners and clients about using Savickas' approach.

To reiterate, the above discussion of theories is based solely on recently published career counseling process and outcome studies that cite a theoretical foundation. Our brief overview of research here is not meant to diminish the importance of a theoretical foundation in career counseling, and interested readers are directed to Betz (2008), Fouad (2007), and Swanson and Gore (2000).

FUTURE RESEARCH

In considering future research related to career counseling, one should keep in mind our definition of career counseling, which is any intervention or counseling approach that is provided by an individual and designed to enhance another's career development or to enable the person to make better career-related decisions. Although research indicates that individual career counseling and career classes are the most effective modalities (Oliver and Spokane, 1988; Whiston, 2002; Whiston et al., 1998), there is still room for additional research related to which modalities are most effective with which clients under what circumstances. In particular, for emerging adults in either high school or college, there are questions regarding the efficacy of career courses and specifics about what constitutes the most effective curriculum. The efficacy of individual career counseling is also well documented, but it may be that individual career counseling is particularly efficacious with certain clients (e.g., indecisive clients) and more research is needed regarding which clients benefit the most from an individualized approach.

Although the general effectiveness of career counseling has been consistently found for the last 30 years, there is a growing body of recent research that identifies factors that contribute to that effectiveness. There is empirical support for clinicians incorporating the five critical ingredients of written exercises, individualized interpretation and feedback, occupational information, modeling, and attention to building support into their counseling with emerging adults who are making career choices. There is also a growing body of evidence that the working alliance plays an important role in career counseling. Nevertheless, we concur with Heppner and Heppner's (2003) conclusion that there is a significant need for more process research related to career counseling. In particular, we agree with Heppner and Heppner's suggestion that there is a need to develop molecular and global taxonomies of counselor behaviors in career counseling. They noted that numerous taxonomies have been developed to assess counselor behaviors in psychotherapy research and emphasized how career counseling taxonomies could both develop profiles of therapist behaviors and investigate the effects of therapist techniques relative to other client variables.

One of the more global areas of career counseling that could benefit from analysis of molecular counselor behaviors (e.g., interpretation, clarification, direct guidance) concerns career assessment. Although career assessment often is considered a cornerstone of career counseling (Chartand and Walsh, 2001; Hartung, 2005), little is known about counselor behaviors related to interpreting the results of career assessments. The dearth of information related to interpreting assessment results is not solely in the career area, for Whiston (2012) found surprisingly little research related to interpreting assessment results in general. The investigation of differing approaches to counselor behavior used in interpreting career

assessment results may assist the entire field of psychological and educational assessment; this may be an area in which vocational psychologists can take a leadership role.

Tracing back to Fretz's (1981) seminal article, there has been interest in what types of career interventions work with which types of clients. Given the current interest in women entering STEM careers, it is surprising that we only found one intervention study (i.e., Betz and Schifano, 2000) that addressed guiding women into non-traditional careers. As documented by Fassinger and Asay (2006), there are numerous societal forces that dissuade women from entering STEM careers, yet we could not find well-established treatment protocols that are designed to assist women in entering STEM careers. There also needs to be additional research regarding the stigma men may attach to career counseling and whether career counseling should be tailored or altered for men with high gender-role conflict.

As articulated by Blustein (2006, 2008), the impact of race or ethnicity on earnings, occupational mobility, access to promotions, and access to education and training is well documented in the literature. In our view, no greater contribution could be realized than the development of career counseling interventions that would ameliorate current barriers faced by emerging adults of color. This can be accomplished by building on the work of Fouad and Byars-Winston (2005) and refining the study of barriers and opportunities of racial and ethnic minorities. Second, career counseling interventions can then be designed and studied that specifically and comprehensively address vocationally-related barriers while simultaneously consolidating strengths and assets.

Furstenberg (2008) argued that social class can play a significant role in charting the course of an individual's life transitions. Whereas the transition from adolescence to adulthood is indicated by certain common markers—increased independence, career decision making, relationship development—this pathway can vary significantly based on social class. Variations in types and levels of educational, financial, and social support also factor in here and should be taken into consideration when developing and studying career interventions with emerging adults.

Our final suggestion regarding future research related to career counseling with emerging adults concerns the theoretical foundations of interventions and the lack of a clearly articulated theoretical influence in many of the studies. This may be partially related to the trend observed by Betz (2008) in which she noted the tendency for researchers to study concepts from more than one theory and the commingling of theoretical constructs in recent research. We agree with Betz in that this commingling of constructs adds to our understanding of certain constructs (e.g., interests), but we additionally agree with her assertion that there also is a need for theory-driven research in which the research questions are derived from one theory. More theoretically-based intervention research could enrich both the theoretical literature and process and outcome research related to career counseling. Moreover, the area of career counseling with emerging adults would also benefit from the development of new theories that consider the developmental needs of this population and that have direct applicability to practice.

CONCLUSIONS

In summary, it appears that many emerging adults need career counseling and would uniquely benefit from receiving those services. In providing career counseling, vocational psychologists would be advised to incorporate the five critical ingredients as identified by

Brown and Ryan Krane (2000) and Brown et al. (2003). There is also some research which suggests that the career counseling may be enhanced if clinicians provide some introduction to the counseling process or role induction for the client. Although more research needs to be conducted regarding which helping skills are the most important, current research indicates that the working alliance plays a critical role in career counseling. There are also some indications that effective career counseling can be accomplished in four to five sessions, though this may vary according to client needs. More research also needs to be conducted related to the interpretation of career assessment results with a focus on which types of counselor behaviors result in better client insight and understanding. Moreover, additional information is needed regarding what career counseling interventions work best with which clients and under what conditions. In particular, we suggest that treatment protocols be developed to address the vocational barriers faced by racial or ethnic minorities and persons from low SES backgrounds. Additionally, deeper exploration into the impact of gender, racial, and sexual minority discrimination on marginalized groups should be explored. The latter topic was not discussed in this chapter largely due to its minimal presence in existing career counseling research, but it is likely to be a salient issue for emerging adults in particular who often are navigating the management of these types of identities while simultaneously making educational and career-related decisions. Career identity development and sexual identity development and management may also have an influence on one another (Fassinger, 1995). Vocational psychologists should also consider the role of diagnosis in career counseling and the development of diagnostic schemes. In terms of diagnostic assessments, there are well-validated assessments in the area of career decision making but this does not negate the need for a comprehensive diagnostic system for the career concerns of emerging adults. We also argue that more of the career counseling research should be rooted in vocational theories.

In conclusion, emerging adulthood is a critical time when individuals make both personal and career decisions that influence the remainder of their lives. Therefore, many emerging adults may need assistance with career-related decisions and choices. We argue that effective career counseling can be provided to these emerging adults by drawing on the career counseling process and outcome research.

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