INFORMATION TO USERS

This reproduction was made from a copy of a manuscript sent to us for publication and microfilming. While the most advanced technology has been used to photograph and reproduce this manuscript, the quality of the reproduction is heavily dependent upon the quality of the material submitted. Pages in any manuscript may have indistinct print. In all cases the best available copy has been filmed.

The following explanation of techniques is provided to help clarify notations which may appear on this reproduction.

1. Manuscripts may not always be complete. When it is not possible to obtain missing pages, a note appears to indicate this.
2. When copyrighted materials are removed from the manuscript, a note appears to indicate this.
3. Oversize materials (maps, drawings, and charts) are photographed by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each oversize page is also filmed as one exposure and is available, for an additional charge, as a standard 35mm slide or in black and white paper format.*
4. Most photographs reproduce acceptably on positive microfilm or microfiche but lack clarity on xerographic copies made from the microfilm. For an additional charge, all photographs are available in black and white standard 35mm slide format.*

*For more information about black and white slides or enlarged paper reproductions, please contact the Dissertations Customer Services Department.

UMI University Microfilms International

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

8611358

Levine, Joan

TAKING THE ROAD NOT TAKEN: CAREER CHANGE FOR MEN AND WOMEN IN THEIR THIRTIES

*City University of New York* PH.D. 1986

University Microfilms International 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106

Copyright 1986
by
Levine, Joan
All Rights Reserved

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

# TAKING THE ROAD NOT TAKEN:
# CAREER CHANGE FOR MEN AND WOMEN IN THEIR THIRTIES

by

JOAN LEVINE

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Psychology in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York.

1986

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

© 1986

JOAN LEVINE

All rights reserved

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Psychology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

1/7/86
Date

Laurence J. Gould
Chair of Examining Committee

1/7/86
Date

Herbert D. Saltzstein
Executive Officer

Paul Wachtel, Ph.D.

Arietta Slade, Ph.D.

Louis Gerstman, Ph.D.
Supervisory Committee

The City University of New York

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

## Abstract


TAKING THE ROAD NOT TAKEN:

CAREER CHANGE FOR MEN AND WOMEN IN THEIR THIRTIES

by

Joan Levine

Adviser: Laurence Gould, Ph.D.

Although there has been attention paid in the popular press to men and women in their thirties who have elected to return to school and retrain for a new career, few researchers have studied this phenomenon. This study examines such career transition. It focuses on two aspects of the transition: (1) its processes and tasks; (2) its implications in regard to the research literature on adult development, career development, transition theory and work and its impact on the sense-of-self.

Sixteen subjects (eight men, eight women) were interviewed using semi-structured in-depth interviews (two one and one-half hour sessions) designed to uncover as much as possible about the processes and tasks of career transition. All of the subjects had worked at least four years in the first career and none were re-entry housewives.

Two broad types of developmental tasks emerged from the study, instrumental tasks and affective tasks. There were nine instrumental tasks of career transition and they were:


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(1) recognize that the first career does not meet one's needs; (2) investigate and explore potential options; (3) decide on vocation and apply; (4) determine financial feasibility; (5) enter school and meet academic demands; (6) manage time; (7) establish a support system; (8) begin to function in new role; (9) find first job.

The seven affective tasks of career transition were: (1) adopt new values in regard to self; (2) allow self to feel feelings that may surface with the recognition that first career will not work out; (3) manage pressures generated in applying to schools; (4) maintain open communication with intimate partner; (5) deal with issues imposed by student/novice status; (6) deal with issues of competition; (7) internalize training experience. Utilizing the schema of tasks, the study explores the similarities and differences among the subjects, highlighting trends.

The findings are discussed as they confirm or diverge from the literature on adult development, career development, transition theory, and self-concept and career transition. The study diverges most significantly from previous literature in the finding of lack of major differences between men and women career changers.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

# PREFACE

## THE ROAD NOT TAKEN

Two roads diverged in a yellow wood,
And sorry I could not travel both
And be one traveler, long I stood
And looked down one as far as I could
To where it bent in the undergrowth;

Then took the other, as just as fair,
And having perhaps the better claim,
Because it was grassy and wanted wear;
Though as for that the passing there
Had worn them really about the same,

And both that morning equally lay
In leaves no step had trodden black.
Oh, I kept the first for another day!
Yet knowing how way leads on to way,
I doubted if I should ever come back.

I shall be telling this with a sigh
Somewhere ages and ages hence:
Two roads diverged in a wood, and I--
I took the one less traveled by,
And that has made all the difference.

by Robert Frost

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

## Acknowledgments

This work has been nourished by many. In the very beginning, over many memorable lunches, Dr. Barbara Lazarus (at that time director of career counseling at Wellesley College) and I discussed how women negotiated the return to school. Barbie encouraged me to pursue this line of research and shared much of her knowledge about women's career development.

When I came to Dr. Larry Gould with this project, he was enthusiastic and encouraging, urging me to "be curious." He affirmed the value of qualitative data and was consistently supportive of this line of research. The other members of my committee--Drs. Paul Wachtal, Arietta Slade, Louis Gerstman, and Rachelle Dattner--all made important contributions to my thinking, research, and morale at various junctures along the way.

Others who have contributed significantly to the shaping of this work include: Dr. Robert Weiss, Dr. Lillian Rubin, Dr. Grace Baruch, Dr. Joseph Pleck, Dr. A. J. Franklin, Dr. Anne Tavel, Dr. Donald Super, and Dr. Carol Winetsky.

Each and every one of the subjects of this study was as important to my personal development and career transition as he or she was to the study itself. As a group they were inspiring. Busy as they were, they made time to talk with me, a researcher, because the experience of career change

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

had been a profcund one and they believed there were useful insights to be uncovered in this exploration. I am indebted to their generosity and openness. I have endeavored to present their experiences as accurately as possible.

Margaret Peet, herself a career changer, diligently kept track of this manuscript and paid attention to the necessary details for which I am extremely grateful.

My dear friend, Dr. Kathy Berkman, offered unflagging support from the first conversations we had about my return to school through the completion of this work. Her sympathy with my struggles and her confidence in my abilities has been an invaluable gift.

My final acknowledgments go to my family, my parents, Ed and Ethel Goldman, my children, Jessica and Josh, and my husband, Jim. My parents lent unquestioning support, cooking meals, providing emergency childcare, expressing consistent confidence and pride in this enterprise.

When I began this work my daughter was not an adolescent and my son was just starting to read. Their transitions have been a joy to behold and have led me to marvel at all developmental tasks, not simply those of career transition. They have enriched my work as they enrich my life.

My deepest gratitude goes to my husband and best friend, Jim. His faith in me, his wisdom and insights, his loyalty, his humor, and his love have sustained me in our 23 years together.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS


| Chapter | | Page |
|---|---|---|
| I. | The Proposal | 1 |
| II. | A Review of the Literature | 9 |
| III. | The Method | 53 |
| IV. | The Instrumental Tasks: Variability in the Experience of Career Transition | 65 |
| V. | The Affective Tasks: Variability in the Experience of Career Transition | 90 |
| VI. | A Comparison of the Findings with Previous Literature | 137 |

Table 1. Summary Data of 16 Subjects 158

Appendices

Appendix I 159

Appendix II 163

Reference List 164


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

# CHAPTER 1

## The Proposal

The problem of worker dissatisfaction is a growing phenomenon. In 1971 Heistand published a pioneering study of the career change after 35. In 1973 Work in America, a Report of the Special Task Force to the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare contained an extensive discussion of work in the U.S.A. and traced the shift in attitude towards work. The report stated that workers were expecting more from their work, including the opportunity to be more personally involved in their job and in decisions that affect their jobs. It stated that worker dissatisfaction was on the rise in direct proportion to the inability of work to meet personal needs (e.g., self-actualization) and social and economic needs (e.g., status and maintaining or increasing socio-economic position) (Walsh and Osipow, 1983). In 1977 Sarason investigated the dissatisfaction of professionals, a group who had been thought to be immune from the discontent cited by those in other occupations. More recently, in the popular press, there have been numerous articles about career change, often profiling individuals who have made radical career changes (Gelman, Doherty, Joseph, Buckley and DeBlieu, 1984; Gottschalk, Jr., 1982; Kelvin, 1984; Kiechell, 1984; O'Boyle, 1982; Purdum, 1985; Rice, 1985).

That people are wanting a good deal more from their

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

work than a paycheck is apparent from the interest and attention career change is generating in the popular press and the increased numbers of people seeking counseling around this issue (Rice, 1985). Attention to the actual experience of career change has not been studied close-up, in clinical detail. It is the aim of this work to begin to contribute to the career change literature from this perspective.

This hypothesis generating study examines a significant transition in adult life: career change among people in their thirties. It focuses on two aspects of this transition: (1) its processes and tasks; (2) its implications in regard to the research literature (e.g., adult development, career development) that informs this study.

Unlike some other career changers, the subjects in this study had to return to school in order to retrain for a new profession. Such a change demanded mature organization and planning skills while at the same time (and somewhat paradoxically) the relinquishment of status, expertise, and regression to the position of student and novice in the new field. The study examines the entire transition, looking at the first intimations of change (while the individual is still in the first occupation), the decision to change, the choice of and application to schools, the school experience, and the establishing of oneself in the new profession.

Though all but two of the subjects have undergone transition in their thirties (they began school at ages 40

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and 43), some, the retrospectives, were 40 or older at the time of the interview. There were seven subjects who were still in training at the time of the interviews and nine who had completed training and were active in their second career. The age group of the thirties was chosen based on the assumption that, by the thirties, time has usually been spent creating an initial life structure (as described by Levinson, 1978) which forms a foundation for further work. Career change in the twenties, by contrast, is less of a transition in the sense of a change than it is an age-appropriate searching for what one will eventually choose as a career. By the same token, career change in the forties is likely to be clouded by many variables associated with the transition to mid-life (Farrell and Rosenberg, 1981; Mayer, 1978; Norman and Scaramella, 1980; Rubin, 1979). Cath (1982), for example, postulates mid-life as a time when long past object relations surface, obscuring the immediate relationships in the present and setting the tone for the individual's ability to cope with the realization of his/her limitations. Levinson sees the forties as a time of inevitable emotional upheaval and writes: "Having a crisis at this time is not in itself pathological. Indeed the person who goes through this period with minimal discomfort may be denying that his life must change for better or worse" (Levinson, 1978, p. 26).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

<u>The Literature</u>

The phenomenon of career change has only begun to be examined by researchers. What literature there is has not necessarily limited its investigation to people who went back to school or to a particular age grouping as does this study. The approaches have varied. Some studies (Bayer, 1970; LeBaron, 1981) have been of individual cases. Other studies (Heistand, 1971; Osherson, 1980; Rayman, 1982) utilized the case study method and examined the motivations of their subjects and some of the general issues they all faced. Still other studies have taken a clinical, how-to approach (Keichell, 1984; Levinson, H., 1983; Martin, 1983; Tough, 1982). One study (Louis, 1981) classified occupational/role transitions into nine types and then abstracted some general themes. Lieberman and Lieberman (1983) developed a typology of seven types of career change based on interviews with people 50-87 years old. Sarason (1977) looked at career change as an expression of broader societal issues, i.e., the increasing expectations of workers that their work provide a degree of personal satisfaction and the general dissatisfaction and disappointment experienced instead.

Only Perosa and Perosa (1983) have looked at the experience of career transition itself using a seven-phase model of mourning and loss, originally formulated by Hopson, and a four step cognitive decision model taken from Janis and Mann.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The present study builds upon the work of several theorists in the areas of adult development, career development, and transition theory. The research introduced here is expanded upon in the literature review.

Adult development research provides a context in which to understand the meaning of career transition in one's thirties. Levinson on the one hand, and Vaillant and Maslow on the other, offer two somewhat different theoretical perspectives on the career changer. For Levinson (1978), who sees development as allied with particular age-appropriate stages, these career changers--novices in their thirties--are out of sync with their age-linked career ladder. Vaillant (1977) and Maslow (1962) are useful in counterpoint to Levinson because their perceptions of adult development are less age-linked and tend more towards individual variation. Like Levinson, however, they both underscore the importance of transitional periods but, unlike him, they do not bracket these transitions in particular age-stage categories. Explicitly for Maslow and implicitly for Vaillant, transition--and often the crisis which preceeds it--stimulates and enables growth, regardless of age.

Branching off slightly from the adult development research, more closely related to career change, is Super's (1953, 1957, and 1980) research on adult career development, which he depicts in broad, encompassing terms. For Super, as for Levinson, the individual's life is of a piece; work life cannot be studied as though it had no implications for

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

personal life and vice versa. But Super does posit an intrinsic development to the career itself (Super, 1980). His work is significant to my study because many of my subjects were well along on their first career path when they chose to turn back and begin again in an altogether different occupation.

Although theories of adult development and career development provide important perspectives, the primary organizing focus of my study is the experience of transition itself. Two transition theorists, Naomi Golan and Nancy Schlossberg, have examined a variety of transitions and developed two different theories of transition. Golan's work (1981) is descriptive while Schlossberg's formulations attempt to be not only descriptive but predictive of transition outcome. Golan suggests that all transitions can be divided into two parallel processes--external and internal, or instrumental and affective--which in turn can be broken down into five tasks. She supports her view with extensive clinical material. Her approach informs this study (viz., method).

Schlossberg, like Golan, sees transition as a process that requires "the simultaneous analyses of individual characteristics and external occurrences" (Schlossberg, 1981) but she differs from Golan in her emphasis on variability and the predictive significance of a large number of variables for transition outcome. Her approach has more clinical than theoretical utility.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In addition to Golan and Schlossberg, this study is informed by Peter Marris (1975), who sees the individual's present adaptation to transition more in terms of the past. For Marris change may be an expression of a paradoxical attempt to hold onto the past. He calls this the "Conservative Principle," and by that he means the wish to hold onto the kernal of sense-of-self while undergoing apparent and even radical change in role, location, or career.

Lastly, transition research specifically focused on career transitions (Louis, 1980; Perosa and Perosa, 1983) informs this study and places this research in a context. To date there has been no open-ended investigation of the career changer tracing the transition from initiation to completion. Louis' work examined and categorized the numerous varieties of work transitions which involved role change. Perosa and Perosa's research adopted both a seven-phase model of fluctuating mood and self-esteem originally formulated by Hopson and a four question decision making scheme formulated by Janis and Mann. All theories of transition speak to change of self or self concept. In trying to understand the vicissitudes of the sense-of-self in career transition specifically, the study draws upon Marris, Osherson, and Pine.

These various theories provided a series of orientation points as well as a lens through which to view the interview data of the 16 subjects in this study.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Method

The proposed method is elaborated on in some detail in the chapter on method. Briefly stated, however, this study examines 16 adults, eight men and eight women--seven of whom were in the midst of their transition and nine of whom had completed the transition--all of whom chose to leave their first career in their thirties, go back to school, and embark on a very different second occupation.

The subjects were identified using a purposive sampling procedure (Kidder, 1981) that included contacts made with deans of admissions at graduate and professional schools as well as word-of-mouth contacts through friends and acquaintances. In order to obtain the data, each of the subjects was interviewed for a total of three hours. In some cases the individual was at the beginning of the transition, in others, the middle, and in still other cases, the subject was actively pursuing the second career.

The interview is a semi-structured in-depth interview designed to uncover as much as possible about the process of career transition, and the individuals who elect to change careers. Although the questions were carefully formulated (see Appendix 1), the aim of the study was to investigate this phenomenon with as open and flexible approach as possible. If in the natural course of the interviews the subject did not of his/her own accord raise the issues itemized in Appendix 1, these questions were inserted into the interview within the context of the emerging material.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

# CHAPTER 2

## A Review of the Literature

This investigation looks at the transition of career change among men and women in their thirties. As such, it includes the tasks of the transition, the impact of the transition on the individual's experience of him/herself, and a review of pertinent research.

The sixteen subjects served as this study's most vital resource and reference. Their reports of the transition lie at the heart of this investigation. However, there are four areas of research literature germane to an understanding and interpretation of the clinical data. These four areas are:

1. Adult development: in order to determine the significance of career change in one's thirties as opposed to any other period in one's life.

2. Career development: with a dual focus on (a) origins and determinants of career choice; (b) developmental aspects of one's career once it is chosen, in order to see how these subjects conform to and deviate from the norm.

3. Transition theories: in order to locate career transition in the body of literature on life transitions.

4. Theories of sense of self in regard to career transition: in order to assess the impact of career change on the individual's experience of self.

### Adult Development Literature

Adult development research may be divided into two

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

theoretical orientations: the age-stage developmental model (Stewart, W., 1977; Gould, R., 1978; Levinson, D., 1978; Erickson, E., 1980) and the individual, non-chronological, developmental model (Maslow, A., 1962; Vaillant, G., 1977; Bandura, A., 1982). The age/stage theorists link the adult's development to specific chronological periods which are universal. The individual development theorists do not see adult developmental change limited to a particular age or stage in life but rather as a multi-determined process where critical life events propel the individual to grow.

Age-Stage Perspective

Theorists representing the age/stage perspective are Erik Erikson, Daniel Levinson, and Roger Gould. Though Erikson's developmental stages begin in infancy and extend beyond middle age, his adult stages, unlike the stages of childhood, are more loosely placed chronologically. Yet Erikson does designate specific adult stages as "young adult," "adulthood," and "mature age." He describes tasks that must be accomplished for the individual to proceed onto the next stage and places them in broad age groupings. His work is significant to my study because he defines the entry into adulthood in work related terms. "When childhood and youth come to an end, life. . .begins: by which we mean work or study for a specified career. . .(only) after a reasonable sense of identity has been established (is) real intimacy possible" (Erikson, 1980, page 100).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Erikson proceeds to ponder what Freud meant when he defined the "normal" person as one who is able to love and work. As Erikson sees it, Freud meant by love, the "expansiveness of generosity as well as genital love." What he meant by work, Erikson claims, was a "productiveness which would not preoccupy the individual to the extent that the right or capacity to be a sexual and loving being would be lost" (Erikson, 1980). Erikson's theory raises the question examined in Chapters 4 and 5, of how career changers, who invest so much in their choice to start over, manage this balance of love and work.

Daniel Levinson's study, The Seasons in a Man's Life, a study of 40 men chosen from four occupational categories, seeks to demonstrate a universal, age-linked pattern of adult development which consists of a series of alternating stable (structure building) and transitional (structure-changing) periods.

The first of these periods is the Early Adult Transition and the First Adult Life Structure where a major task is the forming of a dream which generates excitement and provides the individual with a direction and purpose. Levinson writes: "Those who betray the dream in their twenties will have to deal later with the consequences (Levinson, D., 1977, p. 92)."

Following this period comes the decade of the thirties, divided into two periods: (a) the Age Thirties Transition (ages 28-33), which may entail changing the first life

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

structure and generating a crisis of moderate or severe proportions; and (b) Settling Down, a period that begins at the end of the Age Thirty Transition and persists until about age 40. In describing the Settling Down period, Levinson posits two major tasks for men:

1. To establish one's niche in society by developing competence and mastery in one's chosen field.

2. To advance on his hypothetical "ladder"--advancement being measured as increases in social rank, income, power, quality of family life, and so on.

Levinson carefully delineates this stage from the Novice phase in the First Adult Life Structure which is characterized as an exploratory, dream forming time, with an emphasis on the need to keep one's options open.

Levinson's work raises a couple of questions in regard to this sample of career changers. First there is the question of timing. For Levinson, the individual who attempts career change past the "Age Thirty Transition," i.e., during "Settling Down," is likely to have a much more difficult time of it. Second, there is the question of "the Dream," and its origins in late adolescence and early adulthood. For career changers these ideas may not hold true.

Lastly, Roger Gould's developmental model, generated from a questionnaire distributed to 524 non-patients and explained in his book, Transformations, is primarily oriented around four phases of adulthood: 16-22, 22-28, 28-34, and 35-45. According to Gould, development consists

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

primarily of "changes of consciousness." he says, "The events themselves--love, work, marriage, dealing with our parents and our children--occupy center stage in everyone's life. But because of changes in consciousness, events are experienced differently at different stages (Gould, R., 1978, p. 41)." The movement towards maturity is not so embedded in the context of work as Levinson's theory suggests. Instead Gould sees development as a gradual stripping away of childhood assumptions which shape the way we respond to and interact with our world, both intimate and work-related. As adults transcend various childhood assumptions during these chronological adult stages, they come closer to their own agenda, leaving behind that which has been imposed by fantasied or real parental expectations.

Of the period from 28-34 Gould writes: "Men who are changing careers. . .often experience depression because they are also changing the values and beliefs that helped them gain independence from their parents (Gould, 1978, p. 157)." He doesn't even consider women as career changers, but instead presents their situation as an imposed choice, career or family. Gould characterizes women's transition options at this stage as a kind of forced choice. Those who are mothers may elect to return to work while those who have invested in career building may elect to begin a family.

This limited perspective on women's experience also underlies the work of Wendy Stewart, who studied women in their thirties from a perspective borrowed from Levinson.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

She presents a sample of women who experience almost paralyzing conflict between love and work. Indeed only Stewart's last subject managed both family life and a serious career. The tenacity of her career committment manifested itself when she opted at one point for a commuter marriage rather than give up her work and community of colleagues. Despite the important data of this one subject, Stewart, like Gould, tends to see the thiritics as an era demanding that women choose between investing their energies in love or work while their male counterparts aim to integrate these two facets.

Gould, Stewart, Levinson, and Erikson represent various age/stage models of adult development. The following two theorists present a more individualized (rather than chronologically bound) view of development.

Individual, Non-Chronological Perspective

Abraham Maslow and George Vaillant both focus on individual, intrapsychic change which occurs over time and not in a prescribed step-wise fashion.

Maslow, perhaps the more optimistic of the two, asserts that there is within each individual the "tendency toward, or need for growing in a direction that can be summarized in general as self actualization, or psychological health, and specifically as growth toward each and all of the subaspects of self actualization, i.e., pressure toward unity of personality, spontaneous expressiveness (and) toward full individuality and identity. . . (Maslow, 1962, p. 147)."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Individuals who express this tendency toward growth resist enculturation and classification, seeking to find and construct their own life structure rather than conform to expectations of others in the present or in the past. The role of the future is crucial for Maslow who writes: "Self actualization is meaningless without reference to a currently active future (Maslow, 1962, p. 14)." The future, dynamically active in the present of each individual, may be the basis for fearful retreat and defensive concerns with safety or it may hold the promise of adventure. Most likely both senses of future reside within us all and it is precisely this conflict that makes the self-actualizing, developing, adult so heroic in Maslow's eyes. He sees his self actualizers as ordinary people who elect to grapple with the "real" problems of life rather than to deny or transform them into something they are not, e.g., somatic complaints or finding a scapegoat. Maslow writes: "I could even call the self-actualizing person a self-accepting and insightful neurotic. . .understanding and accepting courageously, and even enjoying, being amused by, the shortcomings of human nature instead of trying to deny them (Maslow, 1962, p. 109)."

Providing the opportunity for this choice between growth and safety are life events which happen in no chronological or predictable order. Adult development, according to Maslow, occurs in response to key events. He writes: "The most important learning experiences reported to me by

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

my subjects were very frequently single life experiences such as tragedies, deaths, traumata, conversions, and sudden insights which forced change in the life-outlook of the person and consequently in everything that he did. . .a peeling away of inhibitions and constraints. . .(Maslow, M., 1962, p. 36)."

Like Maslow, Vaillant perceives adult development from an ego psychological perspective. Like Maslow he tries to define the illusive notion of "mental health." He does this by looking at his subjects' ego defenses and positing a hierarchy of defenses which range from maladaptive, immature defenses through neurotic, to mature, adaptive defenses. It is his contention that "with time defenses evolve in more mature styles (Vaillant, 1977, p. 130)."

Vaillant's study involved extensive, in-depth interviews and annual questionnaires with 95 Harvard graduates. He writes: "When the Grant Study was started, the hope was that it would allow prediction and that once all the data were in, college counselors could interview sophomores and tell them what they should do with their lives. This was not to be. The life cycle is more than an invariant sequence of stages with single, predictable outcomes. The men's lives are full of surprises (Vaillant, 1977, p. 373)."

What precipitates growth in adulthood or allows it to happen? Vaillant offers several answers. First there is the notion of external events forcing the individual to adapt. Vaillant offers the metaphor of the oyster which

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

when confronted with a grain of sand, creates a pearl. Here he suggests the notion that conflict and crisis are the raw materials which catalyze growth. A second factor is the availability of suitable models for identification along with opportunities in childhood and adolescence to exhibit autonomy and initiative. Third, there may be a biological substrate underlying the evolution of more mature defenses. Vaillant cites the evidence that the "brain continues to change in structure and complexity until age 40 or 50 (Vaillant, 1977, p. 336)." Adult development may have a developmental biological reality all its own. The fourth factor Vaillant deems necessary is for the individual to be able to master an adaptational shift to high order defenses in an interpersonal environment--either friends, a partner, therapist, or mentor--who at the crucial time of transition offers emotional support.

## Career Development Literature

The literature on career development divides itself into separate literatures for men and women and they have been reviewed separately. Since this study is concerned both with how individuals come to choose their second careers as well as their development within both the first and second career, this section first reviews the literature on career choice and second, the literature on career development. Although the writing in this area is extensive, those writers were selected whose work provided a context in which

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

to understand these career-changing subjects.

Determinents of Career Choices for Men

Much career development literature has concerned itself with occupational choice rather than career development (DeLong, 1982; Goodale and Hall, 1976; Kyson, 1984; Roe, 1956; Sarason, 1977). Even those who have written on career development have often done so by focusing on the emergence of a sequence of choices (Super, 1980). The question raised by this emphasis on choice is the question of causes: what leads an individual to choose one direction rather than another? Anne Roe's work in this area attempted to match the personality traits of the individual with the demands of the chosen occupation. Drawing on Maslow's theory of the "self-actualizing" individual, Roe sought to determine how occupational choice could help the individual to realize him/herself. Like Super she saw choice as a way of the individual implementing his or her self-concept (Super, 1957). However, she recognized that factors other than personal preference and psychological make-up come into play and believed that occupational choice was ultimately a compromise between factors in the environment and an individual's native abilities and inclinations. These factors she termed one's "social inheritance" and they include:

1. The country and culture in which one lives
2. The time in history
3. The degree of conformity demanded by society
4. The ease with which education can be obtained

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(Roe, 1957).

Roe's concept of "social inheritance" may help explain either the subjects' delayed career choices or their initial choice of occupation. Because many of the subjects were of draftable age during the Viet Nam War there may have been a significant effect of that political reality on their initial career choices. Perhaps other, less dramatic but equally powerful social and political currents of the sixties influenced their initial choices of occupation. In the case of the women in the study, the effect of the women's movement has been reported. Socio-economic class and the ease with which education was obtained also played a part in these subjects first and/or second career choice.

Other writers have observed a phenomenon of career "inheritance." Educational attainment, social class, and father's occupation were found to be the most salient predictors of son's success (Crites, 1976; Goodale and Hall, 1976; Baruch, Barnett and Rivers, 1983).

<u>Determinents of Career Choice for Women</u>

As noted earlier in the review of adult development literature, women's careers have traditionally been seen as conflicting with their role as mother (Stewart, 1977). Although this conflict is a big factor in determining career choice for women, it is not the whole picture. Historically women's choices have been severely limited. Even today, although many more women are entering the labor force, sex segregation of jobs is a powerful reality. For example, 38%

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

of women and only 6% of men enter clerical jobs. At the professional level there are 21% women to 35% men entering technical, managerial, or professional careers (Nieva and Gutek, 1981). To some extent this social reality has been internalized by both males and females. Barnett gave 2,500 boys and girls between the ages of 9-17 a list of 15 occupations. For the boys occupational prestige was a positive factor while for the girls it was negative; the higher the prestige, the greater the aversion (Rivers et al., 1979).

Research into how women choose an occupation has led to several theories of choice. Angrist, Almquist, and Osipow suggest that for women career choice is inseparable from lifestyle choice and so it entails a reluctance to make a firm committment to one direction. Usually general skills are learned that can be used flexibly and adaptively depending on personal, i.e., future family circumstances (Nieva and Gutek, 1981).

Colette Dowling, in her book, The Cinderella Complex, takes a less generous view of this mode of career choice and sees it not as an adaptive strategy so much as a retreat from the adult responsibility of preparing oneself to take care of oneself financially. The hesitation to make a firm career committment, according to Dowling, is based on the assumption that marriage and a husband will provide--i.e., Prince Charming (Dowling, 1981).

Bardwick and Douvan take a middle position between Angrist, et al., and Dowling. They argue that it is adap-

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

tive for women to remain flexible in their career plans if they wish to marry but at the same time they suggest that studies of women and career choice have followed the male model and been done when women are college age. They maintain that the adaptive flexibility of women in their late teens and early twenties does not imply a lack of a serious committment but rather late committment to career. To move beyond the prospective studies that have been done to date they propose that retropective studies (like this one) be conducted with women already active in their careers to determine how and when the choice was made (Nieva and Gutek, 1981). This line of reasoning is supported by research done by Baruch, who found in a study of 137 Radcliffe alumnae a dramatic drop in achievement motivation for those women out of college 10 years with resurgence at 15, 20, and 25 years out of school (Nieva and Gutek, 1981).

Some researchers have looked at the role of parents in women's career choices. Tangri's work on women who aspired to traditional male occupations found working mothers (rather than fathers) tended to be the role model (in Rivers, Baruch and Barnett, 1979). Rivers, et al., looked at the daughters of working mothers and found them to be more likely to have serious career aspirations. They cautioned that the traditional mother at home may over-invest in her daughters and inadvertently serve as a model of one who has abdicated power to lead a rather restricted life. They write: "If it is important for a girl's development to

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

identify with her mother, then we had better start thinking about the "ideal" mom as something other than a sacrificial creature a child can't wait to emulate. Mother must be a strong, competent person in her own right. . .(Rivers, et al., 1979, p. 78).

The impact of the father on career choice for women stood out in Hennig and Jardim's study on women executives. All the women in that study had close relationships with their fathers, though in some cases this meant assuming the role of "son" in the family, an identity that became problematic in adulthood, both within the context of work and in their personal lives (Hennig and Jardim, 1978).

Career Development for Men

The following literature is based on men's career development. Though women were not explicitly excluded, the subjects for these studies were primarily male. The literature falls into two general classes: that which sees career development and personal development as interlocking, and that which focuses more narrowly on the stages of development within a chosen career.

Donald Super is the first of those writers who stresses the interrelationship of work and the individual's personal growth. He traces the origin of the word career back to its Latin roots: "carrus" meant cart or chariot and "cararia" meant road or way (Super, 1980, p. 286). One's career becomes, by analogy, the vehicle with which to negotiate and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

move through life. Given that rather broad definition, Super proceeds to describe "career" as the "constellation of interacting and varying roles" that the individual adopts throughout his/her lifetime. These roles may often overlap, e.g., worker, parent, son, union member, but they all have to be assessed when examining anyone's path of career development (Super, 1980).

In Super's model, career choice is not a one-time event but a continual process of compromise and adjustment. Yet he does see career development as a series of stages beginning in adolescence and believes that vocational preferences, competencies, and the self concept are fairly stable from late adolescence until late maturity (Super, 1957).

The stages Super outlines are:

1. Exploration--subdivided into fantasy, tentative experiments, and realistic explorations in the world of work

2. Establishment--subdivided into trial stage, stable stage, and establishment stage

3. Maintainance

4. Decline (Super, 1953)

Super regards the process of vocational development over the entire lifetime as that of developing and implementing a self concept, a synthesis of innate abilities and interests, and environmental opportunities (Super, 1957). His approach tends toward the psychoanalytic, both when discussing some of the most salient predictors of work adjustment and in his preferences for non-directive career

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

counseling. In both instances Super recognizes and stresses the importance of the individual's personal and family history (Super, 1957).

Super's work raises questions in regard to this sample of career changers. Was their exploration period curtailed? Did early identification figures play any role in first or second career choices?

Crites draws a career development outline quite similar in its stages to Super's. He extends his model by hypothesizing a work satisfaction cycle. According to Crites, work and satisfaction is high at entry, reaches its lowest ebb during the middle of the establishment stage (ages 35-40), and accelerates again during what he calls the maintainance stage (ages 55-70) (Crites, 1976). Such a model has implications for this study since Crites predicts career disatisfaction at its height during the latter half of the decade of the thirties, when a number of the subjects will have made their change.

Why the dissatisfaction at this time? Sarason attempts to answer that question in his book, Work, Aging, and Social Change: Professionals and the One Life, One Career Imperative. He suggests, as do others (H. Levinson, 1964), that during late adolescence, the time when the "exploration" stage should be underway, most middle class young people are preoccupied not with career fantasies but with getting into college. The focus is on what the colleges want and adapting to those requirements, not on listening to an internal

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

dialogue in regard to what the individual adolescent may want (Sarason, 1977).

Besides the other-directed quality of the "exploratory" stage, most adolescents and adults as well have been led to believe that one prepares for one career, not for two or possibly even three (Sarason, 1977). Because of the foreclosed aspects of the exploratory stage, the limited nature of the assumptions about one's work life--that one prepares to be "a thing, i.e., possessed of a label descriptive of a career which however chosen, was one of many possible careers available" (Sarason, 1977, p. 125)--Sarason attributes a resurgence of these issues in the thirties and forties.

Although he was primarily interested in those who actually made changes in their thirties and forties, Sarason believes that restlessness and dissatisfaction with one's initial occupational choice is far more widespread. He writes: "Candor about one's negative experience of work is intrinsically dangerous not only because of the surprised reactions of others. . .but also because such candor confronts one with the need or necessity for action in new directions" (Sarason, 1977, p. 115).

Widespread though it may be, dissatisfaction with work does not often translate into radical career change. According to studies of occupational mobility within a single year (U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Statistics) approximately 10% of the work force can be expected to undergo occupational change. The most recent figures docu-

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

menting occupational change were gathered for the years 1980-81. Of the total 9.5% who changed, 70% were between the ages of 18-35. The rate of change for those between 25-34 was 12.4% and for those between 35-44, 7.4%. Hence, despite many people's expressed dissatisfactions with their work, the odds are low that many individuals will opt for career change.

Why more people don't change is suggested by Super who lists the risks involved in moving from what he labels the "stable" stage. They are:

1. Seniority--the individual doesn't want to lose what he has built.

2. Age--there is a sense that there isn't enough time left to start again.

3. Income--a certain standard of living has been achieved and the individual does not want to lose it.

4. Emotional--there are relationships that may tie the individual to the workplace.

5. Family responsibilities--until the advent of the dual career couple most age earners did not have the freedom to change (Super, 1957).

Given these risks and the evidence of the strong urges to try one's hand at something new (Sarason, 1977; Crites, 1976; Dalton, Thompson and Price, 1977), it has been important to understand how these 16 subjects came to the decision to change careers. What enabled them to take these risks as outlined by Super and how did they cope with the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

losses implied in their choice? Was their career change the reflection of an inability to make an enduring committment to a field and deepen their involvement there? Some writers have suggested that for the individual to develop in the context of work there must be an environment that fosters that growth. Harry Levinson, in writing about organizations, divides them into two types: those which classify people, forcing them into mold; and those which instead encourage development, giving their workers the opportunity to develop skills they never knew they had--even into middle age (Levinson, 1964, page 156).

The idea of a workplace as a facilitating environment, fostering growth, has been examined in statistical depth by Melvin Kohn, in his study of both men and women entitled Job Complexity and the Adult Personality. Kohn found that "the substantive complexity of work is not only correlated with, but has a causal impact on psychological functioning. . . Moreover, the substantive complexity of work in every instance affects psychological functioning more--often much more--than the particular facet of psychological functioning affects the substantive complexity of work (Kohn, 1980, pp. 198-199)."

Kohn's term, "substantive complexity of work" refers to the degree to which the work requires thought and judgment, decision making. Complexity can exist whether the individual is working with things (e.g., ditch digging to sculpting), people (e.g., receiving simple directions to

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

giving legal advice), or with data (e.g., reading instructions to synthesizing abstract conceptual systems) (Kohn, 1980, p. 197).

It is Kohn's contention that intellectual function is not simply the product of genetics and early life experience but may be responsive to adult occupational experience. Such being the case, the career changer's wish to leave the first occupation may reflect a desire to become more deeply involved in substantive work, rather than an expression of his/her inability to sustain a committment to a field of endeavor. This question remains to be explored in the data from the career changers themselves.

Lastly, before going on to those writers who focus on the stages of development confined within the career itself, it might be useful to consider some research which stresses not only the interrelationship between work and the individual's personal growth but the impact of work on the couple. Hall and Hall's work on dual-career couples found four critical factors present in successful dual career relationships. They were: mutual committment to both careers, a capacity for flexibility, a variety of coping mechanisms, and an abundance of energy and careful time management (Hall and Hall, 1978).

Since a number of subjects will have marital and/or parental committments forged in their twenties, prior to their decision to change careers, it has been important to note how these relationships managed the career transition

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

of one of the partners.

In the opening paragraph of this section on Men's Career Development the distinction was made between those writers whose work focused on the interrelationship between career and adult development and those whose focus was more narrowly confined to the stages of development within the chosen field itself. Representative of this latter group, Dalton, et al. (1977), studied 550 men: engineers, scientists, accountants, and professors. The study sought to understand the evolution of the individual with his career. Four stages of development emerged from this study and, in turn, these stages were divided into three aspects:

1. The men's central activity in that stage
2. The nature of the primary interpersonal relationship in the work place at that stage
3. The major psychological issues experienced in the particular stage

These four stages, "apprentice," "colleague," "mentor," and "sponsor," proved helpful in discerning where the career changing subjects were along their intial career ladder when they went back to begin again as students or "apprentices."

According to Dalton, et al., the tasks of the "colleague" stage include becoming an independent contributor, forging collegial relations with others and proceeding independently in one's work. At the "mentor" stage, the individual is involved in the training of others and has begun to share his/her expertise with those in the first two

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

stages of career development. Given the age range of my subjects, it was to be expected that some of them had been working at the "mentor" stage when they left their first career. Although it was different for each subject, the stage reached in the first career had to be reckoned with as the subject adjusted to the new role of student.

Career Development for Women

Career development researchers (Fiedman and O'Hara; Fitzgerald and Crites; Osipow) acknowledge that the notion of career development for women is more problematic than it is for men (in Bingham, 1983). This is so for two reasons: the biological fact that women are the ones who conceive and bear children, and the socio/political fact that traditionally they are seen as the primary caregivers of those children.

For childless women in their thirties, the decade which is focused upon in this study, there is the pressure of limited time left in which to conceive a child. This biological imperative is not the same for childless men who may wish for children but know that the possibility remains open beyond their thirties. Wendy Stewart's study (1976) of women in their thirties presented two types of women: those who chose to invest their twenties in developing a career and who, in their thirties, were contemplating a family and felt they must interrupt their careers; and those who, in their thirties having had children in their twenties, wanted to begin to invest in work outside the home. The adjust-

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

ments to be made dichotomized work and home, imposing choice.

Some of the women in this study had children, others were contemplating parenthood, and still others had ruled it out. In all cases, like the men in the study, they had worked through their twenties up until their decision to return to school. For these women, as for most men, work was a part of life and mothering, therefore, was not an occupation but one of several roles they assumed in their lives. Possibly this distinguished them from the general population of women in that theirs was not a conflict over whether to work or stay home raising a family; rather theirs was a concern with finding the "right" work, the occupation that would answer their particular needs, be they for status, creativity and expression, financial security, intellectual challenge, or a combination of these.

Clearly for the women in this study, work and its meaning is of great significance. In his essay on "Freud's Reflections on Work and Love" Hale writes: "Both work and love are governed by the search for the same goal: more lasting, realistic, socially responsive pleasure. . .work not only attaches the individual to reality but gives him a secure place in the human community (Hale, 1980, p. 30)." Smelser (1980) too sees many elements that work and love have in common. "Both involve libidinal attachments to personal and impersonal objects. Both contain an element of sublimation. Both love and work can serve as a basis for

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

integration of diverse activities, for identification and for personal identity. Both are dependent on interpersonal relationships--love obviously so but work too--in developing cooperative capacities and working out conflicts. Both are substitutable for one another in that varying amounts of libido and resources may be devoted to one at the expense of the other. Both involve the fusion of different psychic forces: impulse and control, integration and object attachment (Smelser, 1980, p. 5.)." The significance of work for women carries some of these ideas further and has been studied by many (Ruddick and Daniels, 1972; Seidenberg, 1973; Tavris and Offir, 1977). Women's sense of self esteem and competence were found significantly higher for those who work (Baruch, et al., 1983; Rivers, et al., 1979; Rubin, 1979; Birnbaum, 1975). The darker side of these studies has been the studies on women and depression.

In her study of women and depression Maggie Scarf examines women's lives from adolescence through old age, detailing the developmental pressure points of depression. What is significant about her book for this study is that nowhere does Scarf discuss the meaning of work and career for her subjects. In fact, nowhere in the 11 page index are the words "work," "career," "occupation," "money," "wages," or any varient of "power" to be found. This is particularly important in light of the literature on women and work.

Seidenberg's (1973) in-depth clinical observations and Leonard Pearlin's study (in Rivers, et al., 1979) of 2,300

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

people, ages 18-65, found women at home with young children at high risk for depression. Mostrow and Newberry's (1975) study of 42 women patients hospitalized for depression found that the working women were more impaired than their housewife counterparts at the beginning of treatment but recovered faster and more completely than the homemakers. They theorized that the work served a protective, distracting function as well as offering an avenue for increased feelings of competence. Jessie Bernard has gone so far as to write: "The mental health problems of housewives is Public Health Problem Number One. In view of the evidence it seems that the traditional role of marriage and children and economic dependence constitutes a health hazard for women (in Rivers, et al., 1979, p. 252)."

It is noteworthy that the women in this study, if they had children, did not go back to school after a period at home with the children (although one subject had spent a number of years at home before beginning her first career). For them, as for the men in the study, work has been a continual presence in their lives. One question that follows from this issue of parenting responsibilities is the role of the husband in these families. Winter, Stewart, and McClelland's (1977) study of women active in careers found that the husband's support was crucial. Using a sample of 41 women college graduates they found that high wife's career involvement was positively correlated to:

1. The husband having interesting work

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

2. The husband having a pleasant work environment

3. The husband engaged in a demanding job

4. The husband's work creating, to some degree, a "hectic" work life rather than a more orderly one which left him feeling settled and traditional.

These husbands also came from upper middle class families and rated high on satisfaction in college (in Nieva and Gutek, 1981).

These findings correspond in some ways to Hall and Hall's (1978) previously mentioned study of dual-career couples. Although their work looked at the couple unit, the picture they painted of the dual career couple stressed high energy and a strong committment to both careers on the part of both partners.

The issue of supportive enablement is not confined to the role of the husband. Development within one's career has been seen by many (D. Levinson, 1978; Dalton, Price and Thompson, 1977; Hennig and Jardim, 1977) to require the assistance and intervention of mentor figures. For women the experience of mentors may be different than it is for men, particularly for older women coming late to a new career. In her study of women over thirty in graduate and professional school, Kaplan (1982) found that women returning to school faced both institutional barriers at the admissions stage and more subtle barriers when it came to finding mentors among faculty. She writes: "Professional socialization is nurtured by a collegial relationship with

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

professors which enhances professional self image and fosters confidence in one's abilities. The literature shows that close relationships of student with faculty promotes a greater frequency of publication and greater professional dedication. . . .In this sample (439 women). . .only 34% reported they had mentors (Kaplan, 1982, p. 13)."

The problematic nature of the mentor relationship is explored in some depth in a Sloan Management Review article that describes the mentor-protege dyad as "intense and usually charged with emotion. . .basically a parental dynamic (Shapiro, Haseltine, and Rowe, 1978, page 56)." Typically the mentor chooses a protege with whom he or she can identify or who is socially similar. "Most importantly . . .an essential dynamic of the mentor protege relationship is parental, although it is usually described in terms of fathers and sons (Shapiro, et al., 1978, p. 57)."

Clearly this depiction of the mentor relationship suggests some problems for the older student, particularly women. Shapiro, et al., suggest that for women more effective guiding relationships can be found in a phenomenon they have labeled "peer pals" (1978).

"While mentors frequently introduce their proteges to established networks, peer pals often create their own new-order networks (Shapiro, 1978, p. 57)." The guide relationship is less intensive, more egalitarian, and mutually supporting, helping each other to succeed and progress.

A number of subjects in this study formed significant

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

relationships with mentor figures or "peer pals." In some cases the mentor was the same age or younger than the career changer. How they experienced this aspect of their career transition is further explored in Chapters 4 and 5.

Theories of Transition

This review of transition theory literature surveys the work of Marris, Golan, Schlossberg, Perosa and Perosa, and Louis. Though each emphasizes a different facet of the nature of transitions, all tend to define transition as an event or decision which results in a change in assumptions about oneself (internal) and therefore demands a change (external) in one's behavior and relationships.

Marris views all change as emerging from a tension between the will to innovate, and the deep seated, psychologically adaptive need to conserve, to assimilate to existing beliefs rather than to adapt and change. Mediating this process, enabling the individual to let go of the past and look to the future, is the psychological task of mourning. He divides transition into two types. In the first type, the continuity of life is unbroken, while in the second there is a crisis of discontinuity, irretrievable loss. Because it is a form of personal growth, career change, no matter how radical, would be perceived as the first type of change, "imposing new purposes on circumstances whose meaning has not been irrevocably disrupted (Marris, 1975, p. 24)."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Yet Marris mutes his initial dichotomous distinction between the two types of change by stating: "In reality we are likely to perceive the changes we encounter as all these at once--part substitution (i.e., as when change is consistent with our purposes), part growth, part loss--in varying degrees: and the. . .experience of change is even harder to discriminate in these terms, as it bears on people so differently. But though the distinctions are abstract. . they help to clarify the relationship between bereavement and change. . . .If we can discriminate the element of bereavement, then much that otherwise seems irrational and frustrating in the response to change will become clearer (Marris, 1975, p. 25)."

In trying to understand the "mournful" aspects of change in regard to self-initiated change Marris postulates the universal phenomenon of the "conservative principle," the impulse to preserve and keep life even, continuous, and predictable. He asks why, in light of this ubiquitous need, do some people choose change? He suggests that while some self-initiated changes may paradoxically appear to "repudiate habitual assumptions, overturning expectations and questioning relationships in ways which are disruptive to ourselves as well as other (Marris, 1975, p. 111)," in fact they may be understood as an attempt to maintain and/or restore the continuity of one's expectations for oneself.

Marris studied a group of people whom he calls the "innovators." These individuals were an ambitious, deeply

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

frustrated group of African entrepreneurs who found themselves debarred from responsible and interesting work. He writes: "The frustrations which gave rise to their entrepreneurial initiative represented a denial of self image. They could not realize themselves in jobs whose limitations they lacked the qualifications to escape. Unless they could find a new form of activity to embody their aspirations, they could only look forward to failure in their own eyes. . . .Innovation can be understood as a means of protecting oneself against a prospective frustration of purposes that make life meaningful (Marris, 1975, p. 115)." Put another way, these men undertook major changes in order to preserve a certain ongoing sense-of-self. Marris writes: "The innovator is seeking to confirm his identity, to find new means to realize an established self image (Marris, 1975, p. 121)."

Marris' notion of transition stresses the internal, psychological experience while implicitly recognizing the instrumental tasks that any particular transition may demand. Golan's work explicitly breaks transitions down into what she terms affective and instrumental tasks and these in turn she subdivides into two groups of five tasks each. She suggests that these two groups of tasks "run parallel and intermingle" with each other. Golan's two sets of tasks are:

Instrumental/Material Arrangement Tasks

1. Recognize the lack of supplies and services, the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

insufficiency or inappropriateness of the old situation, the need to do something about it.

2. Explore available and potential solutions, resources, and possible new or changed roles; investigate choices and options, with alternatives.

3. Make a choice and implement it by applying formally for the solution or resource, taking on the new role.

4. Begin to use the new solution or resource, function in the new role; explore expectations, limitations, requirements, conditions, etc.

5. Go through a period of adaptations and development of increasing competence until performance rises to acceptable norms and pressures decrease to manageable proportions (Golan, 1981, p. 21).

Psychosocial/Affective Tasks

1. Cope with the threat to past security and sense of competence and self-esteem; deal with feelings of loss and longing for the past.

2. Grapple with the anxieties and frustrations in making decisions or in choosing the new solution, resource, or role and the accompanying feeling of pressure, panic, and ambivalence.

3. Handle the pressures generated in applying for the selected solution or resource, in taking on the new role, and in meeting the stress and frustration in implementation.

4. Adjust to the new solution, resource, or role with

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

all of its attendant shifts in position and status, feelings of inferiority or implied criticism from others, and lack of satisfaction or perceived appreciation from others.

5. Develop new standards of well-being; agree to lessened gratification, diminished satisfaction, and changed self-image until the level of functioning or way of operating rises to acceptable norms and the person feels comfortable in the new situation or role; come to terms with the new, different reality and begin to look for new ways of gratification and sources of enjoyment (Golan, 1981, pp. 21-22)."

While Golan's tasks attempt to describe what goes on during any transition (she looks at normal developmental transitions as well as crisis-generated transitions), the tasks are rather vague on the specifics. In utilizing her format of Instrumental and Affective Tasks, the data of this study generated a number of tasks that appear to be specific to career transition. However, the approach to the data is derived from Golan's work.

Golan also offers guidelines for clinical intervention which may enable the individual in transition to move more effectively through transition. As Golan sees it, at the root of problems pertaining to transition is the individual's experience of identity transformation.

Secondary to this primary problem of identity confusion she postulates that the client needs help gaining affective and cognitive "encompassment," taking in all the aspects of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the changed situation. He/she needs help in handling the increased levels of anxiety or depression which are concomitants of the subjective reactions of threat to past security and loss of significant persons, roles, and/or attributes (Golan, 1981, p. 264)."

Third, she sees the need for the individual to learn new, appropriate behaviors in order to deal with the change and closely linked to this task is the building of new support systems.

Fourth, Golan postulates the possibility of preventing extreme stress reactions to transition through prediction and anticipatory measures taken to cushion the change--either in the form of educational programs, counseling, or the provision of support systems (Golan, 1981).

Golan's clinical prescriptions informed the development of the career transition specific tasks that emerged during the course of the interviews.

Golan's concern with anticipating transition in order to reduce the element of crisis is informed by a therapeutic perspective. Schlossberg too is interested in transition outcome, but she is more interested in predictability of that outcome, whether for good or ill. Consequently her theory of transition has a large number of variables, all of which have predictive significance either individually or through the mutual interaction of several variables.

Schlossberg looks at three major areas under which are a number of variables:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1. The Perception of the Particular Transition

Variables:

(a) Role change: gain or loss

(b) Affect: positive or negative

(c) Source: internal or external

(d) Timing: on-time or off-time

(e) Onset: sudden or gradual

(f) Duration: permanent, temporary, or uncertain

2. Characteristics of Pre-Transition and Post Transition Environments

Variables:

(a) Internal support systems (e.g., family)

(b) Institutional supports

(c) Physical setting

3. Characteristics of the Individual

Variables:

(a) Psychosocial competence

(b) Sex (and sex-role identification)

(c) Age (and life stage)

(d) Health

(e) Race/ethnicity

(f) Socioeconomic status

(g) Value orientation

(h) Previous experience with similar transition

(Schlossberg, 1981, p. 5).

The 18 variables posed by Schlossberg proved too static and did not sufficiently distinguish this study's subjects

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

or their experience of career transition one from the other. Consequently, Golan's more dynamic task approach was adopted and modified for this investigation.

However, underlying her use of these variables in analyzing any transition is Schlossberg's definition of transition. She writes: "I follow Parkes' lead in rejecting the term "crisis" because of its negative connotations; the kinds of life events covered in my model often involve gains rather than (or as well as) losses. . . .In place of crisis, Parkes proposes the term psychosocial transition, which he defines as a change that necessitates "the abandonment of one set of asumptions and the development of a fresh set to enable the individual to cope with the new altered life space (Schlossberg, 1981, p. 6)."

Recalling Marris and Golan, Schlossberg too emphasizes that above all, transition involves "certain changes in the individual's perceptions (of self and world) that simultaneously call for new patterns of behavior that may or may not be effective (Schlossberg, 1981, p. 7)."

Career transition, one example falling under the broad category of transition, has been studied by Louis (1981) and Perosa and Perosa (1983). Louis classifies career transitions into types. Interprofessional changers is how she would categorize the subjects in this study. Louis offers five broad "basic propositions" on career transition which would apply to any sort of occupational transition. These are essentially common sense observations such as: "During

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

all types of career transitions, individuals are faced with a variety of differences between old and new roles, role orientations, and role settings (Louis, 1981, p. 58)."

She writes about what she has found unique to interprofessional career transition: "In essence, each profession change entails a move to a different. . .foreign culture. The. . .transition is likely to encounter a variety of differences, and potential surprises. Often associated with a professional change are differences in language used; forms governing personal interactions (e.g., lawyer-client, dentist-patient, businessman-customer, professor-student), code of ethics, reference groups, professional self-identy, and social response to professional identity (Louis, 1981, p. 62)."

Perosa and Perosa (1983), informed by the adult development research (Gould, 1978; Levinson, et al., 1978; Osherson, 1980; and Vaillant, 1977) studied 89 actual and 45 aspiring career changers, approximately half men and half women. Their questions were designed to fit each phase of Hopson and Adams affective stages of transition (the stages of which resemble phases of mourning) and Janis and Mann's four point decision making model. According to their research, the career changer is one who comes to find the first career psychologically intolerable and who moves toward the second career to reclaim or express "a lost part of the self (Perosa and Perosa, 1983, p. 75)." "A total of 63% of the changers forsaw serious psychological risk to

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

themselves if they were to remain in their (first) careers (Perosa and Perosa, 1983, p. 77)."

This study of career changers has drawn on the work of each of these theorists in order to understand and analyze the interview data provided by the 16 subjects.

Career Transition and the Experience of Self

In a Wall Street Journal article, part of a series on career changers, one women, speaking about her transition from humanities PhD to MBA says: "I went through real self doubt and questioning. I had to find a new identity (Gottschalk, 1982)." The link between career transition and its impact on one's sense of identity receives support not only from isolated personal accounts but also from the systematic research done on transitions.

For Schlossberg (1981) and Marris (975) underlying the experience of any significant transition is an alteration in one's sense-of-self. That the career choice significantly affects how an individual experiences him/herself is supported by the work of innumerable researchers who investigate work and its impact on sense-of-self and self esteem. Super describes the process of vocational adjustment as the process of "implementing a self concept (Super, 1953, p. 189)." Other writers emphasize the effect upon one's sense-of-self of doing meaningful or meaningless work (Baruch, et al., 1983; Farrell and Rosenberg, 1981; Kanter, 1977; Osherson, 1980; Rubin, 1976; Terkel, 1974; and others). Kohut goes so far as to explicitly state that one of the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

most telling pieces of evidence of a successful analysis is the establishment by the patient of a satisfying and expressive work life. "The self as a joyfully experienced center of initiative and the product of which I am proud are in an unbroken psychological connection now (Kohut, 1977, p. 18)."

Major career change will cause inevitable reverberations to the individuals's self concept. But how does one experience this difference or modification?

Do the study's subjects report that what appears as a radical change to others is actually a step that is taking them close to some pre-existing, authentic sense-of-self? Do they report the feeling that they are reclaiming an earlier, unrealized aspiration and by implication liberating a sense-of-self dormant during their twenties? Such a perspective implies that conditions, either psychological or circumstantial, kept these career changers from realizing this second career the first time around. If so, what do they note as different about themselves and their lives that has enabled them to move closer to this earlier experience of self? Two theorists who view career transition as a return to or adherence to some authentic sense-of-self are Marris and Osherson. Their work offers one scheme from which to view the subjects.

On the other hand, the subjects may report a gradual evolution and expansion in their experience of self throughout the process of career change. Pine is one theorist who might view career transition as a gradual expansion of self.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

His work offers another way of looking at the data.

Marris and Osherson both describe the experience of self in career transition as being one of reclamation. Marris stresses that the innovator "accepts the strain of change only to escape a more fundamental threat of loss (Marris, 1975, p. 2)." The loss to which he refers is the loss of the future, of expectations, and ambitions for oneself. Marris believes that when long held assumptions about the future are dashed, the individual suffers a loss of identity. "We organize our purposes as much about hopes for the future as about our present life, sometimes identifying with what we will become more meaningfully than with what we are (Marris, 1975, p. 115)." Hence, for Marris, the experience of self in career transition is one of holding firm to an enduring, fundamental, kernal, sense-of-self if not a reclamation of a lost self image. He writes: "The innovator is seeking to confirm his identity, to find new means to realize an established identity (Marris, 1975, p. 121)."

Osherson, in his study of 20 career changing men between the ages of 35-50, identifies the shift as first and foremost an expression of a change that has its roots in inner life experience and the individual's sense of who he is. Osherson sees the central crisis in the transition from one career to another as the "loss of the self as expressed and defined by the career and marital choices of adolescence and young adulthood (Osherson, 1980, p. 2)." This earlier

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

sense-of-self, according to Osherson, represents the attempt of the individual to implement a particular "wished for inauthentic self that mirrored idealized parental images and expectations, while neglecting many of the very personal aspects and vital interests of the individual himself (Osherson, 1980, p. 92)." The first career emerges as an act of ambivalent compliance with the fantasies or actual parental demands. The subjects in Osherson's study expressed this ambivalence by experiencing intense inner conflict--at once wishing to successfully be their father's good son, safe and unseparated, and on the other hand longing to be individuated, to recapture their problematic "true selves." To effect such a transition, Osherson maintains that the individual must grieve, mourning the failure of the "wished for" self and making one's peace with the first career choice and its disappointments. In each of Osherson's cases (perhaps because these were professional men who became artists of various sorts) the men reclaimed a sense of themselves that expressed and affirmed their earlier, more creative, less stereotypically male, self image.

Osherson labels the resolutions of his subjects as either "sculpted" or "foreclosed." The essential difference between the two groups is the lingering bitterness felt by the latter group, who continue to project blame and experience continued disappointment in the new career. The "sculpted" subjects, on the other hand, emerge from the transition with a "more gratifying and realistic match of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

self to career. There is less idealization of the second career or devaluation of the first (Osherson, 1980, p. 154)." Like Marris' innovators, Osherson's subjects took significant risks, economic and personal, to resurrect and carry out an inner mandate. In Marris' case his innovators were men with high self esteem threatened and frustrated by the limitations of their work which denied them their envisioned future and the opportunity to realize this sense-of-self. In contrast, Osherson's men, who had chronic problems with self esteem, abandoned their art-oriented aspirations in early adulthood because they could not tolerate being thought of as different or unconventional. Similarly, they could not sufficiently separate from their parents to allow themselves to explore and reconcile their own wishes, desires, and sense-of-self from those of their parents. Their career change signalled a renewed effort toward separation and individuation as expressed by a career choice (and in some cases marital dissolution) that implied a reclamation of those aspects of self that had been discarded in the effort to comply with parental (actual or fantasied) demands and expectations (Osherson, 1980).

Pine offers what might be called the "expansionist" perspective on transformation of sense-of-self. In his view the self concept evolves and is altered by new experiences in a cumulative fashion--the emphasis is on expansion rather than a return to an earlier, more authentic sense-of-self.

Pine describes how adults incorporate new work into

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

their experience of self. Initially, Pine hypothesizes, novices split their "work life" off from their "real life." This is in order to "preserve an area of self distinct from their work (Pine, 1982, p. 162)." Ultimately, the "self subsumes one's work." Pine hypothesizes two aspects to this subsuming process: characterological shaping and multiple functions. Characterological shaping grows from the individual's developing facility with the work tasks. As technical skill increases, the work takes on and expresses a more personal, i.e., characterological, style. Multiple functions (Waelder, 1930) allows that over time the work serves other adaptive functions (e.g., for defense or the expression of conscience) and in this way becomes a natural expression of various aspects of the self. As Pine writes: The experience of the self as worker moves from the "tacked on to the domain of the familiar and indispensable" and in this way the self image becomes expanded (Pine, 1982, p. 163).

Pine's theory implicitly rests on the premise that the individual's sense-of-self undergoes little disruption during the period of moving into a new job. Rather, bit by bit, the new work is "metabolized" into the ongoing, somewhat defensively boundaried self concept. Such may be the case for a person entering an occupation. Entry into work would mark the culmination of aspiration, the implementation of what Levinson refers to as the "Dream," whose origins may go back to adolescence (Levinson, 1975). However, for the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

career changer, the return to school may prove rough going--the new situation may not be as easy to "metabolize." The role change may be dramatic and feel regressive. The school experience to varying degrees demands that the individual give up hard won gains of competence and status and accept the role of student and beginner.

Other researchers who have looked specifically at role change and its effect on sense of self do not report the phenomenon Pine observes, of the individual preserving an area of self distinct from work. Caplan, for example, notes a natural tendency to become confused about identity (in Golan, 1981). Perlman too, sees role shifts as disorienting, upsetting the individual's equilibrium. Anatovsky observed that radical change in one's occupation could lead to a disruption in one's sense of inner coherence (in Golan, 1981).

In the chapters that follow the experience of the subjects, their return to school, and their entry into their new professions is reported.

## Summary

In this review of the literature theories of adult development, career development, transition theory, and the experience of self in career transition were surveyed. They provide a context from which to view the career transitions of the 16 subjects. While the focus, in analyzing the data, was on uncovering and delineating the tasks of transition,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the orientation was contextual. Tasks were considered in the light of the literature previously discussed.

Discussion of the clinical data and how the literature bears upon it is addressed in Chapter 6. Chapters 4 and 5 report the observations and experiences of the study's subjects.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

# CHAPTER 3

## The Method

The semi-structured in-depth interview was the method of investigation chosen for this study, aimed to uncover as much as possible about the process of career transition, and the individuals who elect to change careers. Because career change is an under-researched area, it seemed most important to investigate the phenomenon with as open and flexible approach as possible, to err on the side of over-inclusive as opposed to a prematurely exclusive and directive approach.

### Subjects

A sample size of 16 subjects was chosen for several reasons. First and most important, this allowed for range of types of career shifts and insured that the transition process would not be specific to one or two careers but would represent many different kinds of changes. Second, this allowed for the inclusion of both men and women in the study. Third, there were sufficient numbers to include both in-process changers as well as retrospective career changers. Fourth, 16 subjects seemed large enough to generate some interesting hypotheses about this group of people, yet small enough for it to be manageable, from a practical standpoint, to do in-depth interviews. Being a qualitative, hypothesis generating rather than quantitative study, the interviews were designed to observe career

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

changers as unique individuals, the common threads--if any--emerging, not predetermined by the skew of the study. Nonetheless some parameters were set in regard to the composition of the sample. All the subjects but one were between the ages of 29-40 when they returned to school for the second career. There was one exception. The subject, Elizabeth (elementary teacher/physician), entered medical school at age 43. She was included to see if her experience had unique features distinguishing her from those in their thirties.

Half the subjects were men and half women.

All had been working in their first career for a minimum of four years, a time period deemed long enough for the subjects to have invested themselves in the work and the work role so that they identified with the first career and it had some impact on their sense-of-self.

Certain populations of career changers were eliminated as possible subjects for this study. Those people who went straight from being a student in one field to being a student in another did not meet the criteria of working just prior to entering school for a second time. The same applied to re-entry housewives who had taken time off to raise a family. These women and their house-husband counterparts were excluded because I saw their school experience and their family roles as quite different from those individuals who went directly back to school from the role of worker. I also wanted to understand the experience of career change

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

for both sexes and to do so I had to control for the variable of "time-off" that some women are afforded in our culture. This hiatus in their work lives raised different issues for them (as it would for anyone who interrupted his work life) and placed them in a different sample, that of the re-entry woman.

Sampling

A purposive sampling method (Kidder, 1981) was decided upon to obtain the subjects for this study, the goal being not to estimate some value but to assess the variety of elements available in the population. It was thought that these elements may, in turn, generate hypotheses in regard to career changers and might lead to a more quantitative approach in future work on this population.

A total number of 16 subjects was interviewed. Of those, eight were women and eight were men. Seven of the subjects fell under the category "in-process" (still in training). They were divided into two groups, three men and four women. The remaining nine subjects, all "retrospectives," (i.e., they have completed the transition and are working in the second career) were divided into four women and five men. A breakdown of the subjects by their first and second careers appears below. The group has been divided according to sex with the names changed to preserve confidentiality.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Women:

| | |
|---|---|
| Charlotte | Tenured humanities professor/Physician (in-process) |
| Ginger | Social worker/Physician (in-process) |
| Lauren | Lawyer/Psychologist (in-process) |
| Michelle | Social worker/Lawyer (in process) |
| Claire | Elementary school teacher/Psychologist (retrospective) |
| Cynthia | Journalist/Lawyer (retrospective) |
| Denise | Journalist/Lawyer (retrospective) |
| Elizabeth | Elementary school teacher/Physician (retrospective) |

Men:

| | |
|---|---|
| Brad | Elementary school teacher/Physician (in-process) |
| Melvin | College teacher/Physician (in-process) |
| Paul | Jr. high school teacher/Physician (in-process) |
| Bill | Physician/Lawyer (retrospective) |
| Bruce | Physician/Lawyer (retrospective) |
| John | Fireman/Dentist (retrospective) |
| Niles | Engineer/Artist (painting, sculpture) (retrospective) |
| Philip | Lawyer/Architect (retrospective) |

Gathering a sample had some built-in difficulties. While in-process subjects could be located and contacted through their current graduate school deans (see letters sent through deans, Appendix 2), those who fell in the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

retrospective category proved more difficult to locate. Although advertising for subjects was considered, it was discarded as it became clear that these subjects, very busy people, would be most unlikely to seek out an unknown doctoral researcher and donate three hours of their time. Accordingly, an informal word-of-mouth sampling procedure was adopted and in a year the names of approximately 12 retrospective subjects were collected. Of the 12 eight were chosen. Despite the heavy representation of physicians and lawyers the intent was to aim for as wide a variety of second and first careers as was possible from among the choices available. The goal here was to insure that the material that emerged pertaining to career transition was not specific to any particular combination of careers, thereby enabling the study to focus on the process of transition per se, regardless of the careers involved. Although two-thirds of the second careers were either laywers or physicians, the various combinations of first and second careers provide a varied picture of the transition process.

Data Collection

A modified focused-clinical interview format (Kidder, 1981) was chosen because that would enable the investigation to proceed in as open and unbiased a manner as possible while still including advance knowledge of what topics and aspects of career change the interview would cover. Questionnaires and rating scales were ruled out as they would inevitably focus the subjects on certain aspects of the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

career transition experience and might inadvertently ignore possible pertinent data unanticipated at the outset of the study.

Following Super's work (1980) the interview sought to understand the period of career transition within the context of the individual's life as a whole. To the extent that the primary interest of the study is the process of the change iself, proportionally more time was allocated to having the subject reflect on that period. Nonetheless, biographical material was elicited, its pertinence was determined toward the conclusion of the interview phase of the study when various common themes emerged from the data.

Serving as a guide to this mode of data collection are the interview formats of Stewart (1977), Osherson (1980), Rubin (1976, 1979), Weiss (1975), and Ruddick and Daniels (1977). Bearing in mind the interview procedures of these researchers, I planned to adhere to the areas outlined in the interview plan (see Appendix 1) but not in a strict, step-by-step fashion. In my initial work with the pilot group I saw that the individual styles of the subjects affected the part played by the interviewer and the extent to which structure need be imposed. Some people, for example, wanted structure and asked, "What do you want to know next?" In those cases I noted the person's style and provided structure to the interview. One person consistently imposed her own order on the interview task and often intro-

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

duced various themes with the statement, "I guess you want to know about. . . ." In that case the subject anticipated my questions and moved at her own pace and with her own associations. More often the interviewer's role was to introduce a question--e.g., "What were the factors that led to your decision to change career and go back to school?"--and then let the respondent reflect over a range of thoughts and feelings held at the time of the change and also from the perspective of the present, looking back.

Stated briefly, the interview format ranged over the subject's entire life, examining the values and culture imparted by the family or origin, early academic experiences, adolescent aspirations, achievements and disappointments, college, entrance into the first career, the subsequent decision to change careers, and the transition process up to and including the current work situation. Spouses, friends, lovers, employers, teachers--anyone whom the subject felt had a strong hand in his/her life--were considered as potentially relevant to an understanding of the current career choice. For a fuller picture of the actual interview see Appendix 1, which outlines in detail the areas covered and the questions raised in the interview sessions.

The data was collected both on tape and in extensive notes taken during the two one-and-a-half hour interviews. The tapes were recorded not with a plan to transcribe them verbatim but to serve as back-up, an additional resource to the notes when time came to organize the data and locate

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

examples to illustrate common tasks of transition or any other common themes that might emerge.

## Data Analysis

The analysis of the data had two objectives: first, to present the findings on the process of career transition itself and second, to examine the applicability to this sample of career changers of the ideas and theories about adult development and career development.

Like the interviews themselves, the data analysis focuses proportionally more on the transition process itself while Chapter 6 refers back to the issues raised in the literature that informs this study. To analyze the experience of career change and the process of transition the data was broken down into the instrumental and affective tasks of career transition. This framework of tasks--suggested generally by the literature on transition (Golan, 1981; Schlossberg, 1981; Levinson, H., 1983; and Perosa and Perosa, 1983)--was loosely hypothesized from the onset of this study but emerged more clearly and specifically out of the initial interviews.

That there were tasks involved in career change was suspected based on the literature of transition. Just what those tasks were was unclear. The tasks emerged after initial interviews with the subjects of this study. The instrumental tasks took shape very early in the interviewing process. The affective tasks were not as obvious and were continually refined as the data base grew. This approach,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

i.e., of tasks, to data analysis is most valuable because of its inherent flexibility and responsiveness to individual differences. For example, a particular task may prove to be a major obstacle for one individual, another person may have barely given it a second thought, with a wide range of individuals' responses falling somewhere in between. The tasks allow for the uniqueness of each individual's transition, enabling the diversity of the data to be brought to bear in an overall, organized fashion.

The tasks, as they have been formulated for the analysis of the data, are as follows:

Instrumental Tasks of Career Transition

1. Recognize that the first career will not do for various reasons--personal, financial, and/or intellectual.

2. Investigate and explore potential options and alternatives.

(a) talk to people in the field

(b) read in areas of interest

(c) work in related field

3. Decide on vocation and determine which schools to apply to. Apply.

4. Determine financial feasibility of return to school and make appropriate plans to allow for the expenses training will incur.

5. Enter school, recognize and meet the academic demands in the new field. Learn how to study the material.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

6. Manage time. Priorities must be set in regard to academics, personal life, and outside work life.

7. Establish a support system. This may include friends, spouses, fellow students, mentors, and/or psychotherapy.

8. Begin to function in new role. This task requires a facilitating environment to allow and encourage functioning in the new role; mentors and outside work in the new field may also act as facilitators.

9. Find first job; begin to establish oneself in new vocation.

Affective Tasks of Career Transition

1. Adopt new values in regard to self (whom one might become) and in regard to work (what work should offer).

2. Allow self to feel the feelings that may surface when one realizes that the first choice of career is not going to work out.

3. Manage pressures generated in applying to schools.

4. Maintain open communication with spouse or intimate partner who will be affected by the transition and who needs as much information as possible to adapt to and anticipate changes that will affect him/her.

5. Deal with issues imposed by student/novice status. Viz.:

(a) threats to prior sense of competence

(b) infantalizing nature of student role

(c) feelings of loss or longing for the past

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(d) depression accompanied by doubts about the wisdom of the new undertaking (Levinson, H., 1983)

6. Deal with issues of competition.

7. Internalize training experience.

As mentioned in the beginning of this section on data analysis, the study had two objectives in regard to the presentation of findings: first, to determine the process and tasks of career change (Chapters 4 and 5); second, to test the applicability to career changers of the ideas and theories about adult development and career development introduced in the earlier survey of the research literature (Chapter 6).

Questions raised by that literature touch many issues. Below are several examples of the kinds of questions this part of the data analysis will seek to address.

Levinson (1977), for instance, refers to the years around the thirtieth birthday as the Age Thirty Transition. He posits this as a time which may entail changing the life structure begun in the twenties. How many of the study's participants made their change at this designated time?

Other writers, such as Stewart (1977 and Gould (1978), saw their women subjects as setting an initial course in their twenties of either career or family. The thirties, they posit, brings with it an effort to seek that which was by-passed or dismissed in their twenties. What, if anything, does this formulation tell us about the experience of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

career changers?

In the area of career choice, Roe (1957) suggests that key factors of career choice stem from one's "social inheritance." What was the social inheritance of this cohort of career changers and in what way did it contribute to their choice of first and second careers?

These questions and others suggested by the literature were raised in the final chapter and examined in light of their divergence from and their similarity to the previous research. The analysis proceeds in an order parallel and keyed to the literature review, addressing the issues raised by the research in the same sequence as they were presented earlier in the literature survey.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

# CHAPTER 4

## Variability in the Experience of Career Transition: The Instrumental Tasks

This chapter will focus on the nine instrumental tasks which gradually emerged in the study of career transition. To review briefly, the tasks of transition appeared to fall into two classes, the instrumental and the affective. Chapter 5 will present findings in regard to the affective tasks.

The format of examining career change by delineating tasks has been used by others in studying major transitions (Golan, Louis, Perosa and Perosa). It was chosen because, while it is inherently flexible and responsive to the interview data, the format of tasks provides a very clear frame on which to place each individual's experience along a continuum. Although the instrumental tasks began to emerge as discrete phenomena for each of the subjects, it became clear that the relative importance and difficulty of the particular task appeared to depend generally on two factors: the individual's personality and the differences in demands made by the new career. What follows is a description of each instrumental task and the pertinent findings along with representative quotes illustrating the range of responses and approaches to various instrumental tasks of career transition.

<u>Task 1: Recognize Need for Change</u>. Recognize that first career won't do for various reasons, e.g., financial, intel-

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

lectual, etc.

The subjects' responses to this task fell into four categories:

1. The recognition and wish for more financial security and/or independence.

2. The recognition that the subject felt "burned-out" in first career and did not want to continue this work.

3. The recognition that the first occupation was too limited either intellectually or aesthetically.

4. The recognition of two or more of the above factors.

Of the 16 subjects five, Bill, Bruce, Philip, Lauren, and Niles, said they changed careers solely because they were intellectually and/or aesthetically disatisfied with their first work. Two subjects, John and Claire, attributed their change to the quest for financial security and autonomy. One subject, Paul, described feeling burned-out as his primary spur to change. The rest of the subjects reported feeling disatisfaction from more than one source. A representative quote from each of these groups follows.

1. Claire (elementary teacher/psychologist) spoke of being primarily motivated to change careers for financial reasons. "After my marriage split up, I realized that teaching was not something I wanted to fall back on, that when push came to shove it wasn't enough monetarily."

2. Paul (special education/MD) spoke to the issue of burn-out in the first career. "The people where I worked

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

were illiterate, incompetent, and lazy. There was a great deal of backbiting and a racial tone surrounding confrontations which always had to do with me wanting to do right by the kids. But this permeated the Board of Ed. and everywhere I went this led me into trouble and that's why I got out."

3. Lauren's quote (lawyer/psychologist) was representative of the third group, those who left their careers because of a fundamental intellectual or aesthetic displeasure in the first vocation. She said: "I was immediately very bored and anxious. The form of things was very important. How I looked. I always felt on best behavior. It drained the humor out of you. One's value to the firm depended on how many hours you billed. Time was divided into six minute intervals. I felt they perceived me like a dog on hind legs."

4. Denise (journalist/lawyer) fit into the fourth category, those who changed careers for multiple reasons. "It (journalism) is a very iffy business. I didn't have either a sense of security or willingness to take the risks that it took. I didn't want to work forever on the 'style' section. I didn't want to be an editor. I wanted to be a writer and the future looked more and more limited. Magazines were closing. I felt this is not a business for grown-ups unless you are willing to move into management. I began to develop an interest in political reporting, but I could never get beyond the surface jargon. I wanted to be

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

able to evaluate claims, to read the legal balance sheet."

Task 2: Explore Options. Investigate and explore potential options and alternatives to current work. Talk to people in the new field of interest. Read in areas of interest and/or do some work in a related field as a way to help decide whether to make the change.

Of the 16 subjects eight tried to find an option within the first career before making the radical switch to go back to school in another discipline entirely. These options took the form of assuming administrative roles within the first vocation (Paul, Charlotte), going on for more advanced training in the same field (Ginger), seeking a new specialty within the larger field (Bill, Melvin) and becoming involved in research in the field (Lauren, Niles, Bruce).

All the subjects spoke to someone about their disatisfaction with the first career, although only one, John (fireman/dentist), spoke specifically with a career counselor. This counselor happened to be a career changer himself and encouraged John to consider dentistry. Another subject, Michelle (social worker/lawyer), attended career seminars and recalled the book, What Color Is Your Parachute, as being particularly helpful in enabling her to decide to make the change from social work to law. The remainder of the subjects spoke to close friends, spouses, and/or their therapists. Four subjects were in treatment just prior to their decision to change careers and six were in treatment

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

at some time during this investigative, exploratory stage. All the treatment was characterized as psycho-analytically informed but the therapist's stance ranged from active and challenging to classically neutral as in the case of one subject, Philip (lawyer/architect), who was in four day a week psychoanalysis.

Many of the subjects had some related experience that served as an introduction to their newly chosen second career. These experiences seemed to be of two types. Either the new career was the reemergence of an earlier interest, dating back to adolescence and/or early twenties, or the current work had been the vehicle by which the subject came to learn about the second career. In this study six of the subjects recalled an active interest in the second career in early adulthood. Ten of the subjects felt their interest came later, developing out of their experience in their first career or their own expanding sense of themselves.

Charlotte (humanities professor/MD) was one of the six who recalled a much earlier interest in her second career (medicine), predating her interest in her first career. In talking about why she didn't pursue medical school in her early twenties Charlotte says: "I began college as a biology major, intending to be either a biologist or go to medical school and be a pediatrician. But I realized that to go to medical school was a major commitment. First of all it would have been very difficult getting in as a Jew at

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

that time in the late fifties. Secondly, it would be very difficult getting in as a woman. Among my pre-med female friends it was well known that the first question you would be asked at the interview was whether you were going to get married and have children; and if you said "yes" to either, it would automatically exclude you. And I was really not prepared to commit myself at the age of twenty to becoming full time professional. And that's the kind of choice it was--all or nothing."

Denise was one of the ten subjects whose interest in her second career (law) grew out of her experience in her first (journalism). In talking about her movement toward law she said: "I did a five part series on non-narcotic drug abuse programs. I felt the programs were bullshit, and I wanted to understand the decisions that were made and who was accountable, but I didn't understand the administrative procedures adequately. I didn't know where to go to ferret out the information. It seemed that a law degree would make me a more valuable commodity. Also I wanted some clout. Editors were a little afraid of lawyers."

Task 3: Apply. Decide on vocation and determine where to apply. Undertake whatever is necessary to complete application.

With the exception of two people (Lauren and Niles) all the subjects had to take an examination as part of the application procedure. In Nile's case there was no exam and in Lauren's case the exam was waived by the program. These

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

exams, the MCAT's LSAT's, DAT's, or the GRE's were taken with varying degrees of serious preparation. Denise had a houseful of guests the weekend before the LSAT's as well as a terrible cold. She went to the exam having spent a couple of hours going through the pamphlet sent by the testing service. On the other extreme was Bruce who became fascinated with "psyching out" the LSAT, studied assiduously, and scored 759 out of 800.

Seven subjects had to take courses which would only render them eligible to apply but were no guarantee of acceptance in and of themselves. Included in this category were five of the medical applicants who had to take pre-med coursework, Niles, who was applying for an MFA, and Philip, who was attempting to switch from law to architecture. Ginger (MSW/MD), who had a particularly rough time, remembered it this way: "It was an incredibly long process which could be divided into four stages. First, I had to apply to the pre-med program. I wanted one with a reputation for getting its students into medical school. Second was two years of pre-med course work where my performance was mediocre. Third, I applied for a research fellowship in another city. It was at a prestigious university and I needed it on my vita, so I lived there and came home on weekends. Fourth was the actual application to medical school, getting the references, taking the MCAT's, psyching myself up for the interviews, and persevering in the face of my discouraging grades."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

With the exception of two people, all the subjects were admitted after making their first application. One, Cynthia (journalism/law), was initially admitted to a program that was not her first choice. So she applied again the following year and was accepted to her first choice. The other subject, Melvin, applied to medical school four times. During the years he applied the MCAT format changed and he had to take the exam again. The fourth time he got into one school and that is where he went, performing in the top half of his class.

Task 4: Financial Planning. Determine financial feasibility.

The subjects financed their return to school in four ways:

1. They used their savings.
2. They worked during the time they were in school.
3. They sought family loans.
4. They sought bank loans.

In all cases a dual strategy was adopted. Some examples follow: John worked 40 hours per week at the firehouse and borrowed money from both his and his wife's family to go to dental school. He managed to work the 40 hour week by being assigned late afternoon and night shifts. Ginger continued to see her private psychotherapy patients and received assistance from her husband. Philip taught legal issues at the architecture school which took care of tuition

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and he made an income by remaining as a consultant to his former employers. Claire said of her parents: "I knew they would support me for graduate school, something they wouldn't hear of while I was married." She also had some money from a settlement with her former husband.

In each case the subjects were able to draw on either their first career and/or a close family member to help them through. Even several women who divorced in the process of career change (Denise, Charlotte, Michelle) cited their spouses as financially helpful and supportive.

Task 5: Begin School. Enter school, recognize and meet academic demands in the new field. Learn how to study the material.

While four subjects claimed to have little difficulty initially adapting to the demands of school, twelve encountered great difficulty. What these difficulties were and how four subjects avoided them to some extent is discussed below.

The problems found in the first year or two appeared to be of two basic types: 1. the volume of the work; 2. the intellectual demands--be they for conceptualizing or for memorizing.

By volume of the work the subjects were referring to both the amount of material to be understood and mastered and to the massive memorization requirements. Memorization demands were mentioned most frequently by those who were returning to medical school and dental school, while those

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

in law school tended to complain of feeling overloaded conceptually. All twelve subjects felt overwhelmed by the demands made on them to think in a way totally different than they had before.

Denise (journalist/lawyer) said: "My first year was a total shock. I hadn't asked any questions. In some ways I think I was intentionally uninformed about law school. I had myself convinced that it would be like graduate school in English. I thought I could lead a civilized life. I was completely unprepared for the volume of work. I wasn't prepared to be expected to think in a totally different way. The pressure to perform was tremendous. The first day one was expected to respond to in-depth questions. It was overwhelming to recognize how much I didn't know. Other people were shaken after the first day, even the ones who seemed confident. . . .It was like being at sea without a life raft or any experience in swimming."

One medical student, Ginger, failed a number of courses her first year and had to do the year over. She felt overwhelmed by the memorization demands. John, the dental student, recalled: "The first year was really tough. Studying was a shock. There were things--science--I'd never seen before. Just the volume of the material, the amount of minutia and memorization. I failed my first bio-chem exam and I was devastated. I thought I had covered everything and I wasn't even close."

People tended to respond to the experience with extreme

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

anxiety and with non-stop studying.

Claire (kindergarten teacher/psychologist) recalled: "I was obsessive, like Sluggo. I just didn't stop until it was done. I had to fight my way through the whole thing." She completed her degree in three years, record time.

Paul (special ed/MD) recalled: "I don't have a great memory. I think deductively. They don't teach that around here. I look at the syllabus and I try to figure out the unifying thread. I'm a fast reader and I read the textbook. I read journals every week, religiously. I spend an enormous amount of time studying, but I don't cut classes to study."

Michelle's (MSW/Law) anxiety took on physical proportions. "When I began I was just overwhelmed. I never worked so hard in my life. I had headaches. I was seeing double. Everything was totally foreign. It's been like learning a foreign language for me. I've worked hard and I've done all right, not great. I'm right in the middle of my class."

Unlike the majority of career changes in this study, four subjects did not report feeling overwhelmed and extremely anxious. Three of the four may be described as going into more "artistic" vocations. The reasons for Brad's (elementary teacher/MD) lower anxiety level are unclear. It may be significant that he searched for, located, and met his natural father whom he had never seen, just prior to his entering medical school. He marked this event

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

as extremely important to him. The accomplishment of this highly charged life task for Brad may have strengthened him in his sense of himself just at the time others were feeling assaulted. Brad recalled: "I entered school and could focus my energies better than ever before." He was in the top third of his class in the first two years.

The other three less stressed subjects recalled enjoying school. Lauren (law/psychology) said: "Grad school felt so shockingly informal. Law school had been so adversarial and competitive. I felt I had to hold back (in psychology program). Neither students nor faculty were used to being intensely questioned. I enjoyed the classes, loved the reading."

Niles (engineering/artist) recalled school as giving him more opportunities to meet other working artists on a regular basis. Additionally, he said: "I had always been a good student and I did well. I got good grades. I even enjoyed the research assignments and doing the papers."

<u>Task 6: Manage Time</u>

Juggling and priority setting were the two themes that emerged in the subjects' accounts of how they managed their time. Of the 16 subjects, all but two, Melvin and Bruce, were involved intimately with at least one other person. In some cases there were children as well as mates. One person, Bill, divorced his wife his first year in law school and for the next two years avoided any significant relation-

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

ships, grouping him with Melvin and Bruce.

Among the six subjects with children, two were single parents, Cynthia and Brad. Brad (elementary teacher/MD) had a shared custody arrangement with his wife and they cared for his daughter equally with the help of a daycare center. Cynthia (journalist/lawyer), on the other hand, was a single parent receiving minimal assistance, financial or otherwise, from her ex-husband. In addition to going to law school, Cynthia was forced to work as a writer to support herself and her children. When asked how she managed, she replied: "People would always say, how do you do it? The answer was and still is--I don't exercise, entertain, no movies, no hairdresser, and no leisure time. The children's cultural education nas been totally neglected. We never go to museums or theater. I feel the lost time with my children has been the biggest loss." To her credit, Cynthia was able to keep her children in private day school where they performed at the top of their classes.

Unlike Cynthia and Brad, Philip, Elizabeth, John, and Niles were the married parents in this study. In the cases of Philip, Elizabeth, and John the family assumed more of the domestic chores than they had before the career change. However, in the case of Niles, whose son was born at the beginning of his first year in school, Niles took on many more of the childcare responsibilities than he would have had he remained an engineer. His wife continued to work and Niles remembered feeling frustrated and conflicted trying

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

both to develop himself as an artist and be an active, participating father.

Task 7: Establish a Support System

Support systems were of three types:

1. People unrelated to school, e.g., family and friends.

2. People connected to school, e.g., classmates and mentors.

3. Psychotherapy.

Of all the sixteen subjects only two appeared to eschew any support system, Bruce (MD/lawyer) and Melvin (college teacher/MD). In the case of Bruce he stated that he found the competitive aspects of law school invigorating and, in fact, working singlemindedly at his studies, he did become editor of the law review. Melvin felt alternatively competitive with fellow students and disdainful of their incomplete grasp of the material. He had no encouragement from his family who thought he was foolish to go back to school and he claimed he was too busy working and studying to manage a personal life. It is significant to note that of all those interviewed for this study, Melvin occasionally contacted me to let me know how he was doing and once jokingly referred to me as "his shrink."

Two subjects, Philip (law/architecture) and Ginger (MSW/ MD), made alliances with faculty--to the exclusion of fellow students--with varying degrees of success. Both taught courses to their student peers, thereby setting

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

themselves apart from their classmates. In the case of Philip, teaching a course on the legal aspects of architecture to his classmates was not recalled as problematic. Philip retained a peculiar, but workable, position in the school hierarchy during his student years. In the case of Ginger, who taught a course in psychiatry to her fellow students, the result was problematic. Ginger estranged herself from fellow students as she primarily identified with her age-mates and co-teachers who were her teachers as well. Ginger was the only subject who reported serious academic difficulties. The fact that she had to repeat her first year of medical school raises the question of whether her difficulty getting through the first year was related to her failure to find a peer support network from among her classmates.

The remainder of the sample reported drawing support from fellow students and family. In six cases, five women and one man, psychotherapy was mentioned as a support.

Elizabeth, Lauren, and Paul are representative of those who found and utilized classmate support. Elizabeth recalled that the older students found each other and provided a support system for one another. Lauren said: "One unexpected bonus from the return to school was a group of colleagues with whom I could discuss cases and ideas. This just wasn't available in law school. The atmosphere wasn't conducive to the same level of colleagiality." Paul recalled organizing a note taking group.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In citing psychotherapy as a support, the six subjects who were in therapy during their transition did not describe similar types of therapy. Michelle went to a hypnotist to help her with text anxiety and to an EST weekend. Claire described her therapist as her "primary support and mentor." She also belonged to a therapeutic women's group. Ginger was in therapy with someone who routinely challenged her assumptions and took a very active role. Philip and Lauren were in a more classical analysis and Elizabeth described her therapy as twice a week explorative psychotherapy.

Significantly only two subjects reported finding a mentor during the years in school. John (fireman/dentist) described the experience recalling: "I became big brother in my second year to a young man in the first year whose father was on the faculty. We got fairly close and his father always appreciated what I did for his son (He gave him notes, answered numerous questions, and allayed anxieties.). So he said to me, come and see me when you graduate and we'll talk. He mentioned that I could rent his office, so I called him after graduation. He treated me more like a son than a student."

Lauren cited a number of people she felt served as mentors. A teacher in graduate school, a supervisor during her internship, and her therapist whom she saw as enabling her to recognize "how other people were investing in me."

<u>Task 8: Begin to Function in New Role</u>

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Of the 16 subjects, two, Ginger (MSW/MD) and Michelle (MSW/law) were too premature in their training to be able to speak about their experiences functioning in the new role. All the other subjects, with the exception of Cynthia (journalist/law), undertook some sort of practicum in the new field before graduating and beginning the first job. Cynthia will be discussed with the other subjects who fell into two groups: those who experienced confirmation as they began to function in their new roles, and those who felt overwhelmed or discouraged.

Of those who recall their initial experience positively, the confirmation came from two sources. First, recognition and praise from teachers and supervisors; and second, from the experience of working in the new field, the work itself. For Bruce, Bill, and Denise recognition came in the form of being selected for law review. Denise said: "When I made law review, I was relieved. It became clear that if you wanted to be successful and especially if you wanted to go into academic law, which I was thinking about, you had to have been on law review. Then there was the backhanded satisfaction that I had been wait-listed. The wait-listing left a nagging doubt about whether I would be successful in law school or as a lawyer."

For Lauren (law/psychology) the opportunity to teach undergraduate courses in her new field, along with praise for her written work, served as confirmation. Mostly, however, she recalled the practicum in the work itself to be

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

most significant in confirming her decision to change careers. This last feeling, that of satisfaction and pleasure with the work itself, was reported by most of the subjects but not all. John (fireman/ dentist) said: "The second year was fun. I had a better schedule and I was working with my hands in the clinical labs, and I did well. Third year was 75% clinical and I was working with patients which was great. I enjoyed it. You get to make a treatment plan and you take care of everything that needs to be done. Barring a special problem, you're supposed to do everything in the sequence you'd do in private practice. It was fun. The instructors were good."

Those subjects who did not report a similar positive experience when beginning to function in the new role reported two phenomena:

1. A failure of the environment.

2. An uncertainty within themselves, a feeling of being overwhelmed.

Claire (elementary teacher/psychologist) was the one subject who described her training practicum as disappointing. She said: "I don't think the quality of my training was that good. Of all the kinds of schooling and training I've had in my life, this certainly didn't compare well. My supervisors were not experienced therapists. One was a doctoral candidate and used me as her subject for her dissertation entitled Supervising the Pregnant Therapist!"

Niles and Cynthia reported their problems with begin-

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

ning to function in the new role as more related to their own feelings of being overwhelmed. In Niles' case (engineer/artist) he found his style and approach to painting challenged. He said, "I was a painter who painted like an engineer." This questioning did not stop when he completed his degree and his functioning as an artist remained problematic. He said, "You think in school you've sort of got a handle on things and then comes the real world to show you that you haven't. I immediately began to question all the work I had done there."

Cynthia (journalist/lawyer) had no practicum experience during law school, so her first functioning in the new role of lawyer didn't come until after she graduated. She had not taken summer jobs in law offices as many students had, and consequently her first job was also the first time she functioned in the role of lawyer. She said: "I felt not equal to the job. I don't believe that I am a very good researcher and everything else was secondary--my writing skills, looks, charm--totally irrelevant. Now, at this point, they are more relevant. I am moving into a period where I will become less and less responsible for primary research. When I turn memos into briefs, then I will shine."

Task 9: Find Work. Begin.

At the time they were interviewed, nine of the 16 subjects fit the retrospective criteria, their training had been completed, and they were working in their second ca-

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

reer. These nine were:

| | |
|---|---|
| John | fireman/dentist |
| Denise | journalist/lawyer |
| Philip | lawyer/architect |
| Elizabeth | elementary teacher/MD |
| Cynthia | journalist/lawyer |
| Bruce | MD/lawyer |
| Bill | MD/lawyer |
| Claire | elementary teacher/psychologist |
| Niles | engineer/artist |

The retrospective group can be divided into three categories:

1. Those who experienced a rather smooth transition from school to work and who received recognition at the onset.

2. Those who landed very good first jobs but who nonetheless experienced difficulty adapting to the second career.

3. Those whose work lives were not satisfying and who expressed some reservations about their decision.

The first group, composed of John, Philip, Denise, and Bill, experienced recognition and job satisfaction from the beginning. This isn't to say that there weren't moments of self doubt and anxiety for each of them. However, the speed and directness with which they implemented their career plans distinguished their reports.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

John joined the faculty of his dental school on a parttime basis and spent the first year out of school building a private practice and renting office space in a professor's private office. By the beginning of his second year out, he was in the process of negotiations to buy a private practice in a suburban town where he chose to live.

Philip was invited to be a partner in a small, quite well known, architectural firm in a large city. His longstanding connections and expertise in the legal aspects of urban development, building restoration, and landmark architecture provided a context for him to utilize.

Denise became a clerk for a Federal judge, who encouraged her to do what she wanted, teach law. She applied for a position at a prestigious law school, and when interviewed for this study, had just received tenure. She is one of a very few tenured women law professors in the country.

Bill entered his brother's law firm as a partner. Although the firm was not making enough to support both brothers at the time Bill joined, within a short time he was able to bring in large corporate clients (e.g., insurance companies) by selling not only his legal competence (editor, Law Review) but also his medical background. At the time of the interview, the firm was expanding and moving to larger offices.

The second group, composed of Elizabeth, Cynthia, and Bruce, began work in choice jobs but reported difficulties of two sorts. One was age-related and the other was work-

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

related. Both Cynthia and Bruce, the lawyers, expressed concern that time was passing and they still didn't feel established in a secure work situation. Cynthia remarked: "After eight years they make you a partner or they don't. I don't know yet if I'm in it for the long haul."

Bruce said: "Now I have the anxiety about whether I'll be able to find the right situation, feel comfortable financially, and have enough input into the running of the firm, not just an employee. I do feel the pressure of my age (46) but that's always been there."

Elizabeth stated that she felt she had to abandon any aspirations toward academic medicine because she came to the field too late. She was working in a clinic at the time she was interviewed. While she was satisfied, for the most part, with her decision to work, she was aware that were she not 50 and just beginning, she would have chosen an academic route rather than straight clinic practice.

The issue of being a beginner leads to the second sort of difficulty experienced by this second group. Both Cynthia and Bruce stated that their real difficulties with mastery of the new field came not in school but once they began work. For Cynthia the time pressured, research deadlines were extremely demanding and unnerving. Although she entered the field without a particular focus, she found herself increasingly drawn to publishing law, an aspect of law with which she had some intuitive grasp and familiarity. At the time of the interviews she was considering building

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

up a publishing clientele within her present firm or taking her burgeoning expertise elsewhere.

For Bruce the difficulty with mastery was not experienced until he decided to become a tax specialist. He said: "I had only one tax course in law school. I had a general idea of what was involved but no idea of the enormity of what was involved, and they didn't expect me to. But it was kind of intimidating to realize after awhile how much you had to learn, although it was expected at the same time. I felt pretty anxious, whether I'd ever be capable as opposed to a total flop. I was well liked, but I had some doubt about whether I would ever be a capable tax lawyer. It was the same feeling I had when I was an undergraduate math major. I felt then that I just didn't have the ability to be a top mathematician. That's somewhat how I felt."

The third group, composed of Claire (elementary teacher/psychologist) and Niles (engineer/artist), expressed more reservation and ambivalence about their second career than did the other retrospective subjects. The ambivalence came from two sources. One, the conflicting roles of parent and worker these two found themselves in; and two, difficult issues related to the work itself. Both Niles and Claire began families at the time they were finishing their training and entering the new career. Niles' first child was born just prior to his entering graduate school. During his second year his wife had a miscarriage and the year after he graduated his second child was born. Niles said: "Working

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

as an artist at home has put me in the housewife role. It's been difficult to be a serious artist working at home. There are constant interruptions all along. The kids have seen me as available to them."

Claire, too, had difficulty giving her work the attention it needed in the beginning. She was pregnant with her first child during her internship. As time has gone on, Claire has continued to feel torn between advancing in her work and family responsibilities.

Both Claire and Niles have experienced difficulties pertaining to the work itself. Both reported a sense of isolation and confusion in regards to the work. For Claire, who opened a private practice, good referrals are slow in coming. The network she might have cultivated had she been less involved with her children, is not substantial nor does she have work in another context which might link her up with potential colleagues.

Niles spoke about his doubts about his work. "I don't know where my work is going. What bothers me is, when are you ready to show your work and present yourself to the art world? Some people are never ready. They always think there is more to do, to prepare. It's been a struggle for me to push out."

## Conclusion

In this chapter the nine instrumental tasks of career transition have been examined in light of the findings obtained from the sixteen subjects in this study. Each task

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

has been relevant to a greater or lesser degree for all the subjects interviewed. Their self-reports on each task fell along a continuum of responses for each task which was, in turn, broken down into two or more categories, depending on the range of experience reported by the subjects. In the following chapter, the affective tasks of career transition will be presented in similar format.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

# CHAPTER 5

## The Experience of Variability in Career Transition: The Affective Tasks

This chapter will focus on the seven affective tasks which gradually emerged in the study of career transition. The notion that major transitions entail mastering a number of tasks, both instrumental and affective, has been discussed by Golan (1981) in regard to numerous types of transitions and Perosa and Perosa (1981) studied the specific tasks of career transition utilizing two models--one which described the primarily affective tasks of mourning, and another which emphasized the cognitive aspects of decision making.

The emotional tasks that follow emerged from the subjects' accounts of their career transition experiences. While the tasks are presented in a linear fashion as were the instrumental tasks, it is important to emphasize that, unlike the instrumental tasks, these affective tasks were not always experienced by the subjects in this order. Rather, the tasks were met by the subjects at various and repeated points during their transitions.

There is a relationship between the instrumental tasks and affective tasks. In some cases the subjects could not experience one type of task, i.e., affective, without having completed another type, i.e., instrumental. For example, one cannot grapple with the affective task of "dealing with issues imposed by student/novice status" without having

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

first executed a number of instrumental tasks which propel one into school and the student role. On a more subtle level, difficulties coping with issues of competition during training (an affective task) may lead to difficulties finding satisfactory work after training (an instrumental task).

Affective Task 1: Adopt New Values in Regard to Oneself and One's Work

How did these career changers marshall the energy and the drive necessary to begin again in another field? The interview data suggested that initially they had to recognize that their first career choice was not what they wanted (Instrumental Task 1), which led them to adopt new values toward themselves and their work. Essentially their values changed in four general respects:

1. The first career choice was depicted by the subjects as an expression of many forces impinging upon them; the second career choice was seen by the subjects as their very own, self-determined choice.

2. The notion of work as being more than an occupation was reported by all the subjects. The subjects revised upward their expectations of what kinds of rewards they wanted to get from work, were they to be financial, expressive, altruistic, and/or intellectual.

3. In revising their expectations of their work they also revised their sense of who they were, who they were

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

becoming, and who they wanted to be.

4. All subjects became risk takers. Even those subjects who looked to the second career to provide the security that was missing in the first career prepared themseves to take numerous risks along the way to achieve their goal.

What enabled these career changers to adopt these new values and expectations? From the data, four factors emerged as "enablers." Though all four factors did not hold true for all 16 subjects, at least one of the factors was true for every subject. These four enabling factors were:

1. People who served as models in the second career or as career changers themselves

2. Key experiences (Maslow, 1962)

3. Changes in the culture

4. The individual's sense of having matured, developed, feeling less tied to family of origin

Twelve subjects reported the importance of a person who acted as a positive model, offering encouragement either directly or indirectly by example. These models varied in their relationship to the subject. In some cases the model was a family member, in other cases a friend or colleague, and in still other cases a therapist or career counselor.

Elizabeth (elementary teacher/MD) spoke of her adolescent daughter as her model. "I felt I had copped out with the easy thing and done work that would fit into my life as a woman. I think partially because I was raising two teenage daughters that my inner life became radicalized."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Denise (journalist/lawyer) spoke of her admiration for a young woman lawyer who represented Denise and other women journalists in an affirmative action class action suit.

Niles (engineer/artist) recalled being very much interested in a friend who made a career change from photography to sculpture. Philip (lawyer/architect), while a lawyer, had many architects as clients and friends. He had a longstanding interest in their work and in architecture in general. Claire (elementary teacher/psychologist) recalled her therapist as someone she admired and wanted to emulate.

The second factor that emerged as enabling the subjects to adopt new values in regard to themselves was a key experience as defined by Maslow--"a single life experience, such as tragedies, deaths, traumata, conversions, sudden insights, which forced change in the life outlook of the person and everything he did (Maslow, 1962)." In the case of seven subjects, a key experience appeared to be one of the factors which enabled the subject to develop new values. For Brad (teacher/MD) the key experience was finding his natural father, someone he'd never known; for Melvin (paleontologist/MD) it was his mother's senseless death from an undiagnosed treatable illness; for John (fireman/dentist) it was fighting and being wounded in Vietnam; for Michelle (social worker/lawyer) it was watching the slow death of her brother-in-law; for Denise (journalist/lawyer) it was being close to death herself, suffering from a potentially fatal disease; for Claire (elementary teacher/psychologist) and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Cynthia (journalist/lawyer) it was going through a divorce. Although no subject made a simple cause and effect relationship between the key experience and the decision to change careers, each subject felt the key experience altered them in permanent ways. Michelle said, "Watching by brother-in-law die was watching a young person disintegrate right before my eyes, and there was nothing anyone could do. I guess it made me realize how important it is to live the life you choose, not to waste it."

The third factor enabling some of the subjects to adopt new values in regard to themselves and their work was change in the socio-political climate. Specifically, the war in Vietnam and the discrimination against women in the professional schools in the late fifties and early to mid-sixties had a great impact on the lives of several subjects in the study.

Niles', Melvin's, and John's first careers were affected by the war in Vietnam. Niles chose an engineering specialty in large part because it would exempt him from the draft. Melvin left the country when he was refused C.O. status and John's life was disrupted when he was drafted.

Charlotte, Elizabeth, and Michelle all reported feeling overwhelmed by sexist discrimination during their late teens and early twenties. Charlotte said, "To go to medical school then was a major commitment. It would have been difficult to get in as a Jew and a woman in the late fifties. If you said you were going to get married and have

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

children during an interview, you wouldn't get in. The idea of becoming a full-time professional at age 20 was just not that appealing."

Michelle, who comes from an upper middle class, educated family, related a bizarre story. "When I was 20, I took the LSAT's and got into law school. Mother went crazy. She told me men would think I was a lesbian. She took me to a cousin of ours who is a very prominent judge in ________ and he sat me down and told me women didn't make good lawyers."

This group of subjects attributed their ability to adopt new values in part to the change in the socio-political climate of the middle seventies and eighties. The paths they chose the second time around had seemed closed or unattainable when they made their first career choices.

The fourth factor that emerged as enabling the subjects to adopt new values toward themselves was their own individual maturation and development, i.e., individuation from the families of origin and the values imparted there. All of the subjects except Denise (journalist/lawyer) and Melvin (paleontologist/MD) described their first careers as expressions of overt or covert family wishes or expectations. In some cases family expectations were low. For example, in Paul's (special ed/MD) family it was his older brother who was expected to be the doctor. Paul, even though bright and a graduate of an Ivy League school, was seen by his family--and by the teachers and guidance counselors that he shared

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

with his brother--as the less able. John's (fireman/dentist) family stressed the security of civil service work and never would consider encouraging their son to spend the enormous sums of money necessary for dental school.

In some families the expectations were high. Lauren (lawyer/psychologist) came from an upper middle class, black family where to be a lawyer was considered to be making an important contribution. To be a psychologist was of questionable value.

Niles (engineer/artist) came from a family where emphasis was placed on utility and pragmatic work. His decision to become a painter expressed values which were, in some respects, antithetical to those of his family of origin.

For 14 of the 16 subjects the ability to adopt new values in regard to self and work entailed the process of individuation exemplified by Paul, John, Lauren, and Niles. In each case the subject felt that the decision of the second career could not have been made in his/her early twenties. The second choice represented a stage of individual adult development and individuation not yet attained in that earlier time. The ability to embark on career change, to tackle the first affective task of adopting new values in regard to oneself and one's work, was not available to them until these subjects had reached their thirties.

Affective Task 2: Allow self to feel the feelings that may surface when one decides that the first career will not do.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The subjects reported two types of leavetaking from the first career: gradual or attenuated, and absolute. Half the subjects fell in each group. The manner of leavetaking did not emerge as a predictor of the feelings the subjects reported. The 16 subjects articulated seven different feelings that they remembered feeling before, during, and after their decision to leave the first career. The feelings were: anxiety, boredom, mourning, disappointment, a sense of being stifled, resentment and anger, and satisfaction. In most cases more than one feeling was recalled.

Among the subjects who remembered being extremely anxious, the anxiety seemed to focus on a discomfort in the role imposed by the first career and a concern about whether one could get out of it. Lauren (lawyer/clinical psychologist) recalled: "Immediately I felt bored and very anxious in this large Park Avenue corporate law firm. . .I would meet friends for coffee and complain constantly about feeling repressed. I never cared whether I won the cases or not. I worked on things I did not understand, like oil rights, sales equipment. Detail was very important and I could do it, but I never felt grounded. I started looking around to see what would interest me more." Bruce (MD/lawyer): "I had some apprehensiveness, some sense that I was breaking some unwritten law. I had the feeling I was coming out of the closet, not so much because I was changing professions but more specifically because of the profession I was leaving which in our society is regarded as a very

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

desirable profession, both economically and because of the respect that is accorded to that profession." Melvin (paleontologist/MD): "I had constant nagging doubts that I would never succeed. I felt trapped in a life I didn't want to lead." For Brad (teacher/MD) the anxiety stemmed from making the serious commitment to pursue medicine, a fear of becoming trapped. He said: "I always thought of myself as someone with sequential occupations."

Five subjects--Lauren (lawyer/psychologist), Elizabeth (elementary teacher/MD), Bruce (lawyer/MD), Bill (lawyer/MD), and Charlotte (professor/MD)--recalled feeling bored in their first careers. In the case of Lauren, Bruce, and Bill this boredom was felt early in the career and they attempted to deal with the problem by remaining in their fields, looking for aspects of the work to engage them. Lauren and Bruce became involved in research and Bill chose to do another residency in a different specialty. In all of their cases the boredom and dissatisfaction with the work remained.

The other two subjects, Elizabeth and Charlotte, reported feeling satisfied initially with boredom coming later, a gradual sense that they had outgrown the first career. Charlotte recalled: "I was spending less and less time teaching, which I had loved. My own research had reached a kind of terminus. My own questions had been worked through and my directions were so strongly determined. I felt I had had a long and good career in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(humanities) and I was ready to leave. If anything it was overdue."

Five of the subjects reported the experience of mourning. The mourning was of three types: mourning the first career role; mourning the unrealized potential within the role; and in two cases, mourning the loss of work itself. Bruce (MD/lawyer) talked about losing his sense of himself as a doctor: "I did have a sense of identity as a doctor which I felt I was leaving and in some ways that felt strange. Many things about being a doctor become a part of you even though they may not have much substance in them. You have the feeling that you're making a contribution to society; then you have the feeling that people will automatically respect you because of your status as a doctor, which I think for the most part is true. Then you have the feeling that you are assured of economic security and independence. Then there was a certain mysterious quality about it. People ascribe a lot of authority to those in the medical profession."

Lauren (lawyer/psychologist) talked about her mourning an unrealized dream when she gave up the law. She said: "I felt I was giving up the chance to be a judge--something I had really wanted--that I was verging off on another course." John (fireman/dentist) spoke about missing the work itself: "I like to work at a fire. I like to break down that door, tear out that window, and pull down the ceiling ahead of me. I like the physical stuff, but I've

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

kind of given that up gradually."

Four subjects recalled feeling disappointed with the first career. Cynthia (journalist/lawyer) had established a publishing company with a friend and colleague. The collapse of this enterprise was a crushing blow and led to a generalized disappointment with publishing. Elizabeth (teacher/MD) recalled a general disappointment not only with elementary school teaching but with herself and the choices she had made. She said: "I felt like I had copped out and done the things that would most easily fit into my life as a woman. I felt I had chosen a subordinate career because I was a woman and I was really regretting that." Denise (journalist/lawyer) and Ginger (MSW/MD) felt disappointed by their respective fields. The opportunities to grow and flourish appeared fewer and fewer. Denise said: "The organization conveyed that they were really doing me a favor giving me interesting work. They were extremely negative about the ability of women on the magazine to get jobs elsewhere. So I took a job with (newspaper) which looked very promising, but then there was a cutback and I realized how insecure the whole profession really was."

Four subjects felt stifled in their first careers, "trapped in a life (they) didn't want to lead," as Melvin (paleontologist/MD) phrased it. The other three who articulated this feeling were Lauren (lawyer/psychologist), Bill (MD/lawyer), and Philip (lawyer/architect). Philip said: "I began analysis when I was 34. I did not want to do what

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

my father did, be who my father was. The analysis was critical. I knew I had to do something, but I was horrified at the prospect of continuing to be a lawyer."

Five of the subjects reported feeling resentment and anger toward the first career. Denise (journalist/lawyer), cited earlier as expressing disappointment, also expressed anger and resentment at the systematic sexist exclusion she experienced while working for a major magazine. Although she took part in an affirmative class action suit against her employer and won, she recalled many bitter memories of discrimination and duplicity on the part of her employer. Michelle (MSW/lawyer) recalled how her anger fueled her determination to change. She said: "I felt tremendous anger when I was fired from ______. I wouldn't have applied to law school if this hadn't happened. I needed a smack in the face and I got it. What the anger did is that it brought it home to me. I said to myself that things like this wouldn't happen if I had a career. I felt all I had were jobs." Bruce (MD/lawyer) recalled feeling resentment toward the discipline of psychiatry, his first career. He said: "I do have and I've always had some resentment toward the field of psychiatry. Initially it promised to be a very exciting field, but in retrospect I think that it really misrepresents itself. First, in what it can accomplish clinically with patients, and second, as far as how scientific its theories are." Melvin (paleontologist/MD) recalls teaching at a small college: "I would teach anatomy

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and my minority students would make fun of me. They would say, 'Hey man, your making $_____; I'm gonna be a doctor and make $_____.' I would be filled with anger. I just couldn't swallow it all the time. And each year they would get into medical school and I would get rejected."

Negative feelings were not the only feelings reported by the subjects. Three people, Charlotte, John, and Ginger, recalled that despite their realization that they wanted to leave the first career, they felt great satisfaction from the first experience. They had found the first career challenging and engaging, and this fact was not lost on them even at the time of leave taking. A fourth subject, Denise, also recalled: "I couldn't think of leaving journalism. I thought I would take my degree and come back to it. The outcome of my ambivalence is that I only applied to two places." For some other subjects nostalgic feelings about the first career surfaced as they found themselves grappling with Task 5 (dealing with the issues of being a student), but these nostalgic feelings are slightly different from the feelings of satisfaction reported by these four subjects even at the decision making turning point. It suggests a tolerance for ambivalence and an ability to act decisively despite that ambivalence.

Affective Task 3: Manage Pressures Generated in Applying to School

Most of the subjects recalled the application period as a time of considerable emotional strain. The one exception

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

was John (fireman/dentist) who said: "The applying was a breeze. I knew I'd get in somewhere. My average was good; my boards were good. I knew the key was getting an interview; I knew I could sell myself. The other firemen that I worked with were proud of me. I had always been studying in the firehouse. They were used to seeing me studying." For the other subjects the application generated a great deal more than a breeze and their experience with co-workers and family was often less supportive than John described. Essentially the subjects reported four types of emotional pressure at the time of applying to school. These four were:

1. A fear of exposure and a reluctance to go public with their plans which led to a certain degree of self-imposed secretiveness.

2. The continual anxiety around real and potential rejection from schools which was experienced by many subjects as an assault on their self-esteem.

3. The strenuous disapproval which was voiced by some families of origin.

4. The subjects' excitement and anticipation which had to be tempered so as not to offend co-workers or supervisors who often interpreted the career change as a form of personal rejection.

The subjects' reluctance to make their plans known to others was motivated by three concerns:

1. Some feared possible failure and did not want to

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

deal with explanations to others.

2. Some had some anxiety about separating from the first career.

3. Some were wary about the disapproval and rejection they might get from co-workers.

Eleven of the subjects chose to remain secretive about their application to school for as long as they could. In four of the cases--Paul, Melvin, Elizabeth, and Philip--their silence was motivated by their fears that they wouldn't gain admission. Philip (lawyer/architect) said: "I never talked about the application beforehand. If I hadn't gotten in, no one would have known." However, Philip did meet with the dean of the architecture school before he applied and got some sense that he would be considered a good candidate. Elizabeth (elementary teacher/MD) too spoke to people she had known over the years who could give her a sense of what she had to do to be a viable candidate. However, only her immediate family--husband and children--knew of her efforts, her studying for the MCAT's and her intense desire to be accepted.

Bill and Denise recalled remaining silent for fear of losing their first job before they were ready to let go. Bill told no one at all in medicine. Instead he asked for a six month leave of absence on the grounds of a death in the family. His father had died. He worked with his brother for six months in what had been his father's and brother's law office. Bill describes himself as "frightened to cut

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the umbilical cord" to medicine, yet not wanting to remain a physician. He did not notify his second residency training program until just before he began law school. Denise said of her silence: "I only told my husband and my family. I didn't want to have to explain myself to colleagues because it was hard for me to understand myself."

A number of subjects reported that they did not want to make their plans known to co-workers for fear of having to contend with their judgments and reactions. Charlotte (professor/MD) recalled that once she let her plans be known, she became a pariah at the college where she worked. She said: "Even people in the sciences were critical of my decision. They felt I had misused the system. What was interesting to me was that men were uniformly angry and women, from students to faculty, were uniformly supportive. I was surprised there was such uniformity among the men." Niles (engineer/artist) recalled that he had been very careful not to let his co-workers know what he was going to do until the last weeks of his job. He expected these conventional engineers to question his judgment and to find his choice incomprehensible. However, at his going away party, many men volunteered their fantasies of their second career. Niles said: "It really surprised me. One man wanted to hunt for buried treasure in the Bahamas and had maps and everything. I thought it was all kind of interesting. I was kind of a mini-hero. It was clear they didn't see the company as something to be revered. It was the job and they

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

had other things to be more passionate about."

The second form of emotional pressure reported by seven of the subjects was a continual anxiety, an assault to their self-esteem, around the rejection--both real and feared--from the schools to which they were applying. In two cases, that of Cynthia (journalist/lawyer) and Ginger (MSW/MD) the women reported reaching a certain point where the rejections only fueled their determination to get into school. In Michelle's case the anxiety became so great around the taking of the LSAT's that she saw a hypnotist four times a week for three weeks to help her get over her fears of the test and enable her to perform effectively. Melvin (paleontologist/MD) recalled the years he spent applying to medical school: "The application procedure was horrible. It was like seeing your whole life go by, all your failures. And every one of those years was worse than the preceding one. It was degrading taking the MCAT's and studying arithmetic and geography, trying to learn all those silly things. I applied four years in a row. The first time I applied to 36 schools and was rejected by all of them. For four years I would get those thin envelopes in the mail and you know what's in that envelope. It's very depressing. I began drinking heavily for a few years, mostly at parties; but when I noticed that I was thinking about drinking during the day, I quit."

Claire (teacher/psychologist) was so uncomfortable with the notion of rejection that she did not apply to the more

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

competitive clinical psychology programs that she really wanted. Instead she applied to a program where she had good assurance of getting in. The cost to Claire of this choice was that throughout her training she was never certain that she would be able to sit for the licensing exam in her state. She avoided rejection at this early stage of her career change only to have to contend with the specter of rejection at the end of the training.

The third source of emotional pressure for five of the subjects came from the disapproval expressed by their families of origin. Philip (lawyer/architect) recalled: "My parents thought this was grotesque. Here I was doing this wild thing." Lauren (lawyer/psychologist) recalled: "My family was shocked and dismayed, especially my father. He thinks the field is flakey, soft." For Brad and Melvin, both of working class backgrounds, the families could not understand forfeiting the heavy investment of time and money that medical school demanded. Bruce (MD/lawyer) recalled: "It was a big come down in my parents' eyes. My father has never fully accepted it. He never could accept the possibility that I might be better off as a lawyer than as a doctor."

The fourth source of emotional strain came from the necessity to downplay their excitement and anticipation of the new career so as not to offend co-workers or supervisors who might interpret the career change as a form of personal rejection. This pressure was cited by four subjects--

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Philip, Bruce, Melvin, and Lauren. In each case the subject was in the sticky position of needing the first career (for income, letters of reference) while clearly sensing disapproval from the workplace. Melvin (paleontologist/MD) described his situation: "I was afraid my professor, my mentor, would reject me in disgust for going over to the 'enemy' camp and applying to medical school. I saw it as a betrayal of all the time this person had invested in me. It's like being gay and coming out of the closet."

Bruce (MD/lawyer) recalled: "My supervisor in the graduate research program was disappointed in me and it was embarrassing and uncomfortable to have to tell him I was leaving and ask for a letter after all the time he had invested in me." Lauren (lawyer/psychologist) and Philip (lawyer/architect) both tried to negotiate with the places they were working to keep them on in a part time or consultive capacity. In Philip's case this was negotiable. In Lauren's case, she was denied the opportunity to continue working.

Affective Task 4: Maintain Open Communication with Spouse

Of the 16 subjects in the study four were single, leaving 12 with either a spouse or, in Brad's case, a woman with whom he had lived for a number of years. Of these 12, four separated during school and one immediately after. Of those who separated, one, Brad, married during his years in school. The other three who remarried did not remarry until

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

after they were out of school.

Talking about some of the factors that contributed to the end of their marriages, the subjects described themselves as being out of sync with their spouse's lives. While these subjects were in the process of making a significant investment of time, money, and energy in their new career, their spouses were ready to begin to enjoy the fruits of their earlier labors, ready to have some fun. While none of the subjects would attribute the breakup of the marriage to career change alone, they saw how the change became an additional burden on the relationship. Charlotte (professor/MD), who reported a continuing friendship with her ex-husband, said: "I think when I made the decision to change careers, I was willing to push harder on my own interests and needs and so I think, although I didn't realize it at the time, I was really beginning the separation. Initially I felt very guilty about embarking on a second career and I think that guilt was related to my sense that I was getting ready to separate. He had reached a stage in life where he was ready to do more enjoyable, vacation things. I think I was in the stage he had been in 10 years ago."

Brad recalled that he spent no time with the woman he lived with, the mother of his child. He worked 12 midnight to 8:00 A.M. as an ambulence driver and 10:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M. he was in school. He said: "I would come home and try to relax and get some sleep. It was a strain. Betsy is a

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

nurse and she had had a long struggle through nursing school. She was ready to have some fun. And it was a big strain with Jane (current wife) before she went to law school and became a career changer herself, because I was spending a good deal of time studying."

Denise, looking back on her first marriage, recalled: "He was working seven days a week. I was studying and handling the anxieties. Then I was on Law Review and there was an enormous amount of work. I think the relationship was maintained on the basis of avoidance. One of the factors in going to law school was I doubted if the marriage would hold up. It got harder and harder to do things together. I remember in the second year he went away for six weeks and I felt relieved."

This task--i.e., maintaining open communications--appeared to be related to Instrumental Task 6: Manage Time. The setting of priorities and the juggling of attention clearly affected how well the subjects could be available to their partners. While in this study the focus is on the career changer and the tasks he or she must undertake, it is important to consider here that the task of maintaining open communication is a mutual task requiring reciprocity on the part of the significant other in each subject's life. This was recognized by all seven of the subjects whose marriages were surviving or had survived the transition.

The seven were:

Lauren (lawyer/psychologist)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Elizabeth (elementary teacher/MD)

John (fireman/dentist)

Philip (lawyer/architect)

Ginger (MSW/MD)

Paul (elementary teacher/MD)

Niles (engineer/artist)

To a person each of the seven credited their partner with providing a high degree of support and encouragement. Of those five who had families--John, Elizabeth, Philip, Paul, and Niles--four recalled their partners stepping in and doing more than their share of running the household. The fifth, Niles, found himself in the position of taking on more household responsibilities. He said: "We had many talks about my taking on a larger share of the childcare for our child. She wanted me to take on more responsibility and once I was in school, it wasn't a job; it seemed I should take on more of the work around the house. I think my own thoughts were that I should do more because I wasn't making money. I felt guilty."

In the other four cases the partners made few demands and essentially tolerated greater reduced contact with their partners. John recalled: "I had no idea it would be as hard as it was--neither did my wife. The first year was helter skelter. By the end of the first year I realized I had to spend more time with my wife and child. There were eight week stretches where I worked every day (as fireman and full time student) without a single day off." Elizabeth

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

recalled that at age 29, when she expressed to her husband her regrets that she hadn't gone to medical school, they both agreed it was too bad, but they couldn't possibly manage it. When she began medical school at 43, she recalled her husband offering to relocate the family if she got in out-of-state. Paul said: "My wife was a very important influence on me. She felt the work I was doing was beneath me. She literally drove me to my first pre-med sign-up. It's been very hard. I don't really do anything around the house to help and that makes her mad; but she knew what she was getting into. I used to help with the laundry. I don't do that anymore." Philip, too, recalled his wife as unwavering in her encouragement and her belief that this change was the right thing for him to do. Her support was described as "the big thing that made this possible."

As becomes clear from these subjects' reports, the task of maintaining open communication very much depended on the receptivity of the partner and the degree to which the partner believed in and supported the career changer's endeavor. The couple's level of communication had been established before the notion of career change entered the picture. None of the separations were attributed to career change but rather, as cited earlier, the decision to return to school in some cases reflected an inchoate wish to separate. In other cases, where the marriage endured, the partner of the career changer became a staunch ally and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

supporter, communicating encouragement while trying to lessen other demands on the subject's time.

<u>Affective Task 5: Deal with Issues Imposed by Student/Novice Status such as:</u>

1. Threats to prior sense of competence
2. Infantalizing nature of student role
3. Feelings of loss or longing for the past
4. Depression accompanied by doubts about the wisdom of the new undertaking (Levinson, H., 1983)

All the subjects reported struggling with one or more of these issues as a student and even afterwards while beginning the second career.

Threats to a prior sense of competence were explicitly expressed by four subjects--Charlotte, Claire, Ginger, and Denise--as they recalled their school experience. Ginger's (MSW/MD) feelings were exacerbated by a poor school performance. In the other three cases the feelings persisted despite academic success.

Charlotte (professor/MD) said: "It took so much work and I still couldn't achieve the level I wanted to know. It's like when you get older and you go to pick something up and you can feel that you're not picking it up with the same ease. Your arm muscles aren't the way they were. There's no question that I would have found it easier at age 25."

Claire (teacher/psychologist) said: "I would miss those feelings of confidence, success, and certainty that I felt as a teacher."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Denise (journalist/lawyer) said: "There's the ignorance. You don't even know the language. It's an unacceptable feeling not to be in control of your own environment. I think I had the feeling my goal should be instantaneous mastery. It seemed as if all the things I had accomplished were of no moment whatever."

The second issue imposed by their student status was the infantalizing nature of the student role felt acutely by some but not all of the subjects. Was there a general factor, environmental or characterological, that enabled nine of the subjects to report they did not feel infantalized while seven recalled their student role as infantalizing? Of the nine who reported they did not feel infantalized in the student role, seven worked full or part time in their first occupation. Those seven were Bruce, John, Michelle, Cynthia, Melvin, Brad, and Philip. Bill (MD/lawyer), while he no longer worked as a doctor, said: "My identity as a doctor carried me through law school." Niles (engineer/artist), the ninth subject in this group, reported that he enjoyed being a student. He said: "I was open. I learned a lot of new things that I didn't know how to do. I really loved it. I always got the feeling that art was sort of ageless anyway. I mean, you improve with age. You just start from wherever you are and go ahead."

Of the seven who remained working in some capacity, two aspects of the work were cited as important psychologically:

1. The work enabled the individual to maintain a sense

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

of him or herself as a professional.

2. The income from the work reinforced the sense of themselves as self-supporting, independent adults.

Melvin and Philip, whose words follow, speak for this group. Melvin (paleontologist/MD) said: "My teaching is important psychologically, not just financially. It maintains my sense of myself as an adult. I couldn't maintain my self-esteem without my work. It's fun being an expert."

Philip (lawyer/architect) said: "I had the best of it. I was still doing the things I was best at. That is one of the keys to this. I didn't drop it completely until I was four to five years out of architecture school. That's absolutely fundamental, that I didn't drop it. The whole thing was evolutionary. It would have been miserable if I had had to take some menial job to pay for this. I had not a double life but an integrated life that was rich and rewarding."

In contrast to these subjects, seven people recalled their school training experience as infantalizing. These seven were: Claire, Charlotte, Denise, Elizabeth, Ginger, Lauren, and Paul.

Elizabeth (elementary teacher/MD) said: "School was an infantalizing experience. Medical school is like high school with all its rules and regulations. Once you've been an adult you don't do things that you can't do; you learn what you are good at and that's what you do. But in school

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

you do what's required. Regardless. There is constant exposure to new information and new skills. You know you have to learn this stuff and the pressure is very severe."

Lauren (lawyer/psychologist) recalled: "Feeling infantalized was not a problem until the internship where I felt undermined and continually made to see myself as a subordinate."

Paul (teacher/MD) said, speaking of his upcoming third year of medical school: "The main thing I'm worried about is taking orders from 25 year old residents, which is going to happen pretty soon. I'm going to have trouble with a 25 year old guy trying to prove he's a hotshot. It's not a question of knowledge. I don't think I'm going to adjust well to being spoken down to. I hope people make distinctions between a novice in terms of medicine and a baby in terms of living."

Denise (journalist/lawyer) said: "It was so infantalizing-- the whole notion of not being taken seriously. We had no credibility as human beings; we were just students."

Claire (teacher/psychologist), who returned to school after a divorce, recalled: "I felt like an adolescent again. There I was, living in a small apartment on a college campus, in school, dating again. It felt like a huge regression."

These seven found a number of ways to cope with the feelings of infantilization. Two used psychotherapy as a support during this period. Two recalled becoming with-

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

drawn, both at school (not participating in a more characteristic manner) and at home with family; studying was all. One, Ginger (MSW/MD), taught the introductory psychiatry course to her fellow medical students since she was required to be in attendance at the course. Ginger took on this assignment because she could not tolerate the idea of being a student in an introductory course in psychiatry. However, by setting herself apart from and in an evaluative position in regard to her fellow students, she estranged herself from what might have been a support network. Lastly, one subject, Charlotte (professor/MD), recalled a friend asking, "How are you going to get through this?" The answer, she said, "is anger. When these things happen to you or to someone else or to the patients (she is referring to being treated as if she is powerless and matters for nothing), you become angry rather than acquiesce. One of the primary functions of training is to produce acquiescence. You refuse to relinquish your standards. Let yourself feel angry; you can't express it in most circumstances because the punishments are horrible."

In summary, seven of the subjects felt their school experience to be infantalizing and nine didn't. One factor that distinguished these groups and enabled the nine to withstand feeling infantalized by the student role was their outside work which cast them in age appropriate and career stage appropriate roles.

Another issue that emerged with regard to

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

student/novice status, expressed by three of the subjects, was a feeling of loss and longing for the past. Cynthia, Lauren, and Claire each talked about aspects of their past careers that they missed. Cynthia (journalist/lawyer) said: "I never permit myself regrets, but I have them. Sometimes I think, in the final analysis, maybe I shouldn't have done it. I gave up five to ten years that would have been easier, better for the kids, for the sake of 20 years that would have been better. At this point I guess I might be editor-in-chief of _________ or ____________. It would be a pleasant life, hobnobbing with interesting people and perceived of as having power. I have had days where I wonder to myself, what am I doing here? I could be having lunch with Norman Mailer."

While Cynthia expressed a sense of loss at the time she had missed with her family, Lauren (lawyer/psychologist) expressed a sense of loss for the future she had not actualized, the dreams she had not realized in her first profession, especially judgeship. She had also been approached to become a panelist on a well known TV news show. Of the latter she said: "I sometimes think I could have continued to do that; it was such easy work. But it made me too anxious and I didn't respect the work enough."

Claire's longing for the past, unlike Cynthia's and Lauren's, focused more around the comfort and ease which teaching had given her. She said: "Even today I miss that feeling of knowing I'm good at what I do. I'm not the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

raving success as a psychologist that I was as a teacher."

In summary, in the student/novice role each subject expressed a feeling of loss and longing for the past although the emphasis and motives in each case were different for each woman.

Lastly, related to the former issue of feeling a loss, seven subjects reported that they experienced periods of depression while in training. These depressions were accompanied by doubts as to whether they had done the right thing in changing fields. The subjects who reported bouts of doubting and depression included Brad, Denise, Niles, Cynthia, Ginger, Melvin, and Bill. (After his schooling was completed and he entered the working world, Bruce recalled experiencing the kinds of feelings these seven reported.)

Denise said: "After the first year I was dreading going back to school. I felt like I had no reserves; I was depressed."

Ginger recalled: "When I got in, I became depressed. Applying had been like a campaign; and despite all the anxieties, there's something exhilarating about it. But the next day the campaign is over and you get up and you've got to do it now. I was disappointed. I thought it would be a real high."

Brad said: "I have been depressed periodically and wondered whether this was the right thing for me."

Melvin said: "I had to sacrifice my personal life. I feel like I am in a time warp, out of it, out of society.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

I've lost touch with my friends. I visit them once a year and see their kids grow. I've had to point my life in one direction and not lose the direction. I have had to give up everything."

Niles said: "There were times when I would sense I was losing my engineering self, that information was slipping away. There was a saying that you were obsolete in about four years if you didn't keep up with things. And when I would stop to think, I would think, what have I done?"

In summary, the subjects who reported feeling depressed felt a number of ways. Some felt overwhelmed, tired, without the energy to go on. Others felt that they had inadvertantly lost something of themselves in the pursuit of the second career. Accompanying these feelings would be doubts, second thoughts about the wisdom of the choices they had made. All these contributed to periodic bouts of depression.

Before leaving Task 5, it is important to note that despite their problems with the role of student, most of the subjects reported great pleasure in the learning, the engagement with the new material. For most of them, it was this pleasure in the substance of the work that helped withstand the difficulties they might have experienced in the role of student.

Affective Task 6: Deal with issues of competition.

All the subjects had to deal with issues of competi-

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

tion, either during school or when they began working in the second career. Three general trends emerged from the data in regard to handling this task. The subjects either:

1. Embraced competition

2. Were uncomfortable with competition and assumed a number of defensive strategies, or

3. Avoided competition.

In some cases more than one trend was applicable to that individual's experience.

Three subjects reported feeling energized and thriving in a competitive environment. Interestingly, two had been lawyers in their first career and one was becoming a lawyer. The three, Lauren (lawyer/psychologist), Philip (lawyer/architect), and Bruce (MD/lawyer), all saw themselves as competitive people.

Bruce said: "I considered myself extremely competitive. I thrive on competition but law school was worse than medical school. In med school how well you did was just not that important. You may not be the best but it will be O.K. You know you can still get a good job. In law school it's important to attend a good school and to come out in the upper fraction of your class. The competition is all consuming."

Philip recalled that his competitive bent worked to his advantage in architecture school: "I had the immense advantage of being trained as an arguer and a talker and I could carry things further than the other students and it was very

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

helpful." Philip also distinguished himself from his fellow students by teaching a course on law and urban planning. Of his fellow students he said: "I never tried to become one of them. I never thought of myself as 22. I was always 30 whatever."

For Lauren the competitive drive that served her so well in law school fell flat in her clinical psychology graduate program. She said: "I had to learn to tone down my style. I had to hold back. Neither students nor professors were used to being questioned intensely. I think I was always fearful of those qualities in myself that were assertive and combative, but in law school I could use them. I felt myself inhibiting myself."

Although these three subjects reported less ambivalence with competition, nine subjects reported varying degrees of difficulty. The coping styles of these individuals ranged from primarily effective adaptations to primarily defensive adaptations. Two examples of effective adaptations to the anxiety of competition were:

1. Withdrawal into the work
2. Developing a support network among fellow students.

Denise (journalist/lawyer), Brad (teacher/MD), Michelle (MSW/lawyer), and Elizabeth (teacher/MD) all opted for this dual style of coping. Elizabeth said: "Around January I found a group of about 10 to 12 people who were over 29. I was 43. There was a woman who was 36, then a couple of men in their early thirties. We were close and started a sup-

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

port group that kept us going through those first few years." Denise said: "The age gap was not much of a factor, only occasionally. That was the great part, an unexpected bonus, good friends. We were a diverse group with a common 'enemy.'"

Niles (engineer/artist) adopted similar strategies to those of the previous four subjects while he was in school. He found support from several teachers and fellow students. However, after graduating Niles found the same issues cropping up in his second career that had put him off in his first. He hadn't liked the competitive, business aspects of engineering; and when it came to hustling for himself as an artist and competing in the marketplace, he was again uncomfortable. His difficulty dealing with the intense competition an artist must endure has affected his ability to accomplish Instrumental Task 9, which is to establish himself in the new vocation.

Four of the subjects--John (fireman/dentist), Melvin (paleontologist/MD), Paul (teacher/MD), and Ginger (MSW/MD)--dealt defensively with the competition that school engendered. They tended to denigrate their fellow students and to set themselves up as different and superior to the other students.

Melvin, in his third year of medical school, expressed arrogant disdain toward other medical students and residents who were his superiors in the medical hierarchy but who did not have as good a grasp of anatomy as he did. When he

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

didn't get honors despite excellent evaluations, he became extremely anxious and slightly paranoid trying to figure out why a fellow student, whom he deemed no better student than himself, had been given honors.

John held himself somewhat aloof and avoided fraternizing with fellow students whom he saw as competitive and alien, "from another world." Most of them were from upper middle class backgrounds with no other responsibilities than to get themselves through dental school. John had a wife, two children, and a full time fireman's job to manage.

Paul said of medical school and his fellow students: "This place is a cultural wasteland. I know something about history and politics before my time. These people are automatons. There is a 'me generation.' I did not grow up with it, but I found it here." When speaking directly to the issue of competition, Paul said: "I never competed with anyone. If I told my friends here how well I am doing, they would never talk to me again. If you ever talk to anyone about this, that's the one thing I don't want you to mention. I don't answer questions many times when I know the answer, but I don't know if I'll do that next year on the wards, when it counts."

Ginger's discomfort with competition led her to accept a job teaching her fellow students introduction to psychiatry. Unlike Philip (lawyer/architect), who taught his fellow students and performed successfully in architecture school, Ginger failed many of her first year courses. One

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

rationalization for her estrangement from the other students was Ginger's belief that, unlike her, the other students had barren personal lives, didn't work outside and, therefore, could devote themselves single mindedly to their studies. By isolating herself in these two ways, i.e., her teaching and her stereotyping of her fellow students, Ginger cut herself off from a potential support network that she dearly needed.

The last group handled issues of competition by managing to sidestep them, at least in regard to their school experience. In one case, Claire (teacher/psychologist), this strategy came back to haunt her. Claire chose to apply to a program that was not as competitive as the program she would have liked to attend. Once in school she distinguished herself by earning a PhD in record time--three years. But throughout her years in school, she had to deal with doubts as to whether, after she was done, she would be able to do the work she wanted to do, i.e., be a licensed psychotherapist.

The other three who managed to avoid the issue of competition in school were Charlotte (professor/MD), Cynthia (journalist/lawyer), and Bill (MD/lawyer). In the case of Charlotte, she went to a medical school that did not give grades or class rank. This relieved a great deal of pressure and fostered cooperation among the students rather than competition. In the case of Cynthia, she got herself into a top law school and, once there, did not feel the pressure to

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

be number one or compete with her fellow students. She said: "________ has a reputation for being the best and the hardest law school, but it's actually more relaxed than any other law schoool. It wasn't that competitive. People in general were not obsessed with grades. Everyone knows they'll do O.K. When they get out, it's the label, it assures a reasonably good job."

Knowing that a good job awaited him was the reason Bill gave as to why he, too, did not experience the school experience as intensely competitive. He knew when he graduated that he would be joining his brother as a partner in his brother's law firm. He said: "Because I knew where I was going to be after I got out, the pressure was off. I really wasn't competing with anyone but myself."

In summary, the issue of competition was managed in three different ways. Three of the subjects reported themselves energized by the competitive atmosphere of school, nine found the competitive pressure a strain, and four subjects dealt with the competition by avoiding it or, at the onset, either by their choice of school or, as in Bill's case, by knowing that a good job awaited him regardless of his rank and grades.

Affective Task 7: Internalize training experience.

Unlike the previous six tasks, this task requires a brief introduction, clarifying what is meant by "internalize." Schafer's work on Aspects of Internalization will serve as a reference point to the findings that follow.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Schafer has written: "Internalization refers to all those processes by which the subject transforms real or imagined regulatory interactions with his environment, and real or imagined characteristics of his environment, into inner regulations and characteristics" (Schafer, 1968, p. 9).

He goes on to define regulatory interactions as "dynamic terms: they correspond to motives to act, think, or feel one way or another. Thus, in internalization it is commonly the object's motives that are reproduced by the subject himself and brought into a new relation with motives he already regards as his own (Schafer, 1968, p. 11)."

To paraphrase Schafer, the individual comes to be who he/she is through conscious and unconscious processes of selective imitation and identification. These identifications are with aspects of other people or of the milieu and are colored by the individual's previous development as he/she brings a long, complex personal and biological history to each new situation-- which influences how the new situation is perceived.

All the subjects could recall people at various stages in their lives who influenced them and whose names came to mind when asked who they thought served in some way as a model for the second career. In many cases a different modeling figure could be cited for the first career as well.

Aside from the actual fact of embarking on career change, there was additional behavioral evidence of the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

process of internalization. In the findings that follow, the two questions, who did the subjects recall as a model for the second career, and how did their behaviors manifest their identification with the new field, will be examined.

As previously noted, all the subjects recalled people from either the distant or more recent past (or both) who came to mind when the subject was asked to think of who might have served as a figure of identification, a model. In a few cases both positive identifications and negative identifications (Greenson, 1954) were reported.

Four of the subjects--Niles, Melvin, Philip, and Michelle--reported that they were conscious of wanting to be different from a figure in the past and the career change was an effort in that direction. This did not preclude positive identifications with people and aspects of the new field.

Niles (engineer/artist) recalled his father as extremely pragmatic with no use for aesthetic considerations. In turning to art Niles was aware of his disidentification with his father. In the course of his transition Niles found numerous fellow artists who served as mentors. He also recalled an uncle who had been a jeweler and whom he had always found interesting.

In turning from law to architecture Philip, too, disidentified with his lawyer-father and positively identified with his mother who, in her thirties, had gone back to school to study for her doctorate. Philip recalled his

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

mother's great pleasure in her studies and said he felt similarly about his own school experience.

Michelle (MSW/lawyer), who had applied to and been accepted to law school in her early twenties but had been disuaded from attending by her mother's hysterical claim that people would think she was a lesbian, felt that her second career was a statement of separation from and dis-identification with her mother. She saw her law school experience as an alliance with her father, who died when she was an adolescent and whom she recalled as an effective and powerful man.

Melvin (paleontologist/MD) recalled two doctors who were important in his life. The first was his family physician whom he compared with John F. Kennedy to convey the extent of the esteem in which this man had been held by the family. The other doctor was an incompetent who, Melvin believed, misdiagnosed his mother's treatable illness. She died as a result of this incompetence. Melvin attributed great power to doctors,especially to surgeons, which was his area of interest. In identifying with the "good" doctor and rejecting the "bad" doctor, Melvin was identifying with and internalizing the image of power that medicine held for him.

The other twelve subjects recounted positive identifications both from the distant and more recent past.

Claire (teacher/psychologist) recalled her therapist as her primary mentor and the person who most helped her shape the goals she wanted for herself.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Ginger (MSW/MD) recalled that while working in a hospital as a social worker, the people to whom she felt most drawn were the medical residents and the psychiatrists. She began to wish for their medical background and to take more of an interest in medicine in general as a result of these contacts.

Elizabeth (teacher/MD) recalled always being drawn to the field of medicine but not feeling this was a career for a woman with a family. Her friendships over the years with numerous young women residents, students of her husband, and her own daughter's freely expressed ambitions served to enable Elizabeth to embark on her own career change.

Cynthia (journalist/lawyer) recalled two people as key in her decision to go to law school. She said: "The single most important lawyer I have known is my friend __________ (woman). Then the man with whom I had a long affair--all through law school and beyond--he is a lawyer. By-in-large they are the smartest, most sensible, calmest people I know, most worthy of respect, rational, controlled."

Lauren (lawyer/psychologist) cited many mentors. Of one professor she said: "She made a big impact on me. She made me feel I was a gifted therapist. Supervision is so important because, unlike law, there's no case you win or lose; it's the way you handle the relationship, the way you handle the setbacks." Additionally her analyst served a key function as an enabler, helping her to internalize and integrate positive elements from the environment. Lauren

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

said: "He made me feel I had a flair, helped me to see how my supervisors regarded me. He pointed out frequently how I had trouble acknowledging other people's opinions. He showed me how other people were investing in me."

Bill (MD/lawyer) saw his turn to law as a movement toward his father who had been a lawyer and who died just before Bill began law school. Bill said: "I see medicine as a more feminine choice, more my mother. Law is more masculine, more like my father. I always had the feeling as a doctor that I was standing around in life helping people but not doing what I wanted to do."

Charlotte (professor/MD) recalled her mother's very active interest and curiosity in living things and her extensive knowledge of natural phenomena. She also recollected a close family friend, a single woman, who had been a pediatrician.

Brad (teacher/MD) recalled his parish priest and his Catholic education, "the conscience of the church," when talking about what aspects of his past he felt were reemerging in his choice to become a doctor. His mother's lifelong illness also played a part in Brad's wish to be someone who could heal.

John (fireman/dentist) made a very deliberate effort to find figures with whom to identify after he got into dental school. He could recall no professional people among family or friends when he was growing up. His effort to find identificatory figures led him to take a new course at his

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

school which provided John the opportunity to visit six different dental practices and, as he said, "pick up the kind of information most of my classmates would obtain from a relative, probably a father, who was a dentist." John said: "The men I met each showed me how his office operates, how they kept the books, how they decided on their fees, who they hired and why. These are things you won't pick up anywhere else."

Denise (journalist/lawyer) recalled a petite woman lawyer who won a large class action suit against Denise's employer, as a person with whom she came to strongly identify. She said: "_____________ made a big impression on me because she was able to invoke fear without having to distort herself as a person. Previously I had seen powerful women but they had modeled themselves after men. ___________ wasn't like that. She knew what she was talking about and how to invoke a developing body of law."

Paul (teacher/MD) thought that his older brother, who was a doctor, served as someone whom he had always tried to emulate and with whom he identified. Additionally Paul related an anecdote of making rounds with a now deceased eminent specialist at his hospital. Paul said: "For three hours a week I followed _________ on rounds. It's something I can tell my grandchildren about just going around with him. He would not answer questions, he would tell you. He would say, 'OK, what did you see?' You'd tell him and he'd say, 'No, you're all wrong.' He'd say it can't be this. It

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

can't be that. It must be ________. I've forgotten most of what he said, but the style I've remembered, his approach to problems." Significantly Paul's internalization of this model was based on style rather than content. The professor's haughty, unresponsive (to students) style became a model to emulate, the content long forgotten.

Lastly, Bruce (MD/lawyer) saw his career change as an identification with his father, a business man who had always wished to be involved professionally with music. In permitting himself to give up the financial security of medicine for the potentially riskier enterprise of law (as he saw it), Bruce allowed himself to do that which his father had wished to do for himself, change careers and take a risk.

Besides their reporting of figures with whom they identified as formative to their sense of themselves in their second career, many subjects also offered subtle behavioral signs of their emerging new sense-of-self. These behaviors were in addition to the instrumental tasks which by definition required active behaviors in pursuit of the second career.

Denise (journalist/lawyer), for example, recalled that her former boss used to tell her that she looked different at every stage of the process of career transition. She said: "I changed the way I dressed, cut my hair differently. When I got out of law school I started wearing suits. I rarely wore them before." Later when she became a

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

law professor, she saw mentorship as a large part of the job and she saw the problem of establishing herself as an authority figure particularly difficult as a woman. She said: "One must internalize a style as well as a certain logical approach to problems."

Elizabeth (teacher/MD), when asked when she really felt as though she was a doctor, replied: "You put on the white coat, and then you learn to fill it." The notion of taking on something that felt too big and growing into it was also expressed by John (fireman/dentist).

Teaching for a number of subjects reinforced their growing sense-of-themselves in the new field. Melvin (paleontologist/MD) took jobs teaching anatony. Lauren (lawyer/psychologist) taught assessment. Niles (engineer/artist) worked with undergraduate artists. Claire (teacher/psychologist) taught child development. John (fireman/dentist) taught a lab course and Ginger (MSW/MD) taught introductory psychiatry.

Bill (MD/lawyer), describing his evolution as a lawyer, recalled how when he first began to work as a lawyer in the firm that had once been his father's and was now his brother's, he would virtually mimic his father's writing style as samples of his work were abundant in the files. Gradually Bill evolved his own style. He also recalled: "I was on the tennis team in college but didn't play for the ten years I was in medicine. I didn't do any tennis for ten years. I got more athletic again when I started law

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

school." As mentioned earlier in the findings, Bill had associated medicine with feminine aspects of himself and law as more masculine. His spontaneous resumption of tennis playing in his law school days seems to confirm his retrospective analysis ten years later.

Lastly, Philip (lawyer/architect) described one recent action that he felt was particularly telling in regard to his sense of himself as an architect. He said: "One interesting thing: I always enjoyed the title of being a lawyer, the Esq. I am still officially billed on the letterhead as Esq. A.I.A., but I notice that now I have bought myself some new letterhead and I was interested to discover that it has no title. It just has my name. And I thought, hey, this is terrific. This is the first time I have ever gone with just my name, not worrying about the title. So I guess it reflects an evolution in my identity."

Philip's professional and personal selves appear to be integrated, "metabolized," to use Pine's expression. In presenting "just" his name on the letterhead, Philip is presenting the whole, the sum of the parts of his life, past and present. The task of internalization has been accomplished.

Summary:

This chapter has surveyed the seven affective tasks of career change which gradually emerged from in-depth interviews with the 16 subjects of this study. Unlike the in-

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

strumental tasks, the affective tasks were less chronologically bound. However, in some cases, the subjects had to complete one or more instrumental tasks before being in a position to deal with a particular affective task. As in the case of the instrumental tasks, the subjects reported a range of intensity in their experience of the affective tasks of career change.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

# CHAPTER 6

## A Comparison of the Findings with Previous Literature

This discussion of the findings will retrace the earlier literature review and present the data either as it confirms or diverges from prior research.

### The Age-Stage Theorists

The age-stage theories informing this study were primarily those of Levinson (1978), Gould (1978), and Stewart (1977). Each of these raised questions pertinent to this group of subjects.

Although all of Levinson's subjects were men, his notions of the "Dream" and of progressive stages of adult/career development informed this study of 16 men and women.

Levinson's work raises two questions in regard to career changers: (a) Was the second career an attempt to recapture the lost dream of the early twenties? (b) Do those career changers who made the switch during the Age Thirties Transition (a time when some turmoil is to be expected) have an advantage over those who didn't change until their mid or later thirties when they should have been in the Settling Down Period? The data suggests that in 4 cases (Bill, Elizabeth, Michelle, and Charlotte) the career change was responding to the dream of the early twenties but in most instances this was not so. Instead the subjects reported that the "Dream" of the second career was born out

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

of their adult experiences.

Levinson's notion of an Age Thirties Transition appeared to hold true for nine of the subjects. The other seven did not report any more or less difficulty because they were outside the parameters of this phase when they made the switch. The age of the individual did not appear to be a variable that crucially affected the experience of transition for good or ill.

However, Elizabeth (elementary teacher/MD), who returned to school at age 43, believed that she could not have undertaken such an intensive experience when her children had been younger. They were already teenagers or entering their teens when she began medical school.

Gould (1978) also looked at men in this age range (24-34). He found that men who were changing careers at this time were often depressed. His interpretation of the depression does not appear consonant with the experience of these subjects. Gould suggested that career changers experience depression "because they are also changing the values and beliefs that helped them gain independence from their parents (Gould, 1978, p. 157)." Many subjects in this study saw their first career as a direct expression of their families' wishes, not a move toward independence but rather a form of attachment. The depression they reported was related to other aspects of the transition, e.g., feeling overwhelmed with work, performance anxiety, etc.

Gould and Stewart both tended to present women's work

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

lives and family responsibilities as conflictual, each demanding attention and to some extent a forced choice. They formulated two categories: those women who focused on childbearing in their twenties and moved into the work world in their thirties; and those who did the opposite. To some extent this study's data bears them out. Of the four women with children, two had their children in their twenties (Elizabeth and Cynthia) and two in their thirties (Claire and Lauren). In the cases of Elizabeth (elementary teacher/MD) and Cynthia (journalist/lawyer) they recalled working while their children were young but not with the degree of intensity they worked once the children entered school and the women were in their thirties. In the cases of Claire (elementary teacher/psychologist) and Lauren (lawyer/psychologist), who had worked intensely in their twenties and during their career change in their early thirties, they did not have their first child until the end of their training in their mid and late thirties and they each cut back on their work to varying degrees to accommodate their new role as mother.

Two out of the five men with children (Brad, Paul, John, Niles, and Philip) reported conflict between the role of parent and worker. Niles felt he should take on more household and parenting responsibilities when he was no longer the primary wage earner. This took him away from the work he felt he should be doing in his studio. Conversely, John, who was in dental school full time and earned a living

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

as a fireman, missed time with his son and felt he did not have enough time with his family.

The Non-Chronological Theorists

Like Levinson, Gould, and Stewart, Maslow and Vaillant stress the importance of transitional periods. However, for Maslow and Vaillant, the timing of these periods is not predetermined.

Maslow's work (1962) raised two questions addressed in this study. Could these career changing subjects be considered self-actualizing individuals or are they more likely to be malcontents, unable to commit themselves to any long term endeavor? Also his notion of transition catalyzed by a key event was examined.

Maslow's self-actualizing individual is one whose personality expresses a tendency toward growth, resisting enculturation and classification, seeking to find and construct his/her own life structure rather than to conform to expectations of others in the present or in the past. Such a person is more open to change and more apt to find himself in periods of transition. The role of the future is dynamically active in the present of such an individual. The 16 subjects in this study might well be described as self-actualizers.

Of the 16 subjects, only seven reported what could be described as Maslow's concept of key event or single life experience that served as a catalyst for the career transition. Instead most of the subjects reported a gradual

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

accretion of factors which led to their decision to change careers (see First Affective and Instrumental Tasks).

Vaillant's research (1977), like Maslow's, demonstrated that growth can occur at any point during adulthood provided these four essentials for growth are present:

1. A crisis, conflict, or longstanding stress that catalyzes change;

2. Suitable models for identification along with opportunities in childhood and adolescence to exhibit autonomy and initiative;

3. A supportive interpersonal environment--i.e., friends, a partner, a therapist or mentor.

4. An unimpaired brain and nervous system which, according to Vaillant, continues to change in complexity until age 40-50.

All the subjects in this study met this list of essentials. Interestingly, the one area where several individuals expressed some concern was in their report of their "biological equipment." Three medical students recalled feeling the handicap of their age when faced with enormous memorizing demands. One lawyer and the dentist recalled aspects of the training where, try as they might, they didn't perform as well as they wished. Nonetheless, all but one, Ginger (social worker/MD), managed to get through the difficult course work and move to a high level of functioning within the new field. Ginger failed her first year's course work and had to repeat the year over again. As for

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Vaillant's other three essential ingredients for growth, all the subjects' experiences confirmed their importance.

## Career Development Literature

The literature on career choice and career development raised a number of questions in regard to this sample of individuals since their career development might be seen as deviant from the norm. In this section of the discussion, broad questions generated by the research will be addressed.

First, there is the question of establishing what is normal career development and whether these subjects were on this "normal" track when they chose to diverge? Super and Dalton and his colleagues describe the evolution within a career as a series of progressive stages. The stages for Super (1953) are: (a) exploratory, (b) establishment, (c) maintainance, and (d) decline. The stages for Dalton, et al., (1977) are: (a) apprentice, (b) colleague, (c) mentor, (d) sponsor. All the subjects in this study were past the exploratory and apprentice stages in their first careers. Some were in the establishment stage and others were in the maintainance-mentor stage (e.g., Ginger, Charlotte, Philip, Paul) when they chose to leave the first career. Given this rather advanced stage in the first career, one might speculate that the adjustment to the role of student or novice would be a difficult one. Many of the subjects continued working in their first careers (from full to part time) or assumed a teaching role in the second career, and for some

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

this appeared to lessen the psychological impact of student status.

What enabled them to take the risks, itemized by Super (see p. 26 in this study) and embark on a totally different career? There was no single factor that impelled or enabled all the subjects. They reported a number of reasons for their change, as described in detail in the first sections of Chapters 4 and 5. These included burn-out, a wish for financial security, a wish for greater professional status, a wish for power, intellectual dissatisfaction with first career, aesthetic dissatisfaction with first career, wish for more autonomy and control over personal time, and discrimination in the workplace. In most cases more than one motive was voiced, but there were cases where a single motive (e.g., intellectual dissatisfaction in the case of the two MD's who became lawyers) impelled the individuals to change careers.

The dissatisfaction many of the subjects felt with their first occupations supported Sarason's (1977) and Terkel's (1974) investigations that there is widespread discontent at all occupational levels. Sarason believes the dissatisfaction is rooted in both an incomplete exploratory period and in the limited, foreclosed way work is presented, i.e., the individual prepares to be a particular "thing" as opposed to planning for more than one career.

The proposition of a limited exploratory period raises the question of initial career choice and how that differed

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

from career choice the second time around. Roe's (1957) concept of "social inheritance" proved useful in understanding the subjects' first exploratory period, their first career choices, and their second choices. These factors include:

(a) the country and culture in which one lives;

(b) the time in history;

(c) the degree of conformity demanded by society;

(d) the ease with which education can be obtained.

For all the subjects but two (Melvin [paleontologist/MD] and Denise [journalist/lawyer], whose father were blue collar workers) their first careers were most clearly an expression of the values of their families of origin and the wishes, overt or covert, of that family. Lauren, for example, came from an upper class black family where being a lawyer was a highly prized profession and being a psychologist (her second career) was looked at with some disdain. On the other hand, John came from a blue collar family where being a fireman was highly regarded for the financial security and eventual pension. His family was puzzled as to why he would want to spend so much time and money to be a dentist.

For many subjects their first career choice was strongly influenced by more than one of Roe's factors. The Vietnam War played a large part in the choices of Brad, Paul, Melvin, Niles, and John. John had been drafted, interrupting his exploratory stage. Melvin went to Canada

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

when he lost his bid for conscientious objector status. Brad took a job working with young children in part because it would exempt him from the draft. Niles took an engineering job that assured him safety from the draft. Paul became very active in the anti-war movement; his career plans were not a first priority.

For the women, factors (a), (b), and (c) played a big part in setting limitation on their first career choices. As the literature documents (Nieva and Gutek, 1981; Rivers, et al., 1979) sexism in the workplace has been and continues to be a chronic problem. Five of the women recalled sexist confrontations, either overt or subtle, from which they backed down the first time around. In some cases the limits were imposed from within the family system (e.g., Michelle's mother threatening her with prospective lesbianism if she went to law school, or Claire's parents refusing to fund graduate school when she was married, only when she was divorced); in some cases there were institutional limits (medical school requiring a woman to say she had no intention of marrying or having a family). Denise (journalist/lawyer) actually participated in a class action suit against her first employer after years of being openly discriminated against because she was a women. Even in her second career, as a tenured law professor, Denise found persistent discrimination. She said: "The women teachers in this geographical area have banded together and met consistently. I am more of a mentor to that group than I am to the law

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

students I teach. Also I found myself called upon to represent the women's point of view and, believe me, it has needed representing. I am astonished at how parochial and narrow are the points of view of some of my colleagues. With the economy being tighter, fewer teaching jobs, there is more overt prejudice against women. Hiring is a form of cloning. People with similar credentials apply, but men's pluses are weighted more heavily. They're rated high for colleagiality. It boils down to that people are more comfortable with people just like themselves."

The issue of pervasive sexism notwithstanding, there did not appear to be a great difference between the men's and the women's reports of how they came to the decision to change careers. The literature on women and career development offers a number of propositions about women's approach to career planning. Angrist, Almquist, and Osipow (in Nieva and Gutek, 1981) stressed the flexibility and adaptability of women's career and skill choices to best assure their being able to adjust work to future family responsibilities. Dowling (1981) saw women's fear of making a firm career commitment as a retreat from the adult responsibility of preparing oneself to take care of oneself. Bardwick and Douvan (in Nieva and Gutek, 1981) maintained that serious career commitments for women generally come in their thirties while in their teens and early twenties they maintain an adaptive flexibility. None of these propositions holds true for all the women in the study, but there was an aim-

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

less, chancey quality described by many of the women in recalling their first career choice that was not apparent in their second career. Bandura's (1982) notion of the effect of chance encounters or events that change the course of an individual's life characterized most of the women's reports. This lends some support to Bardwick's and Douvan's theory that women do not tend to make a focused commitment until their middle to late thirties. However, it is important to note that one of the men in the study (Brad) reported a good deal of difficulty making a firm career commitment in his twenties and other men recalled feeling swept along into their first careers rather than actively choosing them.

Baruch (in Nieva and Gutek, 1981) found a dramatic drop in achievement motivation for those women out of college 10 years with a resurgence at 15, 20, and 25 years out of school. That profile does not fit these women. While they may not have chosen their first career with the degree of self awareness they brought to their second choice, they were all very committed and achievement oriented within that first career. In fact it was this very motivation that in most cases led them to search for a new career. The work in the first occupation was often not sufficiently challenging. To use Kohn's (1980) term, many of the women wanted more "substantive complexity" from their work. Cynthia (journalist/lawyer), for example, saw working as an editor for a women's magazine as "too frivolous." This search for more substantive complexity was also apparent in the men's

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

reports.

Rivers, et al. (1979), looked at the daughters of working mothers and found them to be more likely to have serious career aspirations. Of this sample of women only two had working mothers, Claire (elementary teacher/psychologist) and Ginger (MSW/MD). Both their mothers had been teachers and both had received recognition for excellence in their field. However, the other six women had mothers who had been homemakers.

Hennig and Jardim found that all the women in their study had close relationships with their fathers. Except for Claire and Denise (journalist/lawyer), none of the women reported a particularly close relationship with their fathers. In one case the father was absent and in the other cases the relationship to the father was an ambivalent one.

As for the men, their relationship with their fathers could be characterized as distant or ambivalent. Only one subject, Bill, regarded his father as a model, someone he admired enough to wish to emulate.

Super's (1953) theory of vocational development provides a broader context within which the choice of a second career can be seen in the course of ongoing development rather than as an abberation. For Super the process of vocational development lasts a lifetime and it serves to implement the individual's self concept. As the findings indicated, for six subjects the second career was a reclamation of a dream, a self concept held in late adolescence but

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

not acted upon the first time around. For the rest of the subjects the second career and its attendant self concept evolved as they themselves developed. Often the second choice was generated out of experiences in the first career.

Mentors are often instrumental in promoting and enhancing a professional self image and fostering confidence in one's ability. Within the second career only two subjects reported finding mentors--one man and one woman. The lack of mentors for the women supports the research on women over thirty in graduate and professional school (Kaplan, 1982). In studying the workplace Shapiro and her colleagues (1978) attribute this mentor absence to the characteristic nature of the mentor-protege dyad which they describe as "intense and usually charged with emotion, basically a parental dynamic (Shapiro, et al., 1978, p. 56)." They uncovered a phenomenon which they labeled as "peer pals," a supportive network of peers. This guide relationship is less intensive, more egalitarian, and mutually supporting. Seven of the women and three of the men reported relationships that could be characterized as "peer pals."

Cynthia (journalist/lawyer) recalled how her friends helped her call the dean of admissions after she was first rejected from law school. "I didn't think I could talk to the dean after the rejection. My friends talked me through the phone call. I was with them and one of them actually dialed the number for me."

In conclusion, the data from this study confirms some

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

of the findings of earlier career development research but diverges from the literature in two significant respects. First, there did not appear to be any correlation between the subjects' second career and their parents' occupations. Previous literature (Baruch, et al., 1983; Crites, 1976; Goodale and Hall, 1983; Hennig and Jardim, 1978) tended to positively correlate parents' occupations to those of their offspring. Second, the decision to change careers and the process of transition did not appear to be different for the men and women in the study. Upon analysis there were no tasks, instrumental or affective, that were experienced differently based on gender.

<u>Transition Theory Literature</u>

One hypothesis implicit in this study was that career transition could be comprehensively studied using the vehicle of tasks--instrumental and affective. Golan's general schema of five instrumental and five affective tasks of transition was adopted and altered to address the particular transition of career change. The result was the emergence from the data of nine instrumental and seven affective tasks. While many of Golan's tasks were included, the data also yielded tasks specific to career transition. These tasks, Instrumental Tasks 4 through 9 and Affective Tasks 4 and 7 (see Method, pp. 61-63) are unique to career change.

The other theories of transition described various aspects of transition (career or otherwise) but were not as

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

comprehensive as Golan's. For example, types of occupational shifts were studied by Louis (1981); transition and its relationship to one's sense of self was Marris' (1975) focus; Schlossberg (1981) studied the many variables in any transition that predict positive or negative outcome; and Perosa and Perosa (1983) looked specifically at career change viewed through stages analogous to grief and mourning. While the transition research provides numerous clinically useful insights into the process of career transition, none of these five theorists provided a structure as useful as Golan's for organizing and understanding the rich data of each individual's experience and placing it in a broader, developmental picture.

Where do the tasks of career transition diverge from Golan's five instrumental and five affective tasks?

Golan's first three instrumental tasks parallel those of this study. However, her tasks four and five are general prescriptions where as tasks four through nine in this study are specific to career transition. These specific tasks are:

4. Determine financial feasibility.

5. Enter school and learn how to meet academic demands.

6. Manage time and set priorities.

7. Establish a support system.

8. Begin to function in the new role. (This is analogous to Golan's Task 4.)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

9. Find first job and become established in new vocation.

Golan's five affective tasks are included in this study's seven affective tasks. However, the order of the tasks is significantly different. Golan's last task, "Develop new standards of well-being: agree to lessened gratification, diminished satisfaction, and changed self-image until level of functioning. . .rises to acceptable norms," most resembles this study's first affective task, "Adopt new values in regard to self and in regard to work." This reversal may be due to the fact that many of the transitions Golan studied were not self initiated. Individuals who suffer a significant and jarring loss are less likely to "adopt new values in regard to themselves" immediately after sustaining such a loss; this is more likely to happen after a number of other emotional tasks have been negotiated. The affective tasks which emerged as specific to career transition were Tasks 4, 5, and 6. Task 7 is similar to Golan's Task 5, though it too is more specific to career change. These affective tasks, specific to career change are:

4. Maintain open communication with spouse or intimate partner.

5. Deal with issues imposed by student status, viz., (a) threats to prior sense of competence, (b) infantalizing nature of student role, (c) feelings of loss or longing for the past, (d) depression accompanied by doubts. (This task has elements of Golan's Task 4 within its frame.)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

6. Deal with issues of competition.

7. Internalize training experience.

In comparing Golan's five instrumental and five affective tasks to the tasks which emerged from the interview data this study confirms Golan's notion of instrumental and affective tasks of transition though it diverges on some of the specifics of those tasks.

## Sense of Self and Career Transition

Three theorists were reviewed for their contribution to the literature on sense of self and career transition. Those three, Marris, Osherson, and Pine, all explicitly addressed the question, how does entering a new career affect the individual's self concept. Marris' (1975) and Osherson's (1980) subjects were changing careers. Pine's paper (1982) dealt with the experience of entry into a new occupation rather than changing from one to another.

Marris (1975) and Osherson (1980) both found their subjects' second careers to be expressions of earlier ambitions. This was true for six of the subjects in this study. For the other ten, the second career was an expression of a number of factors (see Instrumental and Affective Tasks 1 and 2) emerging during the first career. Marris studied a population of enterprising entrepreneurs characterized by high self esteem. Writing about his subjects, he says: "The innovator is seeking to confirm his identity, to find a new means to realize an established identity (Marris, 1975,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

p. 121)."

Osherson studied a population of artists who had been in traditional professional roles and who had problems with self esteem. Osherson divided his subjects into two groups, those who carried the problems they had in the first career into the second ("foreclosed") and those who made their peace with the first career and its loss and who went on to the second career with more realistic expectations.

The subjects of this study, all of whom had to come to terms with the disappointments of the first career, were more like Marris' innovators than Osherson's artists. They were not, as a group, malcontents or negative people. Niles, the one artist in this study, mused that he had the same difficulties with the art world that he had had as an engineer, viz., he disliked the marketing/business component of the work. He felt he had been naive when he made his career change ten years before. However, unlike Osherson's "foreclosed" subjects, Niles spoke with awareness and without bitterness.

Pine's (1982) notion does not see transition as a return to some authentic sense of self but rather as a gradual expansion of self concept. The individual incorporates the new work into his ongoing, boundaried sense of self, initially splitting "work life" off from "real life." Ultimately, according to Pine, the self subsumes one's work. Most did not report this boundaried, firm sense of self, distinct from the work. On the contrary, they recalled

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

feeling at times subsumed by the work. Caplan, Perlman, and Anatovsky (in Golan, 1981) in separate research found that radical role changes or occupational changes could lead to a disruption in one's sense of inner coherence. The data from this study tends to support this notion. However, there were reports which confirm Pine's proposition. Elizabeth, in talking about how she came to feel like a doctor, said: "You put on the white coat, and then you learn to fill it," thereby proposing a sharp division between her personal self and her work self. John too recalled that he was first treated like a dentist by his patients and gradually, over time, he began to feel that role merge with his sense of himself. Niles spoke about a need he had once felt to explain to people he met that he was both an engineer and a painter. Over time his sense of himself as an artist felt accurate, without engineering history. As noted in Chapter 7, Philip's most recent stationary no longer contained either ESQ or A.I.A. but was a simple letterhead with his name. In his mind this new stationary symbolized the unity he now felt; his sense of self had subsumed these two occupations, and they were now part of his identity.

## Conclusion

This investigation sought to examine and analyze career transition in as open-ended a way as possible, emphasizing qualitative, descriptive data. The emergence of specific instrumental and affective tasks lent the study a developmental scheme which incorporated the wide variety of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

experience reported by the subjects. While there are many questions generated by this work, three stand out as areas for further investigation.

First, the finding of so little difference between men's and women's experiences raises the question of why? In most of the career development and adult development literature gender issues separate and differentiate the experiences of men and women. Are career changers a particularly androgynous group? A larger study of career changers along these lines might prove illuminating and would confirm or refute the trend noted in this study.

Second, the impact of career change on the spouses, children, and intimate network of career changers was only glimpsed at in this study. No interviews were conducted with "significant others," yet their importance was often cited by the subjects. From the viewpoint of systems theory (Hoffman, 1981) the family and/or intimate friends provide a context within which the career changer operates. Understanding this context more thoroughly would be useful in clinical work with both the career changer and his/her family. Just as there may be certain qualities unique to career changers (e.g., perhaps a tendency toward androgyny), there may be certain qualities found in the family systems.

Third, it might be important to compare those career changers who go back to school with those who change careers without returning to school. The period of learning and apprenticeship would be an interesting contrast to formal

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

schooling and some of the tasks involved would be different as well.

Clinically this investigation may be useful in offering career changers and/or their therapists a perspective from which they can view the intense experience of career transition. Hamburg and Adams (in Golan, 1981), in reviewing a series of studies on transition, emphasized the importance of seeking out and utilizing information. Knowing what to expect enabled those going through transition to keep distress in manageable limits and to increase the likelihood of positive outcome.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

TABLE I

SUMMARY OF DATA OF 16 SUBJECTS

| Names | Age at Interview | Age Entering School | Single(s) Divorced(d) Married(m) Remarried(re) Cohabiting(c) | Children | 1st Career | 2nd Career | Stage in Second Career | Therapy Cited As Support | Reported Key Experience |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ginger | 37 | 37 | m | 0 | msw | md | 1st yr | X | |
| Claire | 36 | 30 | re | 2 | teach | psych | wkg | X | X |
| Michelle | 37 | 35 | d | 0 | msw | law | 2nd yr | X | X |
| Lauren | 36 | 30 | m | 1 | law | psych | finishing thesis | X | |
| Paul | 32 | 30 | m | 1 | teach | md | 2nd yr | | |
| Melvin | 35 | 34 | s | 0 | prof | md | 2nd yr | | |
| Brad | 35 | 31 | co | 1 | teach | md | 4th yr | X | X |
| John | 34 | 29 | m | 2 | fireman | dentist | wkg | | X |
| Cynthia | 41 | 35 | d | 2 | journal | law | wkg | | X |
| Niles | 41 | 30 | m | 2 | engin | art | wkg | | |
| Denise | 42 | 32 | re | 0 | journal | law | wkg | | X |
| Bill | 45 | 31 | re | 2 | md | law | wkg | | |
| Elizabeth | 51 | 43 | m | 3 | teach | md | wkg | X | |
| Philip | 43 | 35 | m | 2 | law | arch | wkg | X | |
| Bruce | 46 | 36 | s | 0 | md | law | wkg | | |
| Charlotte | 47 | 39 | d | 0 | prof | md | 4th yr | | |

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

## Appendix I: Career Pattern Interview

### Who Are You?

1. Does S. seem to be isolated?
2. Attached?
3. Independent?
4. Does he/she have a Dream?
5. How aware is he/she of age?
6. Health concerns?

### Family Background:

A. Family of Origin:

1. Class
2. Parents' occupations
3. Parents' marital status
4. Sibs
5. Extended family
6. Religion
7. Does S. identify with either parent or consciously disidentify with either parent or sib?

B. Family of Procreation:

1. Married? Single? Divorced?
   If married, first or second marriage?
2. Children's ages?
3. Spouse's work?
4. Spouse's response to career change?

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Early Education Experiences:

1. Primary school experience.
2. Type of community S. grew up in?
3. Early interests?
4. Family's attitude toward school?
5. High school experience?
6. Any career plans at this time?
7. Early friendships--any maintained to date?

College Years:

1. Type of college, how chosen?
2. Major?
3. Career plans at that time?
4. Was there any thought of your current career then? If so, why was it not pursued?

First Career:

1. How would you characterize your experience in regard to your first career?
2. Were there any disappointments?
3. Were you involved in an intimate relationship at that time?
4. Was there any connection between that relationship and your choice of the first career?
5. When did you start to think of change?
6. What do you think precipitated your wish to change?
7. Had you played with other ideas before making the first career choice?

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

8. With whom did you discuss your discontent and your thoughts about a new career?
9. What was the response of your confidants?
10. Were you in therapy at this or any time during the process?
11. If so, how would you characterize your therapist's intervention--e.g., active, supportive, discouraging, neutral?

Decision to Change:

1. Describe the reaction of family, friends, and colleagues to your decision to change.
2. What was the application procedure like for you?
3. Were you going through any other important changes at that time in any other areas of your life?
4. Did you have any expectations about school and were they borne out?
5. How did you plan to support yourself during the school experience?

The School Experience Second Time Around:

1. Was the first year adjustment difficult for you?
   If so, in what ways?
   If not, what do you think made it so smooth a transition?
2. What events or people fostered your professional sense of self?
3. Did you find anyone you could call a mentor at

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

school or anywhere else?

4. Did you work while attending school? Doing?

5. If you worked, do you think the work was important for other than financial reasons? Explain.

6. How did you feel being older than most of the other students?

First Job in the New Career:

1. What was the first job?

2. Any surprises, unexpected obstacles, or hurdles?

Growing into the New Career:

1. How has it been starting over, entering a field where your peers have been at it for some time and have established themselves?

2. Did you feel the need to catch up and, if so, how did you do that?

3. How important is work to you?

4. Have you felt the need to integrate the past into the present or has the past career been relegated to "that other time?"

5. If the first career is still a part of how you see yourself, how has it made itself felt in your present work, if at all?

Closing:

1. Do you have any thoughts about the interview or what we have been talking about that would be useful to bring up before closing?

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

## Appendix 2:
## Letter Sent to Potential Subjects
## Through the Offices of the Various College Deans

Dear

I am a doctoral candidate in Clinical Psychology at City University. I am writing to you because you are one of a very small sample of people who has left one career to retrain and go back to school for an entirely different one. Although there are many people who change jobs, there are not as many who are so committed to change that they are willing to take on such rigorous retraining, suspend their previous earning power, and start over.

This process of change, the practical externals and the accompanying inner thoughts and feelings, is the subject of my research. I would be most pleased to talk with you and hear what you have to say. The literature in this area is skimpy at best. If you would be interested in learning more about the study and/ or participating, please fill out the enclosed postcard and/or call me at home. My phone, should you wish to contact me that way, is 662-5579. After 9:00 is best.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Joan Levine

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

## Reference List

Bandura, A. The psychology of chance encounters and life paths. American Psychologist, July 1982, 37(7), 747-755.

Baruch, G., Barnett, R. & Rivers, C. Life prints: New patterns of love and work for today's women. New York & Scarborough, Ontario: New American Library, 1983.

Bayer, A. Five Americans who chose to change their careers: Beginning again in the middle. Life, June 1970, 68(22).

Bingham, W. C. Application of life stages to adult women's career behavior. International Journal of Adv Counseling, 1983, 6, 281-288.

Birnbaum, J. Life patterns and self-esteem in gifted family-oriented and career-committed women. In Mednich, M., Tangri, S. & Hoffman, L. Women and achievement: Social and motivational analysis. New York: Hemisphere-Halstead, 1975.

Cath, S. Suicide in the middle years: Some reflections on the annihilation of self. In W. Norman & T. Scarmella (Eds.), Mid-Life: Developmental and Clinical Issues. New York: Bruner-Mazel, 1982.

Crites, J. A comprehensive model of career development in early adulthood. Journal of Vocational Behavior, 1976, (9), 105-118.

Cunningham, A. & Saayman, G. Effective functioning in dual career families: An investigation. Journal of Family Therapy, 1984, 6, 365-380.

Dalton, G., Thompson, P & Price, R. The four stages of professional careers--a new look at performance by professionals. Organizational Dynamics, Summer 1977, 19-42.

Delong, T. Reexamining the career anchor model. AMACOM Periodicals Division, reprinted from Personnel, 1982.

Dowling, C. The cinderella complex: Women's hidden fear of independence. New York: Summit Books, 1981.

Erikson, E. Identity and the life cycle. New York: William Norton Co., 1980 (re-issue).

Farrell, P. & Rosenberg, D. Men at mid-life. Boston, Massachusetts: Auburn House Publishing Co., 1981.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Gelman, D., Doherty, S., Joseph, N., Buchley, J & De Bliev, J. The switch is on. Newsweek, May 28, 1984, 93-95.

Golan, N. Passing through transitions. New York: Free Press, Macmillan Co., 1981.

Goodale, J. & Hall, D. Inheritating a career: Influence of sex, values, and parents. Journal of Vocational Behavior, 1976, 8, 19-30.

Gottshalk, Jr., E. Some frustrated humanities PhD's find success after being retrained for business. Wall Street Journal, December 20, 1982.

Gould, R. Transformations: Growth and change in adult life. New York: 1978.

Greenson, R. The struggle against identification. Journal of the American Psycholoanalytic Association, April 1954, 2, 200-217.

Hale, N. Freud's reflections on love and work. In Smelser, N. J. & Erikson, E. H. (Eds.), Themes of love and work in adulthood. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard Press, 1980.

Hall, F. & Hall, D. Dual careers--how do couples and companies cope with the problems? Organizational Dynamics, Spring 1978, 57-77.

Hall, F. & Hall, D. the relationship between goals, performance, success, self-image and involvement under different organizational climates. Journal of Vocational Behavior, 1976, 9, 267-278.

Heistand, D. Changing careers after 35: New horizons through professional and graduate study. New York & London: Columbia University Press, 1971.

Hennig, M. & Jardim, S. The managerial woman. New York: Simon & Schuster Pocket Books, 1978.

Kanter, R. M. Work and family in the United States: A critical review and agenda for research and policy. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1977.

Kaplan, S. R. A feminist cinderella tale: women over thirty in graduate and professional school. Journal of National Association for Women Deans and Counselors, Spring 1982, 9-15.

Kelvin, A. Careers after social work. Working Woman, April 1984.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Kidder, L. Selltiz, Wrightsman & Cook's Research Methods in Social Relations (4th ed.). New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1981.

Kiechell III, W. The neglected art of career planning. Fortune, June 27, 1983, 153-155.

Kohn, M. Job complexity and adult personality. In Smelser, N. & Erikson, E. (Eds.). Themes of work and love in adulthood. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1980.

Kohut, H. The Restoration of the Self. New York: International Universities Press, 1977.

LeBaron, C. Gentle vengeance: An account of the first year at Harvard Medical School. New York: Richard Marek Publishers, 1981.

Levinson, D., Darrow, C., Klein, E., Levinson, M. & McKee, B. The seasons of a man's life. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978.

Levinson, H. Emotional health in the world of work. New York, Evanston, Illinois, & London: Harper & Row, 1964.

Levinson, H. A second career: the possible dream. Harvard Business Review, No. 3, May-June 1983.

Lidz, T. Phases in adult life: an overview. In W. Norman & J. Scarmella (Eds.), Midlife: Developmental and Clinical Issues. New York: Bruner-Mazel, 1980.

Lieberman, L. & Lieberman, L. The second career concept. Aging and Work, 6(4), 1983, 277-289.

Louis, M. R. Career transitions: varieties and commonalities. In R. Hill, E. Miller & M. Lowther (Eds.), Adult career transitions: Current research perspectives. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Business Papers #66, Division of Research, 1981.

Kyson, T. Sex differences in the choice of a male or female career line: an analysis of the background characteristics and work values. Work and Occupations, May 1984, 11(2).

Marris, P. Loss and change. Garden City, New York: Anchor Books/Doubleday, 1975.

Martin, G. Help yourself to a midlife career change. (reprinted from) Occupational Outlook Quarterly, Spring 1981, U. S. Department of Labor Bureau of Labor Statistics, February 1983.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Mayer, N. The male mid-life crisis: Fresh starts after 40. Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1978.

Maslow, A. Toward a psychology of being. London, Toronto: D. Van Nostrand Ltd., 1962.

Mostrow, E. & Newberry, P. Work role and depression in women: a comparison of workers and housewives in treatment. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, July 1975, 45(4).

Nieva, V. & Gutek, B. Women and work: A psychological perspective. New York: Praeger, 1981.

Norma, W. & Scarmella, T. (Eds.). Mid-life: Developmental and clinical issues. New York: Bruner Mazel, Inc., 1980.

O'Boyle, T. F. The ministry attracts professionals seeking a more fulfilling life. Wall Street Journal, October 22, 1982.

Osherson, S. Holding on or letting Go: Men and career change at midlife. New York: Free Press, 1980.

Perosa, S. & Perosa, L. The mid-career crisis: A description of the psychological dynamics of transition and adaptation. Vocational Guidance Quarterly, December 1983, 69-79.

Pine, F. The experience of self: Aspects of its formation, expansion, and vulnerability. Psychoanalytic Study of the Child, 1982, 37.

Purdum. T. S. Executives breaking away. The New York Times, February 25, 1985.

Rayman, I. Late start into medicine: Career paths and patterns. Unpublished Dissertation, City University of New York, 1982.

Rice, B. Why am I in this job? Psychology Today, January, 1985.

Rivers, C., Barnett, G. & Baruch, G. Beyond sugar and spice: How women grow, learn, and thrive. New York: G. P. Putnam & Sons, 1979.

Roe, A. The psychology of occupations. New York, London, & Sydney: John Wiley & Sons, 1956.

Rubin, L. Women of a certain age: The midlife search for self. New York: Harper & Row, 1979.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Ruddick, S. & Daniels, P. Working it out: 23 women writers, artists, scientists and scholars talk about their lives and their work. New York: W. W. Norton, 1981.

Rytina, N. Occupational changes and tenure. Job Tenure and Occupational Change, 1981. (issued by) U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Statistics, Bulletin 2162, January 1983.

Sarason, S. Work, aging and social change: Professionals and the one-life-one-career imperative. New York: Free Press, 1977.

Scarf, M. Unfinished Business. New York: Doubleday, 1980.

Schlossberg, N. A model for analyzing human adaptation to transition. Counseling Psychologist, 1981, 9(2), 2-18.

Seidenberg, R. The trauma of eventlessness. In J. B. Miller (Ed.), Psychoanalysis and women. New York: Bruner-Mazel, 1973.

Schafer, R. Aspects of internalization. New York: International Universities Press, 1968.

Shapiro, E., Rowe, M. & Haseltine, F. Moving up: Role models, mentors and the patron system. Sloan Management Review, Spring 1978, 19(3).

Skovholt, T. M. & Morgan, J. I. Career development: an outline of issues for men. The Personnel and Guidance Journal, December 1981, 231-237.

Smelser, N. Issues in the study of work and love in adulthood. In N. Smelser and E. Erikson (Eds.), Themes of work and love in adulthood. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1980.

Stewart, W. A psychosocial study of the formation of the early adult life structure in women. Unpublished dissertation, School of Arts and Sciences, Columbia University, University Microfilm #77-14849, 1977.

Super, D. A life-span, life-space approach to career development. Journal of Vocational Behavior, 1980, 16, 282-298.

Super, D. The psychology of careers. New York: Harper & Row, 1957.

Super, D. A theory of vocational development. American Psychologist, 1953, 8, 185-190.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Tavris, C. & Offir, C. The longest war: Sex differences in perspective. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1977.

Terkel, S. Working. New York: Avon Books, 1974.

Tough, A. Intentional changes: a fresh approach to helping people change. Chicago: Follett Publishing Co., 1982.

Vaillant, G. Adaptation to life. Boston: Little Brown & Co., 1977.

Waelder, R. The principal of multiple function. Psychoanalytic Quarterly, 1936, 5, 45-62.

Walsh, W. B. & Osipow, S. (Eds.). Handbook of vocational psychology (Vol. 2, Applications). Hillside, New Jersey and London, England: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, 1983.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.